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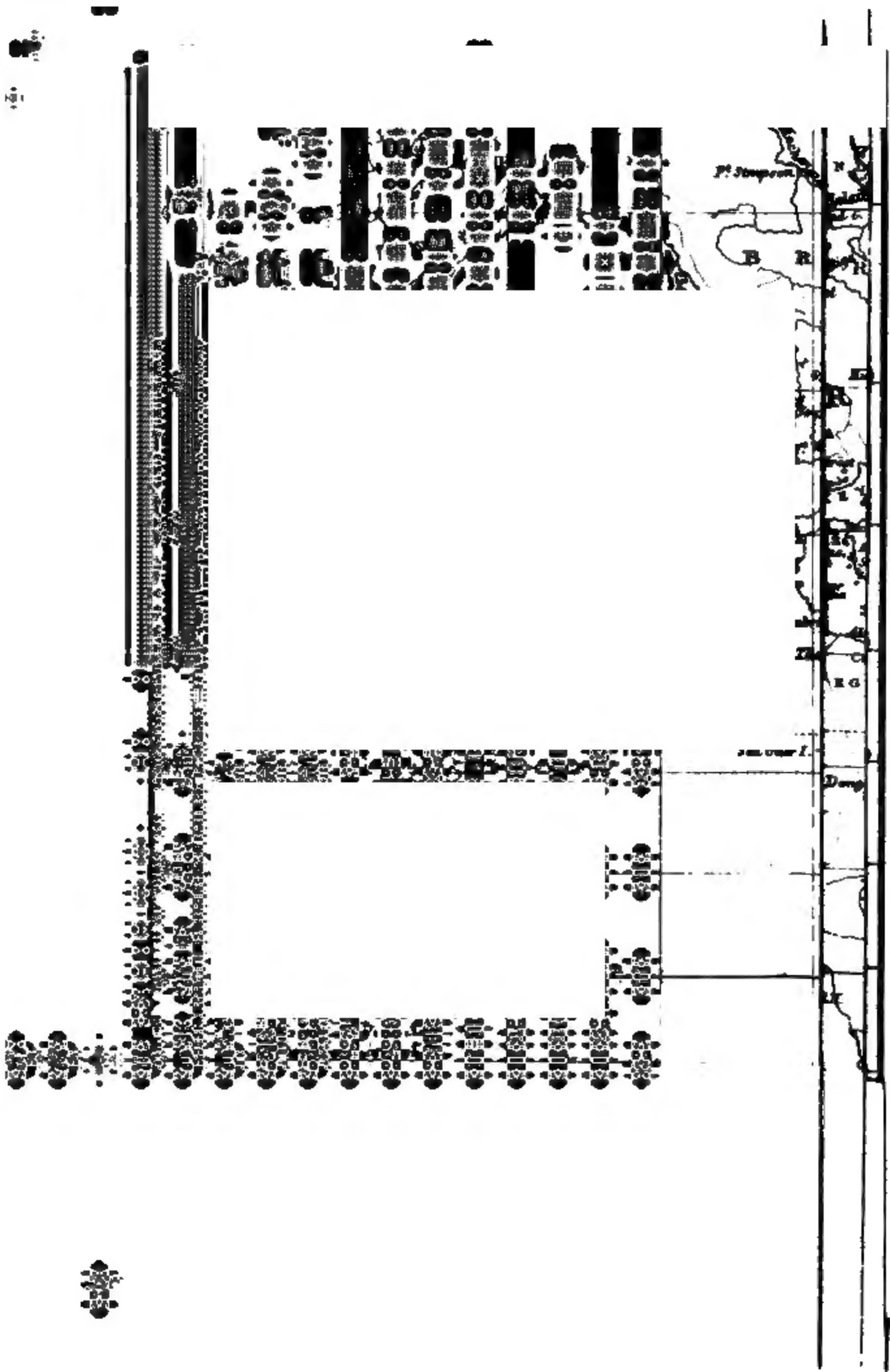
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Notes on Missionary Subjects.

Part I.

- (I.) OBSERVATIONS AND REFLECTIONS ON MISSIONARY SOCIETIES.
(II.) LANGUAGE ILLUSTRATED BY BIBLE-TRANSLATION.

Part II.

THE GREAT PROBLEMS OUTSIDE THE ORBIT OF PURE EVANGELISTIC WORK, BUT WHICH THE MISSIONARY HAS TO FACE.

Part III.

RELATION OF MISSIONARIES TO THE OUTER WORLD.

Part IV.

MISSIONARY ADDRESSES, PICTURES, AND NOTICES.

BY

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LATE MEMBER OF H.M. INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE, MEMBER OF COMMITTEES OF BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY, AND CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY, MEMBER OF TRANSLATION COMMITTEE OF SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE, INCORPORATED MEMBER OF SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL, AND HONORARY SECRETARY OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

Μεγάλη ἡ ἀλήθεια καὶ ὑπερισχύει.

LONDON :

ELLIOT STOCK, 62, PATERNOSTER ROW.

1889.

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INTRODUCTION.

I PUT forth in a collective volume the Four Parts of my Notes on Missionary Subjects; but each Part is complete in itself, and as each treats upon a special portion of the subject, may be acceptable in that form to persons, who do not require the whole work. There is a full Index to each Part.

These Notes come from the pen of a sincere, and experienced, friend. Their object is to lay down first principles, point out serious errors of practice, denounce what is positively wrong, and suggest what appears to be the better way.

Free from any bias of Nationality, Denomination, or shade of Religious thought, the Author is entirely fearless of criticism, and welcomes all honest differences of opinion. If the errors described can be proved never to have existed, so much the better. If a better way can be indicated, it is well. If a bad policy is abandoned, it is a subject of congratulation. The human side of Mission-work is peculiarly human. In secular administration the strong hand of the Governor at once puts a stop to the extravagancies of a subordinate. But the powers of a Bishop are constitutionally limited. The authority of a

Committee, based on a democratic electorate, is singularly weak. The credit of the great cause of Missions is exposed to obloquy, or is misunderstood, on account of the folly, or weakness, of the weakest section of supporters, or of the least wise agent in the Field.

My book was not published for profit, and the large free distribution prevents even the expense of printing being recouped; but I have received my reward in letters from young and old, laymen and ordained men, British and foreigners, not agreeing in everything (for that were impossible), but telling me, that my labour had not been in vain, that I had those who sympathized with me, though personally unknown to me; and some young men have told me, that they had been helped in their decision to go forth by my words: and this alone is an exceeding great reward.

Some of the Essays have been reprinted in American Missionary Journals, in the China Inland *Evangelization of the World*, and, as a separate pamphlet, by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; some have been translated into German, have been reviewed and quoted in periodicals, secular and religious. One Society has taken fifty copies of the first Essay of Part I., but the whole ought to be taken together; the plums of praise must not be picked out, and be unduly dwelt on; the sharp condemnations, and notice of sad failures, must not be separated from the context. We have no reason to be surprised at such failures. What St. Paul says of the Church of Corinth in its first decade ought to prepare us. My last words were:

“It cannot now be said, that we must travel onward, as if in a mist, and that, as nobody criticized, there was no error.”

Unpalatable truths are unpleasant to all corporate bodies, whether Religious, or Secular, when they have got out of the right groove. All I ask is, that the advice of a tried friend may be impartially considered. Already the Conference of one great Mission Field has met to discuss my Essay XI. of Part IV., the most trenchant of all, reprinted in an Indian Missionary Periodical, and my last word on a subject, which has exercised my thoughts and pen for the last forty years. The convener of that Conference, an entire stranger, has expressed to me by letter the value, which the Conference placed upon it. They did not admit all the facts; they did not agree in all the conclusions, but they recognized the thoroughly friendly spirit of my criticisms, and declared, that in that part of the Field the tide was setting “in the direction of “common sense and economy,” that they thoroughly welcomed criticisms from a man like myself, who knew the country (India) and the conditions of life there. He concludes, “We inherit “some foolish traditions, which it is rather hard to break “through, but we are learning to do it, and such words as “yours are distinctly a help. We recognize the true ring of “Missionary sympathy, even when we think that you are not “perfectly just.”

The condemnation of Anti-Opium-Trade zealots; of officials unable to free themselves (though often desirous, and personally clean-handed) from the toils of a system, which consumes unprofitably an unduly large proportion of the sacred funds,

collected under the influence of prayer to convert the heathen ; of good easy men, who know nothing of the development and Phenomena of this Great Power all over the world, and treat a Mission-Committee as a kind of Clerical Club ; weigh little in the minds of those, who see nothing before them, day and night, but *the necessity of the extension of the Lord's Kingdom* as speedily as possible : who will call a "spade a spade," whether the offender be called a Missionary or an official of the Government of British India. This independence of opinion and utterance comes from a life-training in a School, where the good, material and spiritual, of the oppressed, and so-called inferior, races of the world, has been the one great object, to which talents, time, and thought, have been devoted.

A friend in Committee told me, that he had read every line of this book, and could wish for me no better memorial of a life's work, when I was called away. So let it be.

Studying the lives of Carey and Martyn, Judson and John Williams, Steere and Patteson, and the Moravian Brotherhood, I try to place before the Missionaries of the rising generation the law of

Self-abnegation and Self-consecration.

19 FEB. 1889.

P.S.—In *Central Africa*, the organ of the Universities Mission, for November, 1888, appear the following words :

"There is very much that is most valuable to all, who have
"the progress of the Kingdom of God at heart, and these

“ pamphlets should certainly find a place on the Mission shelf
“ of every Parish Priest’s Library.”

The Editor of the *Missionary Review of the World* has written me a letter, which has just reached me from New York, U.S.:

“ Allow me to express my great appreciation of your con-
“ tributions to the Missionary literature of the day. I have
“ repeatedly reproduced your thoughts in the *Missionary Review*
“ of the *World*. While not agreeing with *all* your views, I yet
“ find them so fresh, so original, and independent, and so
“ forcibly and fearlessly expressed, as greatly to charm and
“ impress me.”

NOTE.

“ The Missions of the Roman Church ” will appear as a separate volume.

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Notes on Missionary Subjects.

Part I.

I. OBSERVATIONS AND REFLECTIONS ON MISSIONARY SOCIETIES.

II. LANGUAGE ILLUSTRATED BY BIBLE TRANSLATION.

BY

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FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY AND CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY, MEMBER OF TRANSLATION
COMMITTEE OF SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE,
INCORPORATED MEMBER OF SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION
OF THE GOSPEL, AND HONORARY SECRETARY OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

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(2) LANGUAGE ILLUSTRATED BY BIBLE-TRANSLATION. 2nd Edition.

PART II. THE GREAT PROBLEMS OUTSIDE THE ORBIT OF PURE EVANGELISTIC WORK, BUT WHICH THE MISSIONARY HAS TO FACE.

PART III. RELATION OF MISSIONARIES TO THE OUTER WORLD.

PART IV. MISSIONARY ADDRESSES, PICTURES, AND NOTICES.

PART V. THE MISSIONS OF THE ROMISH CHURCH.

(In preparation.)

Each Part will be sold separately, but a certain number of copies of the whole work will be bound up in a collective volume.

TO MY HONOURED FRIEND,

Dr. A. C. Thompson, of Boston, U.S.,

AT WHOSE SUGGESTION THIS WORK WAS COMMENCED,

AND TO WHOM I AM INDEBTED FOR THE

GREAT HONOUR OF BEING NOMINATED AN HONORARY MEMBER

OF THE

AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS,

THIS SECOND AND ENLARGED EDITION IS

Dedicated.

AUGUST 22, 1888.

PREFACE.

I RECEIVED a kind invitation to be present at the Seventy-fifth Anniversary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions at Boston, U.S., in October, 1885, and I considered it a high honour, and was anxious to accept the cordial bidding of my friend, Dr. A. C. Thompson, to be his guest; but as time drew near, and I considered my other engagements, and the claims on my time, I felt obliged to send an excuse. I had already that year traversed nine thousand miles during a tour of twelve weeks in Egypt, Palestine, and Syria, which is more than my annual allowance of time and distance, and next year, 1886, I had to brace myself for further tours, in Asia and Africa, so I fear, that I shall never be fortunate enough to cross the Atlantic, and see in their own homes the good American citizens, whom I love and honour so much, as friends, and as benefactors of Asiatic and African peoples.

With them, however, in this gathering in heart and soul, and devoted for more than forty years to the same cause, that of publishing the Gospel of Christ to the Heathen, I ventured to draw up a paper for submission on certain points and principles of Missionary Policy, which seem deserving of notice. Dr. Thompson suggested this to me in his letter dated May 22, 1885. I cannot expect, that all will agree with me, but I can speak out, as an impartial observer, one who is not a Missionary, but who has lived all his life among Missionaries of all denominations, and nationalities, one who reads the Reports of the Roman Catholics, as well as of the Protestants, one who has visited all the celebrated shrines of the Romish Church,

and held friendly intercourse with Cardinal and Priest, and is not afraid to have Jesuits as friends, and who finds his way during his travels into the Schools, and Orphanages, of the Nuns, as well as of the Women's Boards.

On Church-Government, and Dogmatic Theology, I do not touch, but I am not afraid to state, that I am *ex animo* a member of the Evangelical Branch of the Episcopal Church of England, and yet that fact does not prevent me sitting upon the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible-Society, which embraces all the Evangelical Churches, and at the same time taking part in the deliberations of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, as an incorporated Member for many years. I delight to be present at the Annual Meetings of every Missionary Society to the Heathen in Asia, Africa, America, and Oceania, and to mark the Phenomena of the work, and the idiosyncrasies of the workers. Mission-work is gradually becoming a Science; laws of international comity, and links of inter-Mission brotherhood, are being framed. Annexation on the noblest and grandest scale for spiritual and benevolent purposes is being carried out. A territorial division of all vacant regions is being made. Throughout all my writings it is my desire, that my love for Christ, and for Christ's people of all sorts and conditions, should unmistakeably appear. Though an open antagonist of the errors of the Church of Rome, I have received the thanks of a Cardinal for standing up for the rights of the poor Roman Catholic paupers of London against the narrow views of Protestant Boards and Vestries.

My remarks were admitted to be very severe, and yet from Missionary Societies, and from Missionaries in the Field, I received constant demand for copies, as my book was not published for sale. One Society proposed to reprint it, but I considered it best to reserve to myself the privilege to issue a corrected and enlarged edition.

I have had some experience in the Field, and the Committee-Room. No ordained Missionary can exceed me in devotion to the object, and yet I look at each problem from the point of view of a Statesman, an Administrator of Oriental Provinces, and an out-and-out friend and champion of the Heathen, and Mahometan, People. No plausible theory has any chance with

me. I am sternly practical. It is not what we desire, or what ought to be done, but what can, under the laws of Human Justice and Divine Toleration, be done. *Non quod volumus, sed quod possumus.* What trouble would be saved, if enthusiasts would understand this! Empty resolutions, passed in Exeter Hall, by a packed, irresponsible, body, brought together, "not to discuss, but denounce," have no more value than the waggings of a dog's tail. The example of the life of a true, honest, earnest, blameless man, and his calmly recorded opinion, or his advice conveyed in the proper quarter, in a proper manner, has a potent effect upon men in power, and leads to action.

I fearlessly point out the errors, and shortcomings of Missionary Societies, and Agents, and unscrupulously sweep away the fogs on the brain of good men, who have never looked on both sides of the shield, and the mistaken views of young men, entirely unversed in the conduct of mundane affairs, and who cannot see the difference between the Things of Cæsar, and the Things of God. The Acts of the Apostles tell us, how men acted under the peculiar circumstances of the Roman Empire. Though the circumstances of the nineteenth century, as regards human affairs, are totally different, the same principles apply.

I stand up for the native races against Governments, against the white man, against Missionaries, and indignantly reject the idea, that any white man has a right to lord it over the black man, whether he comes as a Governor, a Traveller, a Merchant, an Emigrant, or a Missionary. I am obliged to speak plainly upon this subject. The Albocracy of the age is terribly heartless.

It distresses me to hear, as I heard a few months ago, from the lips of a man, who had spent six months in India, preaching through an interpreter, that the people of India in their heathen state were all liars and false witnesses, and that directly they became Christians, they spoke the truth. It distresses me to hear National Customs, not only not criminal, but actually legalized under British Law, and profitable, and which could not be abandoned without great evils, denounced by those, who do not understand them.

If, on the one hand, the grandeur of the enterprize to con-

vert the World, overpowers the intellect, and makes us proud of our generation, yet nothing can be more humiliating than the close examination of the inner working of the great movement. No proof, that the matter is from God, and that His Holy Spirit is guiding us, can be produced, stronger than the story of the manifold instances of weakness, unwisdom, arrogance, and want of sympathy with the poor heathen, contempt of the great laws of Tolerance, and human kindness, absence of self-control, and self-sacrifice, which so often manifest themselves in the poor creatures, privileged to be agents of His will, whether in Committee, or in the Field. Still the work advances!

Last come the words "Culpable Niggardness." He has given us all, all that we possess in this World, all that we hope for in the next. Shall we not give Him something? Do we value the privileges, which we possess, if we do not assist those, who strive to extend them to others. The free Anglo-Saxon on both sides of the Atlantic is not content to enjoy Freedom, but wishes to impart it to others. The Christian wishes the message of Salvation to be conveyed to the whole world. On the Clock of History the Hour for Missions has sounded. I write with a profound conviction, that the Church, the Family, and the Individual, if they do not place the Duty of conquering new kingdoms to the Lord in the first line of their obligations, abdicate their position. Those, who are most liberal to Home-requirements, are not less forward in aiding Foreign Missions.

Nor is it money only that the Lord requires. What shall be said of those, who withhold personal service, if the message has come to them; if the Lord has unmistakeably called them; if He has given them talents, and leisure, and opportunities? What shall be said of parents, who withhold their children, who are willing to go, and who have no field of usefulness at home? Where that exists, and they have a vocation in the Home-Missions, among the poor and suffering of their own people, it is mere idle will-worship, and desire of change, that tempts them to new and not better things. But, where they are sitting at home with folded hands, doing nothing, crushed by the conventionalities of home-family-life, eating,

drinking, and sleeping, Parents! Parents! if the Lord calls them, let them go. Early Death, tedious disease, some other kind of misfortune, will come upon you, as a punishment for robbing the Master of His own. What happened to the servant, who wrapped his talent in a napkin?

The Missionary appears to me to be the highest type of human excellence in the Nineteenth Century, and his profession to be the noblest. He has the enterprize of the Merchant, without the narrow desire of gain, the dauntlessness of the Soldier, without the necessity of shedding blood, the zeal of the Geographical Explorer, but for a higher motive than Science. Now, if there is anything greater than a British Missionary, it is an American. My words may be read on both sides of the Atlantic, and I write them deliberately: if my convictions were the other way, I should not hesitate to express them.

I have come in contact with both any time during the last forty years: it seems to me, that the American Churches send out their best men, and that Great Britain keeps her best at home. We hear of British Colonial Bishops giving up Missionary duties to take Dioceses in Great Britain, but no instance of the reverse process has been recorded. We hear of Missionaries giving up their blessed labours to retire in middle life to a comfortable British Home, but rarely of the beneficed Clergyman flinging up his Home-advantages, and comforts, to go out and live and die among the Heathen, and yet Paul, and Xavier, and scores of others in times past, have done so; and, until this is done, the Missionary spirit of Great Britain has not reached its high-water mark: the cares of this world, and the deceitfulness of riches, have choked the good seed. It is the rich endowments of the Church of England, that draw so much of our ability and our energy into Cathedral-enclosures, or comfortable Rectories, where all the acquired learning, Missionary fervour, and God-given intellect, is allowed to rust, and become like the talent put away in the napkin. The rich provision, made by our forefathers for the Church, Established by Act of Parliament, has proved the Capua of many a Soldier of Christ, who might have been a Missionary, but fell to the lower status of a Dean, or Prebend, or well-fed Rector.

Above all things, let us do our best, that the historical dissensions of the Christian Church in Europe should not be repeated in Asia, Africa, and Oceania. This is one of the great blights of Modern Missions, and one of the occasions to blaspheme given to the Infidel, the Indifferent, and the Papist. Can any one read such Biographies, as those of Steere and Saker, Judson and Ragland, Hannington and Carey, Duff and Williams, Patteson, and Krapf, without feeling, that after all, it is the same Spirit, appearing in different human forms? A certain amount of rivalry is required. A great uniform self-satisfied National Church would probably have done nothing. The astute Church of Rome entrusts the work to twelve great Congregations, independent of each other, and of Provincial Episcopal control, and not loving each other very particularly. Men require to be provoked to good works, and something more.

The words of a late Bishop, one of the ablest conductors of Missionary enterprizes, are given in his Life: "We shall have the benefit of independent and intelligent criticism, a thing which Missions generally are very much in need of."

25 AUGUST, 1888.

Notes on Missionary Subjects.

Part I.

ESSAY I.

OBSERVATIONS AND REFLECTIONS

ON

MISSIONARY SOCIETIES.

CHAP. I. MISSIONS, AND THE GOVERNING BODIES.

CHAP. II. MISSIONARIES, AND THE FIELD.

SECOND AND ENLARGED EDITION.

Πόλλων ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄστεα, καὶ νόον ἐγνῶ.

There are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit, and there are differences of administrations, but the same Lord.—1. Cor. xii. 4, 5.

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I.

OBSERVATIONS AND REFLECTIONS ON MISSIONARY SOCIETIES.

CHAPTER I.—MISSIONS, AND THE GOVERNING BODIES.

I. THEY are of different kinds. From this sketch all attempts at proselyting Christians of one denomination, and all provisions for the spiritual wants of true Christians, are rigidly excluded. My thoughts are restricted to the non-Christian world. In some very few Missions, as regards the life and health of the Missionary, there is no cause for anxiety from the climate, or the absence of civilization of the people, or the want of ordinary limited comforts of civilized life. In British India he has the civilization, but the climate is against him, but there is a strong and just Christian Government, with entire Toleration, and liberty of Conscience. In China, Japan, and Turkey he has less to suffer from climate; but the vagaries of an Asiatic Government, and the inconvenience of an Oriental Civilization, have to be contended against. A Mission to Africa, Oceania, and North America, is the hardest problem, that has to be solved, requiring the greatest amount of devotion, and rich in the greatest blessings. In the scale of sacrifice let this never be forgotten.

II. Distinct from all other Missions is the Pioneer-Mission, and the most misunderstood. The Missionary is indeed neither a Geographer, nor an Explorer, nor a Hunter, nor a Colonizer, nor a speculator in Commerce and Agriculture, but he must take cognizance of such things. His very existence sometimes depends upon his capacity in one or other of these accomplishments.

In reading the life of a servant of God now at rest, to whom was given the exceeding great privilege of founding a Christian Mission in Africa, and translating the whole of the Bible into a previously unknown language for the use of the tribe, amidst which his Mission was founded, we are surprised to find, that unjust assertions were made by his colleagues, though in good faith and Christian love, that his work was not *spiritual*, that he thought too much of the *material* aspect of the Mission, and too little of the Souls of the People given to him.

The subject is one, which demands our serious attention. We must think it out, as it stands at our doors. None but those, who throw themselves into Mission-work, and devour Mission-Reports, are aware, that a Committee of a Missionary Society has to discharge the duty of a Quarter-Master-General, the Head of a great Commissariat, a Board of Architects, Shipbuilders, and Engineers, a Board of Finance, a Council of Education, a Committee of Geographical Explory, a Superintendent of a Translating, and Publishing firm, as well as other secular duties.

There are some among us, before whose unpractical vision floats the idea, the romantically blessed idea, of two and two being sent out without scrip, or change of raiment, without provision for roof-tree, or sustenance, to be fed by the ravens, and grow like the lilies of the field. There are others, perhaps young ardent spirits, preparing for the fight, who dream of the Preacher of the Gospel under the branches of the wide-spreading tree, addressing a meek, and gentle, and willing, auditory of Savages, born again as little children, only too ready to hear, and wondering, why the Word of life had been kept from them so many hundred years. One dear man, now at rest, thought, that he was serving God by riding on a Camel from tribe to tribe in South Africa, and addressing the people through an interpreter.

Is it so? Let us consider the environment of the Missionary, who breaks ground in a new field, ignorant of the language, and the customs, thrown into a country, where there are no habitations, no ordinary supplies of his usual food, not even the rudimentary conditions of decent life in its lowest form, and no constituted authority.

I have myself been the first and only Englishman in a newly-conquered Region, where the people flocked in to look at the white man. I have had to make the best of a native house, and such food as the country supplied, or I could bring with me from more civilized places. I had with me the prestige of power and authority, not visible indeed, but felt by all, who knew of the Military Cantonments, not so far off. Thus in a tropical climate I can in a small way realize the difficulty of the Missionary. But Africa, and Oceania, are not like India. The people are in culture, and the arts of civilized life, much further below the Indian, than the Indian is below the European: the climate of Africa is a hundredfold more deadly: the prestige of power is totally absent: the soil does not supply the means of civilized life, while India is as a garden in fertility, and agricultural wealth. I bring out these points clearly, that the problem may be understood, and that the principle, which I now proceed to lay down, may not be contemptuously rejected, but fairly thought out. Spiritual men need not act like fools. It is this:

That the first period of a Christian Mission in Africa, and Oceania, must

necessarily deal much more with *material* matters than *spiritual*: that the teaching of the people must be indirect by doing Christian things in a Christian way, rather than by direct teaching and preaching.

The length of that period must depend upon circumstances: it should not in the absence of any great calamity exceed ten years: it may possibly be much shorter. The Parent-Committee must be patient, tolerant of errors, and sympathizing with failures.

Take such a Mission-enterprize as that of Equatorial Africa, commenced by the Church Missionary Society in 1878. In defiance of all rules of strategy, and forgetful of the wisdom of keeping open communications with the base of operations, the first party of Missionaries made direct for Victoria Nyanza; a certain portion of their number reached it, occupied a post at the capital Rubága, and have held it continuously to this day. In the interval stations have been opened, connecting this advanced post with the base of Zanzibár. The work of the last ten years has been mainly *material*, rather than *spiritual*: the real work is hardly yet commenced. We must tarry the Lord's leisure.

Some take a romantic view of such an enterprize: they are neither able, nor willing, to think of the details: their simple souls cannot take in a conception of the great gulf fixed between them and their Missionary. Some prudent Statesmen, and Consuls, look upon the enterprize with a kindly eye, for the sake of its civilizing, rather than evangelizing, results, but quite realize the enormous difficulties of the operation. Those, who study Missionary Chronicles, and know Missionary-work, are convinced, that the material requirements of the Mission must be considered in the first decade to make good, continuous, and lasting Evangelical work possible in the second, or even third.

The ministration of the district-visitors in a crowded European, or North American, town, who go from house to house, with kindly words, and material assistance to pressing wants, is not strictly *spiritual* work, any more than the work of secular Education in the night-school is spiritual, but such operations are necessary concomitants, or even conditions precedent, of spiritual work. I quote an extract from a Report on South Africa:

Thus another year has been spent in pioneering. There has been much toil, much anxiety, much suffering, and apparently little result. Yet, the lack of result is only apparent, not real. The labourers have been honestly, and with all their hearts, preparing the way of the Lord. The Society has cause to be proud of the truly heroic and faithful band, who represent it in Central Africa. Every letter gives evidence of the spirit of true Christian devotion, which inspires them to labour, to suffer, and to wait. Riveting metal-plates, managing a boat on the stormy waters of the lake, collecting words for vocabularies of the native tongues, *dealing justly with the people*, enduring much hardship in long journeys, telling the heathen chiefs in simplest terms the story

of Creation, of man's fall, and of Christ's redemption, instructing a few unwilling scholars in the first mysteries of spelling, it has all been evidently work for the Master, and His Spirit has been with them. Such life, such work, are not in vain. They are making a road for the future ; they are levelling the mountains, and filling the valleys preparatory to the revelation of the Lord. It is hard work, apparently endless work.

There is not yet a single avowed convert, nor is there even a regular congregation in connection with either of the stations. Moreover, the people are so entirely given up to the business of fighting and plunder, the power of the chiefs is so absolute, and distrust of each other, and gross superstition, have so terrible an influence, that, humanly speaking, it seems hopeless to expect a change. Again and again men seem to become interested, and begin to learn the truths of Christianity ; but, as soon as this has been observed, suddenly some mysterious influence seems to be exerted on the hopeful ones, and they at once, and without explanation, withdraw from all intercourse with the Missionaries. Youths come to school, and seem to be making some progress in learning to read, the Missionaries begin to hope, that they are coming under favourable influences, then the annual war fever sweeps over the country, and at once the most docile and hopeful scholar seems transformed, all the passions of the savage man are stirred, and he goes off eager to join his elders in what is regarded as the only pursuit worthy of men. Only one signal manifestation of the Grace of God arresting the attention and bringing conviction to the heart of the chief, or some of the leading men of the country, and through their conversion impressing the whole of the people ; or some signal judgment of God, by which the warlike instincts of the nation shall be rebuked, and their power for mischief shall be broken, is likely to effect any change in the present condition of things.

This Missionary spoke the feelings of many.

A Missionary from the Kongo writes, that it is difficult to give an accurate idea of his work ; as he had everything to do, or to personally superintend, while it was being done : building, gardening, fencing, road-making, cooking, washing, doctoring, teaching, preaching : all demands his care in turn.

A Missionary from West Africa writes, that, strange as it may seem, it is an important part of Mission-work to teach the people how to farm, how to build and live in houses, how to cook food, how to make and wear clothing, how to take care of their bodies as well as their souls.

Livingstone remarks that :

The end of the Geographical feat is the commencement of the Christian enterprize.

The duty of the Committee is to watch this state of things lovingly and sympathetically, and not to allow it to last too long ; as new Missionaries go out to relieve veterans worn out, to remind them, that they are entering on the labours of others, and must think of *spiritual* things.

III. The next matter is the objection to solitary and single-handed Missions. Our Lord sent out his disciples two and two. The Roman Catholic Church makes it a rule absolute, that no agent ordained or lay should be alone. There is comfort and

support in fellowship, and there is the check imposed by the presence of a Brother against the first temptations to Sin. We should try to paint to ourselves the Missionary left many months quite alone. I have known it as a public officer, and in my youth I enjoyed it, while ruling a people, whom I loved, with all the surroundings of Anglo-Indian comfort, in a climate, which during the winter season is magnificent: but during the hot season I dwelt in houses in the midst of my fellow-men. But the Missionary is often in the deadliest climate, in the most rudimentary kind of habitation, without medical advice, without a friend to sustain his failing spirit. Some holy men have made their solitary moan, and no one, but their God, has known how they died. It does sometimes happen, and within my knowledge, that a particular Missionary is of such a disposition, that he cannot get on with his colleagues, and has to be consigned to an isolated spot: such instances of infirmity should be the exception: the Missionary, who has failed to convert himself, will scarcely be an efficient agent to convert others. Better is he, that ruleth his spirit, than he who taketh a city. Therefore I repeat: withdraw the Missionary for a time, rather than leave him alone: it is bad for him spiritually, morally and physically. Some have been tempted by solitude and fallen.

IV. There is an objection to small Societies, and the smaller they are, the greater the objection. The non-Christian world must be conquered by great battalions, not by Knights-Errant, and romantic and ill-considered attempts, made by mis-directed enthusiasm. I have known too many of such mushrooms. They fade away or die with their founders. Consider then the waste of time and money, the vacillation, the delay from want of funds and men, the nullity of effect. Many such may be found on the conspectus of Missions, published in London, June, 1888, but my remarks are to be colourless. A wise governing Committee, an Agency for collecting funds, and preparing agents, are necessary. Such Skirmishers do mischief, and impede the progress of the great Army, and sometimes cause scandals. I make this remark with knowledge. In the case of a small Society the charges for the Home-Office necessarily have an unduly large average. I do not wish to despise the day of small things, but that day has passed by, and greater progress will be made by strengthening existing Societies. I know of one Society, whose efficiency has been diminished by parasitical growths, or extraneous grafts, which have become suckers, rather than feeders, of the Parent-Society. A Society, which is to continue and to flourish, must be rooted in a Church, or a Denomination, or a Branch of a Church, and must not depend on the life and energy of an individual, a family, or a private body of friends. If it has no root, it will fade away and perish, as many have done, and the

poor converts will be left as a prey to the Roman Catholic Priests. But the Church is not necessarily in its corporate capacity the best machinery for managing Foreign Missions: quite the contrary. I have developed this subject in Part III. Essay II. Mr. Venn describes the Church Missionary Society, as a Church Society within the Church, without a Royal Charter, in subordination to Church-authority, but based on voluntary action, ready to sacrifice a great deal to maintain Church-order, but *not* the saving of souls.

V. On the other hand, there is an objection to unduly large Societies. There is too often a vaunting spirit, and a desire *to go on*: the Books of Joshua and Judges are freely quoted, forgetting that these remarks applied only to the commencement of the occupation of Palestine, and, as a fact, that occupation never was complete. When Secretaries are multiplied, one of two things will happen, either the work of the Society will be subdivided, and a difference of practice may possibly arise, or in the strain for each Secretary, and Member of the Committee, to inform himself of the whole, the work will be scamped; there will be a continuous unhappy struggle to keep abreast of the work, with no time for quiet counsel, or interchange of views. By dividing the Committee into Groups, greater despatch and more accurate control is secured. No secular work could be carried on successfully under such conditions, as are presented by an ever-changing Committee, a sitting that lasts nine or ten hours, during part of which time there is a crowd, and during the later hours one or two Members, retained only by force, or a sense of duty, and the paper of Agenda hurried through. There are practical dangers in an *Executive* Committee being too large, as proved in the late scandals in the London Board of Works. Details must be settled by a small selected body.

VI. Still more objectionable is that fatal desire, that seizes some Societies, to be always taking up new work, and neglecting and starving the old work. It amounts to folly and madness. In each Mission-Field there is a natural healthy internal growth, at once the evidence, and forerunner, of success, requiring annually an increase of expenditure. It is, as if the Father of a Family, instead of providing for the annually increasing legitimate wants of his own children, should waywardly adopt new children, and nourish these at the cost of starving his elder family. A new scheme sounds fair enough: some one is always found ready to pay the expense for three or five years, but after that time the Society has to provide, or the result of the whole outlay is lost. The Scriptural advice of counting the cost, before a tower is commenced, the dictates of common sense, the example of secular administration, the warning voice of the more prudent members of the Committee, are all set aside by the restless

fervour of some enthusiasts for new work, somebody who happens to have a relation, or an interest, in some particular field. The charge of want of Faith is cast into the teeth of those who object, forgetting, that we are told to use our talents to the utmost, but not beyond our talents. The same principles, which guide the private life of individual Christian men, should guide the operations of collective Christians.

VII. There is great objection to the prosecution of Education, which has not a strictly Missionary object. It is not the duty of Missionary Societies to give a cheap Secular Education to the natives of any country. School-teaching is a lawful expenditure of Missionary Funds, only when its sole object is conversion of Souls. It may be, that in some countries Education is the only method available; still, if it cannot be conducted on strictly Christian principles, it should not be undertaken. The School must be opened, and closed, with prayer, and the Bible be taught without any reserve, or limitation. No conscience-clauses should be tolerated in a Mission-School. If State-Grants are saddled with such conditions, they should be refused. Heathen teachers should not be employed, and, if the Missionary thinks, that he can only secure such success in secular studies, as will warrant a State-Grant, by sacrifice of religious instruction, he should give up the Grant. Unless the scholars attend the Prayers, and religious teaching, they should not be admitted. There is a tendency in some quarters to devote Missionary Funds to Higher Education: this error should be guarded against. The object of Missions is Spiritual, not Intellectual, to make Christians, not Scholars, or citizens (see Part II. Essay VII.).

VIII. There is also great objection to any form of Education, or Training of Boys or Girls, which alters *per se* their social status. It is no kindness, and no help to Conversion, to turn out scholars, who have been elevated above the social position of their relatives, and lost their means of existence. The same principle applies to the education of the labourer's child in England, but with double force in Asia, Africa, Oceania and America. What is to become of the nicely-educated, elegantly-trained, girls, whom I have seen in orphanages, and schools, fashioned into young gentlewomen, with a future surrounded with disappointments and perils? Soberer and wiser views on the part of the Superintendent would restrict the education to what is suitable to the position of life, in which God has placed them, and make them fit to be wives of good men, who are not possessed of high culture or large resources, but to whom a pious, and moderately instructed, companion will be a great blessing.

IX. An objection of the same kind must be recorded against

the erection of Buildings, whether places of worship, residence, education, or healing, on too expensive a scale: who will be able to repair them, or rebuild them, as when in course of time they fall into decay? What false kindness, what want of judgment, what ostentation, there is in this! It is falling into the manifest error of the Church of Rome, and an extreme party of Protestants, who in a village of poor natives delight to fit up a temple, decorated with finery, worked by the hands of devout ladies, forgetting that God dwelleth not in temples made by hands. The building should be solid, decent, suited to the climate, and the degree of culture of the worshippers: it should be as good as, or better than, any house occupied by a Christian in the village or town, but should not attempt to rival the Mahometan Mosque, or Hindu Temple, in architectural decoration. The Church of Christ consists not of walls and roofs, but of the Souls of the worshippers.

X. This leads on to the necessity of every Native community being taught, and compelled from the very first, to be self-supporting, providing for its Pastor, Church-expenses, and the education of children. No material inducement should be held out to a catechumen to accept the new religion. I read, that in one Mission no Church is organized, unless the community have a man ready to be Pastor, and unless they are ready to support him. This principle ought to be universally accepted, and no permanent progress can be anticipated, if it be neglected.

XI. This last remark presupposes some kind of organization, differing according to the idiosyncrasy of the Church, which sent out the Mission. However much denominationalists may be quite sure in their own minds, that their own system is the best, and the only one, the wide observer of human affairs can read their remarks with a smile. There are many forms of organization, possessing each their special weakness, and compensating advantages, and no arrangements of the men of this generation will prevent future generations altering and re-fashioning the human frame, or introducing an entirely new one. May God in his mercy grant, that they will not re-fashion the doctrines, re-interpret the Scriptures, or assert new Revelations!

XII. This leads to remarks on the necessity of great tenderness to those, who differ in doctrine, or in practice. It is astonishing to read remarks, made by Presbyterians against Plymouthites, as bitter and unjustifiable as those, that were made in the last century by Episcopalians against Presbyterians. The greatest wisdom, and most Christian forbearance, are necessary in such cases. In South India a large number of Christian Churches fell into the delusion, that the world was coming to an end on a certain day. When all reasoning failed, the prudent Missionary adopted the policy of waiting, and, when the day

passed by, and all things went on as before, the humbled enthusiasts returned to their Pastor, and admitted their errors. Undue severity even in case of moral offences is to be deprecated, bearing in mind the low standard of the environment of the Neo-Christians, and the examples, supplied in the Old Testament, of nearly universal moral lapses, and laxness of conduct. What will become of the man put out of the Church for either cause? It entails not only the loss of the soul of an individual, but of a family, and of children yet unborn.

XIII. Desirable as it may be to encourage total abstinence from intoxicating liquors (and the precepts, though not the universal practice, of the Hindu and Mahometan Religions are, in such matters, on the side of the Christian Missionary), odious as is the custom of Slavery and Slave-dealing, it may be doubtful, whether either Scripture, or expediency, justify an absolute prohibition. The gate of admission into the Christian Church should not be made narrower than our Lord made it. We must not be accommodating, on the one hand, to sins or vices, but we must not, on the other hand, proscribe innocent customs. In Central India the women were forbidden to wear flowers in their hair: in South India men were forbidden to wear tufts of hair. Caste is foolishly denounced instead of being fashioned into a means of moral control (see Part II. Essay IV.). Care must be taken not to lay too heavy burdens on a nascent Christianity, which is not imposed on the Church at home. Precept and Example will go a great way. It may be generally stated, that the highest Standard of Faith and Morality should be laid down, but an equitable and merciful indulgence should be shown to backsliders.

XIV. I next come on the astounding fact, that in one Mission at least baptisms are performed in secret, and the Neo-Christian has not the grace or strength to confess his Saviour before the world. If I had not heard this practice justified by a Missionary, I should not have believed it. Other experienced Missionaries have refused to perform such baptisms. Death may be the written punishment of Conversion in Mahometan countries, but no Sovereign would dare to carry it into execution (see Part III. Essay VI.). At any rate, the duty of the Christian is obvious, not to deny his Lord. The practice of instantaneous baptism without any previous training seems to be very dangerous. I have heard of it in India thirty years ago, and lately the practice has been brought prominently forward. I can only call attention to it. The practice of baptizing dying children of heathen parents, of sprinkling dying patients in hospitals, appears worthy of condemnation, as converting the Sacrament into a mere magical formula: and yet it is recorded of a late Bishop, that he did so, and justified it.

XV. I here beg to record my solemn protest against the establishment of anything, approaching to the appearance of a State-Church by Missionaries in any part of the world. However advantageous this may appear in the outset, it is sure to bring a Nemesis with it. The fickle Native Potentate may change his views, or die, and be succeeded by a new King, who knew not Joseph. Extreme difficulties will arise with other Missions of a different Denomination. Besides, the spirituality of the Missionaries, and the liberality of the Congregations, is impaired by such contact. Still more objectionable is the interference of a European, or American, power in defence of Missions. This has been the bane of the Roman Catholic system everywhere. I mistrust a Missionary, who talks about Treaty-rights in Turkey or China. Missions exist in Central Africa, where each Missionary carries his life in his hand, and is beyond the protection of Consuls and Gunboats. It is distressing to read of the Foreign Office being asked to move the representatives of Turkey or China to interfere with the decisions of the Criminal and Civil Courts. No independent State would tolerate it: no Anglo-Indian Judge through the length and breadth of British India would listen for a moment to any suggestion of the Executive Government of British India, or to the representative of a Foreign Power, in a case pending before him. I should not have hesitated to fine for contempt of Court any individual, be he who he may, who ventured to threaten me, or bribe me. And yet in Turkey the Missionary does not hesitate to use all influences to interfere with the Judicial Authorities, alleging that they are bad. They knew that they were so, when they commenced their operations, but they are better than analogous institutions in Africa. Gunboat-Christianity is odious (see Part III. Essays IV. and V.). Missionaries should be very chary of claiming the protection of their own Government. St. Paul did not get much profit by appealing to Cæsar: it must be a *bond-fide* subject, that claims protection: the device of sending subjects of the Shah of Persia to India to obtain a fictitious naturalization, and sending them back to Persia, as British subjects, is to be condemned. A Missionary, who would solicit his own country to protect him, or avenge him, or exact compensation for alleged loss, is much to be condemned. He asked no permission to go there, he would have resented, or evaded, any attempt to prevent his going there. If he cannot maintain his position, he must quit the country. Any other policy would, as stated by a Member in the House of Commons, convert Missionaries into filibusters.

XVI. On the other hand, the Missionary should not meddle in the Politics of the Country, in which he is located: he seldom is able to appreciate the value of the forces, which are in

antagonism. His kingdom is not of this world. It is monstrous, when a Missionary usurps the power of a Magistrate, or a Chief, and tries offenders, and sentences them to corporal punishment, imprisonment, or even Death. Within the last ten years this has happened in Africa. In a Patriarchal way he may act as umpire to remove difficulties, or prevent bloodshed: in case of moral offences among his converts he may enforce Church penalties, but he should carefully abstain from personal violence, and personal restraint. It may be a question, whether he is justified in using lethal weapons, or fire-arms, in resisting an invading band: the terrible necessity may sometimes be forced upon him to do so in defence of life, and female honour; but I know of no case, where matters have come to this pass in modern times. As to the spoiling of goods by the tyranny of officials, or petty Chiefs, or the inroads of freebooters, he must take it joyfully. As to avenging the death of a fellow-labourer, or follower, he must not think of it. In many parts of Asia, Africa, and Oceania, he carries his life in his hands, and, if he is not content to do so, he had better leave the field, and go home: he clearly is not the man for such a Mission (see Part III. Essay V.).

Then, again, he must not set himself up as a Reformer, or a Patriot, or a friend of oppressed people against their lawful Rulers. Temperate remonstrance can do much, and his very presence is a safeguard to the people: but, if a Missionary so conducts himself in the territory of an independent Chief, how can we wonder, that the Chief forbids his entry into his kingdom, or ejects him beyond his frontier? (see Part III. Essay IV.). Still more objectionable is his interference with the customs of the people, such as are not obviously contrary to Law, Human and Divine, or his denouncing particular branches of Commerce. The Parent-Society should forbid all such extravagances, and insist upon their Agents rendering unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and fixing their thoughts upon the things of God. Missions are now extending everywhere, and are susceptible of infinite expansion, and, if they are to succeed, they must keep clear of worldly contamination. The Jesuits made themselves last century Priests and Kings, and were exterminated, and detested. I quote the following remarks with regard to China:

In regard to the Missionary question, the Yamên's views are sound and sensible. It recognizes the fact, that by the treaties Missionaries are to be allowed to teach, and they and their converts are guaranteed protection. But it will not submit to Missionaries arrogating to themselves an official *status* and transacting business which ought properly to be dealt with by the Chinese local authorities, nor tolerate their converts making Christianity a cloak to protect them from the consequences of breaking the laws of China.

(See Part III. Essays III. IV. V.)

XVII. Nothing can be more reprehensible, or wicked, than

making Missions a handle for political enterprize. This is the openly avowed, and persistent, practice of the French people for nearly half a century, and so entirely is it a part of their conception, that they impute the same motives to British and American Missionary Societies, who have not the remotest tendency in that direction. It is remarkable that, though in France the Religious Societies are placed under a ban by the Republic, and French Priests are actually expelled from Algeria, yet in all parts of Asia, Africa, and Oceania, the Republican Government makes use of the Missionaries for the purpose of advancing interests, and notably large grants were made to Cardinal Lavigerie on account of his political services in Tunisia. The French Roman Catholic Missionaries everywhere identify the Christian Religion with France. In the Missionary periodical published weekly at Lyons, called the *Missions Catholiques*, so persistently was it imputed to the Governments in Great Britain and the United States, that they made use of the Missionaries of their respective countries to advance their political interests, that in 1882 I addressed the Editor the letter, of which a copy is attached to this paper, but it had no effect, and the generosity of Roman Catholics is still encouraged by impressing upon them, that their contributions will not only assist the spread of the Romish Religion, but check the progress of the Protestant political influences of Great Britain, and the United States of North America. The account of the French Roman Catholic Missions to Oceania lately published is one long tirade against British Protestants, and appeals to French Naval officers to help them with the Arm of the Flesh. As soon as the Priests got a footing in Wallis Island, they persuaded some of the Chiefs to place themselves under the protection of France, and urged them to exclude British heretics (see Part III. Essay III.).

XVIII. There is another practice, which Missionary Societies should not tolerate. I have seen notices of its existence in Missions on both sides of the Atlantic. I allude to the purchase of Negro Boys and Girls by Missionaries in Africa for the best and holiest purposes, and yet the practice has in it the germs of much evil. As long as there is a demand for children, the kidnappers and slave-dealers will find it worth their while to continue the trade. It matters not to them, whether the little girl is to find her way into the Harem, or into the Mission-School; it is a question of so many dollars as purchase-money: it is not likely, that Parents would sell their own children, or tribesmen children of their own tribe. The children must be stolen, and then sold. The Roman Catholics make this part of their system, and glory in it. On Lake Tangányika the Priests had purchased children: the relatives came to claim them, and on refusal

killed the Priests, and it served them right; they call it "Redemption," but it is really "Slave-purchasing," of an insidious character, and it would stain the character of a Protestant Mission, that such a practice could be allowed. Redemption is a term properly applied to the recovery of a wife, a child, or a tribesman, who had been kidnapped, but not to the deliberate purchase by strangers of slaves, who had been kidnapped for the purpose of being sold. The Missionary Societies should never tolerate the use of Slave-labour by their agents, European or Native, as is the unique practice of the Missionaries in Madagascar (see Part II. Essay II.).

XIX. The next point to be noticed, as regards Missionary Societies, is the organization of the *Governing* Body. A large, influential and able Committee of Management is decidedly the best machinery, as it never dies, and is composed of such a diversity of experiences and talents, as leads to good government. If there exist in any community men of wealth, and capacity, able and willing to be the unpaid Secretaries and mouthpieces of the Committee, nothing better can be imagined. It is a noble use of means and talents. As so much Secular work is done gratuitously, Spiritual work should find men ready to give gratuitous service. But oftentimes the material for an efficient Committee is wanting, and still oftener is it necessary to secure the services of efficient Secretaries by providing a Salary. Two courses are then open to the Constituency, which furnishes the funds. They can entrust the executive power of the Mission to able, high-minded, and pious men, and constitute them "Paid Directors," responsible only to the Constituency, or they can appoint the same type of men to be "Paid Secretaries," to carry out the decision of the governing Committee. Both these methods have their peculiar advantages, and counterbalancing disadvantages. Under a Directorship there is a more defined policy, a more efficient control, a great economy of time; but death and decay of faculties, and the human infirmities of overbearingness and egoism, have to be reckoned upon. A Committee, on the other hand, never dies, and there is no room for the two faults above quoted in a free republic, where all are equal: on the other hand, there is waste of time in profitless discussion, vacillation of purpose, laxity of control, and sometimes the Secretaries attempt, and succeed in their attempt, to wield the power of the Director, without the responsibility, and this has none of the advantages, and all the demerits, of both systems. A large discretion of disposing business of a purely formal kind should be left to the Secretary in charge of a particular branch of business, reporting the same at the next Committee, but not to the Secretaries collectively, who cannot be recognized as a Cabinet of Secretaries of State. Let me say

a word of commendation of Missionary Society-Committees. I have been for more than forty years a witness, and a studier, of the conduct of human affairs, but I never realized such purity of motive, such simplicity of conduct, and on the whole such practical wisdom, as is found in such a body. There is always a feeling of tenderness, almost too sentimental, on the part of a Committee towards their Missionaries: on the other hand, the wild complaints, and often unreasonable requests, of the Missionary, which would distress a Director, roll up like the waves of the Atlantic against the impersonal Committee, and go off in noise. The Missionary would no doubt prefer leaving the direction of his affairs in the hands of a Committee rather than be at the mercy of a Director. Committees ought to consist both of ordained and lay members, and their duties should be divided: the control of the finance should be left exclusively to the lay members, while the selection of candidates for employment should be reserved to the ordained members. Neither members of Committee, nor Secretary, should take to heart the fact, that their proposal is not accepted by a majority. Their doing so indicates great arrogance, or weakness of character: the very object of a Committee is to get the opinion of many, not of one. It is not just, that the entire control of a great National Society should be vested in the residents of the Capital city. The members of the Society, resident in the country, should be represented by delegates, elected periodically, for certain areas, or jurisdictions: it is better to have the objections of our friends before a decision is arrived at, than their remonstrances after the decision. The Members of the Committee receive no fee or profit, but they bring home to themselves an exceeding great reward: they never enter the Committee-Room without the feeling of gratitude, that they are allowed to serve their Master in this way, and they never leave it also without a feeling of renewed blessing: by attending there they make sweet friendships, profitable to their souls: the work becomes the joy of their lives. Within the four walls they feel, that the Divine Presence, invoked by Prayer, calms, consoles, and sanctifies, their spirits: it is well for them to be there: the Banker, Lawyer, and Merchant, in full business, for the time forgets the duties of his life, and rises to a higher life. Retired Soldiers, and Statesmen, are gladdened in their hearts to think, that in return for the preservation of their lives in perils and sickness, they can still do something for their Lord, who has led them marvellously from youth to old age, and even to the verge of the grave: on the walls of the Committee-Room hang the portraits of those, who have gone before; and each of them, while fearlessly expressing his opinion, and doing his duty,

cheerfully looks forward to the time, when the chairs will be occupied by a younger generation, differing perhaps in some things, but resembling their predecessors in their love for their Work, and their Saviour, whose message they have striven to convey to a dying world.

XX. Still more difficult is the relationship of the Parent-Committee to the Local Conference, Committee, or Council, and those who compose it. In some Missionary Societies the Parent-Committee exercises a despotic, and often injudicious, rule: on the other hand, I have met Missionaries in the Field, who stated that they allowed the Parent-Committee no power of interference. Their duty, according to my informant, was to supply Money and Men, and leave everything else to those, who, being out in the Field, knew best. Thus, in some cases the Bishop in his Diocese, the Presbytery, or the Mission-Conference, settle everything, and, if attempts were made to draw the reins tight, would break away into separate organizations. No doubt there is the greatest safety in the middle course: those, who hold the Purse-strings, sooner or later, must have the control. But a wise policy suggests great liberty to the local bodies within certain rules. The necessity of preparing an annual budget of expenditure will always remind the Local Committee of their helplessness in a death-struggle, unless they have a strong home party behind them. I cannot think it wise in the Parent-Committee to depute a Secretary, or Inspector, to visit the Missions. It creates often a bad feeling. If particular information of affairs in any Field is required, it is better to send for one of the brethren, as a delegate from the Local Committee. For some critical emergency it may be necessary, and justifiable, but not otherwise. The Missionaries are able and honourable men, and require no such Inspection, or Visitation, from one, who has no local experience. In secular matters, for instance the Civil Government of British India, the high officials, who manage the Districts, or Provinces, would not tolerate the personal Inspection of their work by a Secretary from the India Office, or even from the Viceroy. The Committee, as representatives of the Society, should appoint and remove its own Missionaries, at its own will and pleasure: it should keep its Missionaries under control, a sympathetic, indulgent, loving control: it should allow of no interference either from the Bishops in the Provinces, or the Mission-Board at home (see Part III. Essay II.). The Parent-Committee should strive to maintain towards their Agents, ordained or lay, male, or female, the closest, tenderest, and most sympathetic relations, being as a Parent to them; placing the most favourable construction upon all, that they do; sustaining them, when cast down and afflicted,

yet not afraid to admonish and censure, when the case requires. The Parent-Committee should be determined to have its orders obeyed not for their own self-will's sake, *but for the Lord's work committed to their charge*. If each Missionary, or cluster of Missionaries, is to have his own way on great principles, let the Parent-Committee be dissolved, and a Banker appointed to send out the money to the Field: there is no middle course. A deceased Bishop, of High Church views, and a loving, wise, and experienced, man, has left us in his Life the following remarks:

Above all let us have sympathy, and let the Missionary feel, that he is treated as an equal by the Committee, and the Secretaries: let us copy the *Church Missionary Society in its personal devoutness, and spiritual sympathy*.

I thank you, dear Bishop, for those words! They strike the true note. The Missionary is more than the equal of the Parent-Committee; he is the joy, the pride, the hope, and the consolation, of those, who send him out, who indeed are abashed, when they read of human and moral failures, and filled with holy joy, when they read of Divine blessings, whether evidenced in outward success, or holy deaths, and trials suffered patiently. When Cardinal Lavigerie sends out his Missionaries to Africa, they are assembled for valediction in his Cathedral, and the Cardinal, and the Bishops, and all the Clergy, old and young, kneel down, and kiss the feet of the young Missionary, symbolizing the Scripture-text:

How beautiful are the feet of them, that preach the Gospel of peace, and bring glad tidings of good things!

Protestant Committees indulge in no such extravagances, but their spirit is correctly represented by such outward symbols. Be it recollected, that the Lay Committee, though not clothed in ecclesiastical costume, consists of Spiritual men in the highest sense: the manner of conducting business makes such a powerful impression on the heart, that the same man, when he takes his place on the Council of a Scientific Society, the Bench of Magistrates, the Board of Guardians of the Poor, or the Committee of the Hospital, feels that something is wanting, when business is commenced without prayer for guidance: for he wishes to be taught of the Spirit in all things, and in every relation of life, and his heart goes up to God for help and direction. Such is the lesson, which he has acquired, and made his own, after contact with holy men in the Lay Committee-Room of a Missionary Society.

XXI. Let me now notice the relation of one Missionary Society to another of the same or different Denominations. The non-Christian world is, and will long remain, large enough for the efforts of all the Churches: but by the Comity of Protestant Missions, except in the case of exceedingly large cities, which are worlds in themselves, intrusion into the Field,

occupied by another Society, is condemned, and should be avoided. It is true, that the ordained and superior agents of all Denominations would meet in entire harmony, but the Native agents, the congregations, and the adherents, would find ground for rivalry, detraction, and animosity. Seceders, or parties expelled from one fold, would try to be admitted into the other, and thus bad feelings, and grievances, real or imaginary, would be generated. It is wrong in the members of one denomination saying in an off-hand way, that the World is their Parish. It is neither wise, nor courteous, nor Christian-like, nor conducive to the success of the Work, to intrude into the Mission-Field of a Sister-Society. A Missionary should be very careful in admitting into his flock seceders from the flock of another denomination, and still more careful in employing Native agents, who have been discharged from, or have closed their connection with other bodies. When a native has been ordained, as a Minister, in one denomination, it appears extremely undesirable to confer orders upon him in another, without the fullest knowledge, and, if possible, consent of his previous friends. A Mission-Field should be compact, and the Stations should support each other. The Committee should not allow their Agents in the Field to settle this matter: it is one of high policy. The front and the flanks should not be unreasonably, or dangerously, extended in deference to caprice, or false sentiment. Supervision is of the utmost importance, mutual support, and friendly intercourse.

XXII. It is very injudicious of a new Society to crowd into a Region like Japan, already fully occupied by other Societies, just for the sake of the honour and glory of having a man, or a small Mission, in a great Field. It would be well, if, in a town with a population under 15,000, only one denomination should settle; but such occupation should be *bond fide*, not that of a dog in the manger. If Missionary Societies really care for the non-Christian world, they will sink their own home-differences as out of place in the presence of Paganism and Mahometanism. There is reason to anticipate the entire disappearance of denominationalism in Native Churches, as each National Church has the prescriptive right to choose its own form. It would be amusing, were the matter not so serious, to read the strictures of one denomination on the practice of the other: their remarks are no doubt meant for an inner circle of narrow-minded friends, who see no path of Salvation save their own, but being in print, they are read with a sigh, or a smile, by all.

XXIII. Civilization is the *incidental*, not the primary, object of a Mission. It is wrong to expect, that civilization must precede evangelization: it may accompany it. Christianity can adapt itself to every phase, and epoch, of Human Culture. Civilization

may possibly choke the good seed, and retard Gospel-teaching. The Missionary should place before his eyes as the model, which he aims at, *not* the British, or New England, village, with all its surroundings of European culture, but the villages of Palestine, such as they were, when our Lord passed through them. Nothing is so bad as to turn a Negro into a Pseudo-Englishman. What has a particular stage of Human Culture to do with the Everlasting Gospel ?

XXIV. It is very undesirable, that a Missionary Society, which collects its funds to convert the non-Christian world, should allow its agents to waste their time in proselyting the members of the Oriental Churches, on the ground, that their form of Christianity is dead or imperfect. It is sufficient, that members of those Churches should be permitted to attend the Schools, and Churches, of the Mission, if they are so inclined, but no effort should be made to entice them, retain them, or, with rare exceptions, to employ them. The appearance of a renegade Priest from his own Church is not calculated to advance the character of the Protestant Mission, and it is probable, that a man, who had been false to one Church, would be false to another : the eternal law of doing unto others, as you would wish men to do unto you, should govern the action of Missionaries, as well as ordinary men. Loud would be the complaints, if the Roman Catholics decoyed away a promising Protestant Minister, and turned him into a Priest.

XXV. As the Roman Catholic organs have openly announced the policy of arming African converts, to resist their lawful Sovereigns, and everybody else, whom they choose to oppose, it is as well to state, that such a line of conduct is totally opposed to the principles, upon which Protestant Missions are conducted, and must end in grievous trouble (see Part III. Essay V.).

XXVI. It is exceedingly unadvisable on the part of a Missionary Society to make a permanent endowment to a College, or Bishop, unless the entire control of the former, and the selection of the latter, is reserved to the Committee : and even then it had better be avoided.

XXVII. Beware of setting up your own Society in the place of Christ, and doing worship, and sacrifice, to your own net, and bringing incense to your own drag : if the Lord's work is accomplished, what matter by whom it is done ! If the Lord's work can only be accomplished by the death of a Missionary, and the destruction of a Society, be it so : it was a means to an end : let that end be accomplished !

XXVIII. It is a low taste to exhibit the idols of the Pagan, and the Statues of Buddha, to the scoffings of uneducated men, and the laughter of children : we do not so treat the remains of the beautiful ideals of Greek and Roman worship : but both the

one and other teach us, how man in his unconverted state feels after God, and of the danger of committing spiritual beliefs to material forms. When a new irruption of Goths destroys London, and St. Paul's, the Reredos will be destroyed, but the Gospel Truth will survive all earthly changes (see Part III. Essay VI.).

XXIX. The income of the Society should be jealously guarded against

1. Undue tenderness to favourites.
2. Waste.
3. Muddling.
4. The evils of delay in rendition of accounts.

It is no derogation to a good minister of Spiritual things to be a good steward of things necessary for maintenance of life, efficiency, and good order. It is shocking to read of defalcations of money on the death of the Secretary of a Religious Society. Professional auditors should always be employed, not three old gentlemen without experience. The Committee should retain unfettered control of every shilling in its coffers, and not allow its supporters to force its hands by conditional contributions: it may accept distinct Trusts for approved purposes. Every shilling collected by its agents, whether at Home, or in the Field, should be brought to book, and spent with due economy.

XXX. When the Lord assigns to a Society a certain income, it is because, that it is all, that He deems, that the Society can properly spend. He speaks by years of Drought, as well as years of Plenty, by Seasons of Abundance, as well as by Seasons of Retrenchment. Both are blessings in disguise. He is often quoted as sending "open doors," but, unless He sends the means also, the message is not clear, and, when he sends "a closed door," the Committee should accept it, without appealing to the Arm of the Flesh (see Part III. Essay V.). He sent ravens to Elijah, but He also filled their *beaks with food* to feed the Prophet. The cruze of oil did not fail, but the supply was limited to the legitimate expenditure of the widow, not to encourage her *to increased outlay beyond her actual wants*. He expects us to serve Him to the utmost of our Talents, whatever He may have lent to us, but *not beyond our Talents*. It is un wisdom, as well as a want of appreciation of the teaching of events, to be sending out repeated special appeals for funds, and calling for fresh supplies, instead of making the most economical possible use of funds already supplied. Sums collected in pennies are often heedlessly wasted. Those, who support Missions, have a right to insist upon the most rigid economy. It is not, because a Society is large and rich, that it should waste its resources.

XXXI. The Publications of Missionary Societies are conducted on both sides of the Atlantic with remarkable ability. They

consist no longer of goodie-goodie stories, or dry facts, but kaleidoscopic pictures of the manners, and customs, the material, and Spiritual, thoughts of all the non-Christian Nations in the world. Such a disclosure of the mysteries of Human Life was never made before; but these Publications should be made self-supporting, and could be made so. The narrow-mindedness of the different Sections of the religious world should be corrected by each Society devoting two pages of every issue to Notes of the Wide Field, as well as their own Little Vineyard. Many good souls believe, that their petty denomination is the only one, that has Missions at all, for, as they naïvely remark, *they never heard of any other*; but God is glorified by the work of *all* His children, and more especially the Missionaries of each denomination should be informed up to date of the work of their dear brethren scattered over the world. What a poor conception they must have of the Communion of the Saints, when they shut their eyes to every ray of light, but the one, which comes through their particular lens!

XXXII. Great restraint should be maintained on the Platform, and in the Pulpit, not only not to say what is not true, but to abstain from uttering sheer nonsense. There may be said to be three objects:

1. To stimulate.
2. To inform.
3. To take counsel.

But in no possible case to talk twaddle, repeat common-place expressions, or air Quixotic notions. And how culpable are those, who encourage their relations, or friends in a country town, to pass frothy resolutions calling for expeditions, and annexations, and Protectorates, and "Jingo" generally! Is the Gospel of Christ to be preached by such methods? We are a great, strong, self-asserting, arrogant Nation; let us restrict those national qualities to our Commercial and Political transactions, and conduct our Mission-work, as simple Christians: we can expect no blessings on Gospel-teaching, when in close contact with Calico-bales, and Rifles, not to say tons of Liquor, cases of firearms, and barrels of gunpowder.

XXXIII. Too much time and money should not be wasted in sensational gatherings under domes of Cathedrals, or in great Assembly-Halls, listening to Visions, and Rhetorical figures, of excited Preachers, or still more excited Platform-orators. Such vain demonstrations will soon develope into processions, and other eccentricities, for the passion, or rage, is advancing year by year. The work of conducting Missions is a very serious one, and the words "Ora et labora" seem to cover the whole ground: this was the method, adopted by the founders of our great Societies: it is not, that they had less piety, or love for prayer, but they

wore it less on their sleeve: it was well said by an old friend of Missions, that :

If the walls of some Committee-Rooms could speak, they would tell, how discussions were often stopped, while the Committee knelt down and prayed over difficulties that were perplexing them. All their deliberations were conducted in a spirit of weighty and dependent prayer.

This spreading out the letter full of anxiety before the Lord, and praying over it in the room, where His work was being carried on, was something very different from the issue of thousands of tickets, and the setting in motion of hundreds of vehicles, and the bringing together crowds of women and men, who would have been more profitably employed working in their own homes, or worshipping in their own Churches.

XXXIV. Let me add one more solemn warning. I have been employed from my youth in affairs of State, annexations, conquests, war, and administration. I know what it is: the untravelled gentleman of the Committee-Room, and the City-Minister, *do not*. Let no sane man be anxious for Spheres of British or German Influence, for British or German Protectorates, for British or German Annexations (see Part III. Essay V.). Let them reflect upon the amount of liquor imported under these precious arrangements: let them read what happened to the tribes of the Kamerúns, a short time after their annexation to German Rule, and the expulsion of the British Baptists: the bombardment of Native villages, the burning down of Native houses, and killing of Native women and children. Let them think, how much the Barmese must value the blessings of British Annexation, when I read in the *Times* of July 30, 1888, the following proclamation :

' The Chief Commissioner concluded by threatening severe consequences to all, who persisted in disloyal and disorderly courses, saying: You will be hung or sent to prison across the seas, your land and your property will be seized and given to others, and your wives and children will have to beg their bread. This is your last opportunity of saving yourselves. Turn now, and give assistance to the Government.

The Karén tribes are alluded to as being in rebellion against the unwarrantable invasion by European strangers of their country. Do these surroundings promise a happy field for the work of the quiet Missionary? Would Adoniram Judson have done what he and his colleagues did in times past in such environments?

APPENDIX. PARAGRAPH XVII.

CHER ET TRÈS RÉVÉREND MONSIEUR,—Il y a longtemps que je m'occupe, et m'intéresse à la lecture de votre bon hebdomadaire les *Missions Catholiques*, et je suis profondément touché de la libéralité de vos croyants, de la grandeur de vos récits, et du dévouement des apôtres de l'Eglise Romaine. Je désire vous

amener à une sainte rivalité par rapport aux contributions Anglaises au service des Missions. C'est dans le mois de Mai que nous tenons nos réunions chaque année, et que nous publions nos rapports annuels. L'Angleterre donne non-seulement de l'argent, qui ne compte pour rien aux yeux de Dieu, mais elle donne des âmes dévouées, des intelligences supérieures, et imprime une vigueur pratique à la grande œuvre. Elle croit que le bon Dieu n'a pas donné à la race Anglo-Saxonne une extension si prodigieuse sur la terre, seulement pour le commerce, la colonisation, ou la gloire mondaine, mais pour qu'elle soit l'ambassadrice spéciale de Dieu, aux Païens et aux Mahométans. Permettez moi avec toute humilité de corriger une espèce de malentendu, qui quelquefois me frappe dans les intéressants rapports des apôtres Français. I. Les gouvernements Anglais, et Américains, ne se mêlent jamais dans l'œuvre de la propagation de la Foi, et vous pouvez être sûr, que ni gouverneur de province, ni ambassadeur, ni consul, n'a la permission de lever la main, ou d'ouvrir la bouche, pour, ou contre, une dénomination chrétienne, quelle qu'elle soit. Il existe dans le système gouvernemental des deux puissances Anglo-Saxonnes en Europe, et dans l'Amérique du Nord, un principe, c'est que la liberté religieuse consiste non-seulement à donner un libre cours aux prédicateurs de toute religion dans chaque pays, mais à s'abstenir, comme Gallio dans le temps de l'Apôtre Saint Paul, de se mêler aux affaires des Missionnaires, soit par force, par intrigue, ou par influence morale ou physique, "Magna est veritas et prævalebit," mais le temps, la manière, et l'occasion viennent de Dieu. II. Dans les Provinces sujettes à la Couronne de la Reine, et dans les colonies du peuple Anglais, il existe une impartialité absolue devant la loi, et une tolérance complète devant Dieu et devant les hommes. J'ai occupé dans les Indes Orientales, pendant vingt-cinq ans, un poste élevé, et je suis à même d'affirmer l'exactitude de mes paroles, et les Missions Catholiques donnent quelquefois, comme par hasard, des preuves éclatantes de la simple et mâle loyauté des serviteurs de l'Etat. Bien que protestants de cœur, nous nous rappelons, que notre raison d'être n'existe que dans une tolérance bienveillante, et sympathique aux Missionnaires de l'Eglise de Rome. Quoique toutes les Congrégations Anglicaines soient nationales, et que dans toutes nos opérations nous ayons un isolement insulaire, qui quelquefois est extravagant, nos efforts à évangéliser la terre n'ont aucun rapport avec notre position politique. Les Missionnaires français dans leurs rapports parlent toujours de la France, de l'influence Française et de ses droits ; on dirait que l'Eglise de Rome est l'héritage direct de la France, ce qui n'est pas, car l'Eglise de Rome est universelle. Dans les comptes-rendus Anglais, vous ne trouvez pas de telles expressions, parce que nous savons, que le Royaume de Jésus n'est pas de ce monde, et que nous espérons qu'après la chute de l'Angleterre l'Eglise Chrétienne restera debout, dans les endroits où nous l'avons placée, comme un témoignage de ce que dans une époque de matérialisme et d'infidélité, le cœur de l'Angleterre fut fixé sur la religion. Nous croyons dans l'avenir, ce sera notre plus grande gloire d'avoir répandu la vérité chrétienne par toute la terre et d'avoir introduit une copie de la Sainte Ecriture dans le dialecte connu de chaque nation civilisée, et de chaque tribu barbare. Je veux aussi, Cher Monsieur, vous rappeler qu'à cette époque un certain tribut de respect est dû au Pouvoir Anglais, qui seul en Europe, offre à tous une hospitalité bienveillante, une protection illimitée, une liberté entière d'actions et de paroles, liberté, que nul autre des grands Pouvoirs Europeens ne veut concéder, et que la France même, bien que républicaine, a refusée à ses propres enfants. Agréez, je vous prie, Cher Monsieur, avec tous mes respects, l'expression de mon sincère dévouement.— ROBERT CUST, 64, St. George's Square, Londres, 15 Août, 1882.—A Monsieur Le Redacteur des *Missions Catholiques*, Lyon, France.

OBSERVATIONS AND REFLECTIONS ON MISSIONARY SOCIETIES.

CHAPTER II.—MISSIONARIES AND THE FIELD.

I. I now turn from the subject of Missionary Societies to that of the Missionaries: they are of various kinds.

- A. Male.
- B. Female.
- And again (1) Ordained.
- (2) Lay.
- (3) Educational.
- (4) Medical.
- (5) Native.

So much has been written on the subject of the Female Missionary, the Educational Missionary, and the Medical Missionary, that I have nothing to add or bring together: their status has been considered, and, except so far as my remarks apply to all Missionaries, I shall not notice them. There remains the Ordained, and Lay Missionary, and the Native.

II. My first suggestion is, that over every Mission some kind of Head-Pastor is absolutely necessary: the time has passed for placing the old and tried agent on the same level with the inexperienced youth; the gifted man, and the man of power, on the same level with the ordinary hewer of wood. All experience shows, that in each Mission there must be some kind of organization, some defined plan of operations, a certain grouping in centres, and detachment at outposts, a certain combination of different qualifications, a certain diversity of ministrations, and, unless there is a ruling spirit, and a governing wheel, the end must be, and in reality is, loss of power, or confusion. The leader need not necessarily be the oldest, but the ablest, one who has had the peculiar Grace of Rule conferred upon him. We find it in things secular, and, we know, that it has not been wanting in things religious.

III. I confess, that I feel objections to some unpaid agents, those free lances, who do just what they like, go where they like, and make the fact of their warring at their own charges an excuse for conducting the war on their own method, and flinging it up at their own fancy. I would insist on all agents being on the same footing as regards discipline: if any one has abundance, he can find plenty of opportunity of advancing the Mission-work by his bounty, but he must not arrogate to himself a status, differing from that of his fellows, because he has a few hundreds of Pounds at his disposal. In some Missionary Societies we hear of the boast, that their agents receive no sort of remuneration: if this implies, that they war at their own charges, the objections stated above apply to the system: but generally the point is different. In some Missions all the Missionaries in each Station dwell together, as in a College, and the necessity of a separate establishment for each does not arise: allowances are made for their clothes, if wanted. Now, where subsistence money is provided, the amount is calculated on the necessity of a bare subsistence only, and such decent comforts, as will preserve the Missionary's health, and calm of mind. It is difficult to see the difference. Besides, the real question is, Has the man the Missionary Spirit? If he has, it matters not, how he is maintained, whether by a common, or a separate, fund. If he has no private resources, he must be supported in some way or other. It is impossible at this period, that he should maintain his life by a trade, as St. Paul did, though he did not enforce this practice on others. And, if the Apostle in his great humility did indeed lend himself to the making of tents, that he might not be burdensome to those, who entertained him, as he had no subsistence-allowance from a great Society, he did not burnish arms to please the Roman Prætor, or weave garments for the Corinthian women. If report is true, some Christian Missionaries have condescended to strange forms of manual labour, and been flippantly described, as useful artizans. And in Mission-life there must be a great scattering of the Agents: perhaps two or three will be grouped together, and they must be sustained, and it seems far better, that they should have fixed subsistence-allowances, paid from the Common Fund: if they are wealthy, they can throw their gifts into that fund. They should abstain from mixing up their personal expenditure with the accounts of the Society, and should make no promiscuous drawings on the General Fund.

IV. The great object of the Society should be to secure men of the same social status, and the same stamp of Education, as the Clergy at home. The profession of the Missionary is the noblest and the holiest, the most courageous, and the most blessed: but by becoming Missionaries they should not divest themselves of the feelings and duties of their class: they should

not allow themselves from zeal or carelessness, or contempt of worldly wisdom, to do what honest gentlemen would shun to do, *e.g.* spend money, which is not at their disposal to spend, or upon purposes, to which the money is not allocated, let their accounts get into confusion, and set a bad example to their flock. This has occurred. A good steward is faithful in little things.

V. The difficulty of mastering the language is always to be reckoned with, and this, in fact, fixes the Field of each Missionary for life. It has amused me to hear from a Missionary confidentially, that the language, which he has acquired, is the most difficult of all languages. This assertion is sometimes made with regard to the great literary language of Arabic, sometimes with regard to the multiform, yet highly cultivated, Chinese, and sometimes with regard to the wholly illiterate and uncultured languages of Africa. As no living man has tried to master all three, the degree of difficulty may be hard to determine ; but it may be laid down, that in one year with ordinary application any language can be acquired : and, unless it be acquired, the Missionary is a dumb dog : the idea of preaching the Gospel through an interpreter, or in a mongrel Coast-Patois, such as the low class of traders use, is revolting. It is impossible for me to acquiesce in the practice of teaching in Schools, and Colleges in any other than the Vernacular of the Students. The policy of throwing upon the Students the burden of acquiring a new language, which the Professors avoid, is questionable. I mistrust those Societies, in which the agents are not compelled to acquire the Vernaculars ; any departure from this absolute rule is not to the permanent advantage of the Mission. No Secular Government would tolerate any breach of this Rule in its servants, if it cared for the weal of the people. It is a mere burlesque of a Mission, where this step is not taken. A man or woman can care but little for the Souls of the Heathen, when he will not trouble himself to understand their words, and let them understand his. All Missionaries go out young, and the greater portion have that Educational training, which implies the study of one or more foreign languages. I think poorly of the man, who shirks this obvious duty. It shows a want of self-consecration. I heard the other day a Bishop, who did not choose to acquire the Vernacular, dilate on the advantage of speaking through an Interpreter, and the English Clergy, who went out on a winter's tour to India, talk in the same way : they were satisfied, but how about the people ? There is an old story of a fox, which had lost its tail, abusing tails generally, and recommending other foxes to cut theirs off.

VI. The Society should treat its Missionaries, as a wise Government treats its soldiers in a foreign campaign, and some-

thing more. In these days of heroic Missions care should be taken to alleviate the danger, and the risk, and the hardship, and the suffering, by every human appliance of Art and Science. Nothing is so useless as a sick Missionary: nothing so sad as a dead one, if his precious life could have been preserved by human forethought. It is false economy, it is wickedness, not to make provision, which will anticipate sufferings. There is much sense in Henry Stanley's remarks, the comments on which in a religious periodical I quote :

We trust the Committee will give due attention to the suggestions of Mr. Stanley, and warn, and instruct the young men they send out to temper zeal with discretion, and to work prudently, that they may live to work for many years. Missionaries are commissioned to evangelize the world, and *to do this they must live*. We think a Missionary in his grave is worth more than Mr. Stanley apparently imagined ; but he is unquestionably worth much more to the world alive than dead, and, therefore, we trust that all possible care will be taken to preserve the precious lives of the young brethren.

The question of subsistence-allowances, pensions, provision for children and widows, should be approached in a wise and fatherly spirit. The Missionary agent should be freed from worldly anxiety: he does not desire profit, or savings, like a worldling, but he must be made to feel, that those, whom he loves, will be provided for: he is ready to undergo peril by land and by sea, to suffer hardship like a good soldier, but he should not be cut off from proper sustenance of every kind. Many have sunk under rude trials, which might have been avoided, or have had to fly for their lives. The Parent-Committee is to blame, when any precaution is neglected. Those, who take out a large party of men, women, and children, into a foreign country and deadly climate, without a certain provision of money, and reasonable comforts, are to be heavily condemned. It is mere waste of time to discuss the comparative advantage of the Roman Catholic, and Protestant, systems, and to answer the sneers on the great expense of widows and children, which our system obviates. I am not one, who does not admit the great devotion of the Roman Catholic celibates, both male and female ; and the great simplicity and economy, as well as purity, of their lives. The answer is sufficient, that the Protestant Church will not allow any restriction on natural liberty not based on Scripture. Still, early marriages are to be deprecated. The young public servant in India does not marry directly he lands in the country, and yet lives a holy life: he waits until he has learnt his duty, and mastered the language by living among the people. Why should not young Missionaries exert the same measure of self-denial ? An engagement to marry, made before even the Missionary is accepted, throws a doubt upon his motives. It shows an absence of self-consecration. In Africa the Missionary must return home at short and stated periods, as the best chance

of preserving his life : in India, China, and other places this is not necessary, but he should return after more than ten years : these intervals should be utilized by the Missionary to perfect his knowledge on particular subjects. Health may compel earlier return, but the health of a Missionary's wife or child should never be allowed to be a reason for his leaving his post. The servants of the State habitually send home their wives and children under suitable escort, and widows in bad health are constantly coming home : the Committee should sternly resist the tendency of men to place the health of their wives above their sacred duties. Our Lord and St. Paul have spoken clearly on this subject. That a Missionary should resign his high office, because his wife is unable to go back with him, is a lamentable instance of the decay of fibre in the Missionaries of modern times. How many Governors, and Generals, go out alone to serve an Earthly Sovereign ? Is the Soldier of Christ not to endure hardship ?

On the other hand, the sending out of young women to Africa, merely to die, is a cruelty, which cannot be too severely condemned. How many young wives lie buried in Africa, valuable lives needlessly thrown away ! The African Mission is a Campaign, and Soldiers do not take their wives on a Campaign. I have steadily, but fruitlessly, resisted this weakness for many years, and have seen a succession of young wives pass from the Committee-Room into African graves. The really offensive suggestion, that a Missionary in Africa must be married, should not be entertained. Those, who have made moral lapses, have all been widowers, or married men. We must look this matter firmly in the face, and the example of Missions in Africa, where all the agents are single, should be followed, except in those stations, where a Christian community requires the care of a Woman Missionary. I have letters from a Missionary in the Field, supporting my views, and stating distinctly, that, until a Mission has attained a certain stage of advance, the presence of married women is a decided drawback to the Lord's work. I earnestly hope, that Committees will give this subject careful consideration.

VII. In return for the care taken of him, the Missionary should render obedience, not the slavish obedience of the Jesuit Priest, but the ready, and self-forgetting submission of the Christian Soldier. In Secular Matters, when an order is received by a subordinate officer, he can temperately remonstrate, but if the order is confirmed, he renders instant and complete obedience. What a contrast is found in the conduct of some self-willed and egotistic individuals, who forget the cause of their work in Self, who forget to practise the precepts of the Gospel, which they preach !

VIII. Still more reprehensible is the conduct of those

Missionaries, who are misguided enough to rebel against those who sent them out, and to turn the resources, which were entrusted to them, against the Parent-Committee. Several cases have lately occurred, of a character, which a Merchant, a public official, or a secular servant, could never have done, and which nevertheless a Christian ordained Missionary justifies himself in doing. If his views upon some theological point undergo a change, his duty is clear, to resign his connection with the Society, with whose principles he is no longer in accord. Instead of that, I have known cases, where the Missionary threw off his allegiance, claimed the souls of the Converts as his own private property, and, in defiance of all honour, all Christian duty, attempted to found a rival Mission, and carry on a work in antagonism to the Parent-Committee, which selected him, equipped him, supported him, and to whom he promised obedience. In the case of a tribe of considerable numbers, and a low state of culture, bloodshed might be the consequence. These are no imaginary or trifling cases. They have occurred in Asia and America.

IX. It goes, as it were, without saying, that the Missionary should profess, and, as far as his weak human nature permits him, act up to the very highest possible standard of Morality in everything and to everybody. The lamentable failures of the most ordinary and vulgar laws of Morality, that have occurred lately, is appalling. In some Missions he has to live among people of a very low culture: he has to address men and women partially, if not entirely, naked, and yet they are not Savages: they have an unwritten Code of Morality, though an imperfect one. A Missionary, who had been seven years among the races of the Kongo, remarked to me, that he had never met a *Savage*: they were capable of appreciating the exercise of the great cardinal virtues, and of being influenced by the sincere, unselfish, pure, strong, and yet gentle, character of their white teacher. It is shocking to hear and read of the tone of the Missionaries as regards their native brethren in some Missions in Africa: some of them seem to loathe and hate the Natives; and yet the Son of God did not disdain to take upon Himself the form of a servant for the purpose of saving mankind: how then can the Missionary disdain to speak, feel, and live, as the people of the country, to whom he is sent, if by so doing he can save them? Take the extreme case of the distance between the European and the Negro: how little, how absolutely nothing it appears, when contrasted with the distance betwixt our Lord and His disciples! Love can never be generated, if such intimacy be not formed, if there is evidenced by the Missionary the most unjustifiable Pride, and Caste, and Contempt. Even in secular matters the value of a Public Officer amidst a subject People is estimated by

the degree, to which he is loved and respected by them, and that love and respect is only purchased by Intimacy and Sympathy.

X. Still more reprehensible is the practice of the Missionary insulting the religious convictions of his audience. How different is the tone adopted by St. Paul in his address on Mars' Hill at Athens! I rejoice to say, that this error is diminishing, and in some Fields it never existed. Hear the repentant words of an old Missionary, a true servant of God:

It was inwardly manifest to me, that for some time past I have attacked the heathen customs and superstitions of the Wa-Nika too fiercely, the sight of the abominations moving me to indignation, and a feeling, that I ought to preach more the love of the Redeemer for his sheep, lost, or gone astray or taken captive by Satan. I must show more compassion, and my words must be more filled with pity. It is not the gifts, nor the works, nor the words, nor the prayers, that convert, but the Lord Jesus only.

I myself forty years ago heard an American Missionary in an Indian Bazaar telling his audience, that their God was Cowdung: he meant it as an insult: as a fact they saw no offence in it, as the Cow, and all connected with it, is sacred to them. Still worse were the recorded expressions of a Scotch Missionary to his audience, that Christianity was the perfection of Wisdom, and was accepted as such by the wisest and best in Europe, and that therefore every other Religion must be false, a deception, and a sham. Would such arguments convince either the learned, or the ignorant, the thoughtful or the thoughtless? Is it not more calculated to provoke antagonism, or even excite tumult? Hear the evidence of another old Missionary in India:

I confess that in the beginning of my work I thought, that the exhibition of Gospel-truths was sufficient to make an impression on the native mind, and hence, whenever anything like Hindu doctrine was brought before us in conversation with the natives, through an ill-directed zeal I was peremptory in condemning the whole without discrimination: this was an error: by such zeal we do, I am persuaded, more harm than good. Asiatics will not be prepared to receive the truth from any one, who haughtily and peremptorily cries down everything in their books, and so long as we show, that we are ignorant of their literature, they mistrust the correctness of our doctrine.

Besides, in all religions there is a substratum of Truth: why knock your head against adamant Truth? Go back with them to the basis of their convictions, until common ground is reached. Few will deny the existence of God, the immortality of the Soul, and the future Judgment: all will admit, that Sin exists in the world: bring these truths home, and show them the better way.

XI. More dangerous even in its consequences is the erection of Chapels or Schools in unsuitable places, close to the Temple of the Heathen, or the Mosque of the Mahometan. We boast of our Tolerance in London, but would an English mob tolerate the erection of a Mosque, and the daily Calling to Prayer from

a Minaret, under the shadow of Westminster Abbey? In the whole length of British India the Missionaries have been singularly discreet, and have their reward in well-earned popularity. I once had to order the demolition of a Chapel, built by an ill-judging Missionary actually on the edge of a Sacred Tank, which was a grave outrage to the peaceful inhabitants of a large town. Still worse was the proceeding of a Missionary in China, who established himself upon a hill, which was held in sanctity by the people, and made a grievance, when compelled to do unto others what he desired that men should do unto him. The Roman Catholic Missionaries keep the French Minister at Peking in constant hot water with the authorities by their constant appeals to Treaty-Rights. We have heard old, experienced Missionaries rejoice that during their whole career they had never appealed to the Magistrate, or invoked the Arm of the Flesh (see Part III. Essay IV.).

XII. The Missionary should abstain from frothy declamation, and Egoism. Where is boasting? it is excluded: yet that such are the failings of inferior Missionaries, there is no doubt. Hear what that aged and experienced Christian Lord Shaftesbury said at a public meeting in my hearing a few years ago:

I notice, that the reports of the Missionary Societies show a great deal more sense than they used to do. They are not so full of magnificent declamation, or great promises. They state things more accurately, telling their obstacles and difficulties, and they are beginning to come round to this great truth, and the sooner it is known the better, that certainly Missionary Societies are not the great instruments, by which God will convert this world. This is reserved for One higher. It is because Missionary Societies had held out such prodigious expectations, and made such large promises, that the infidels can turn upon us and say, "After all you have said, what have you done?" If we had told them, that our mission was to carry the Gospel to every creature and spread it over the face of the earth, leaving the issue to God, we should have stood a better chance in argument with infidels and gainsayers. I know Missionary Societies don't like to be told this, and, when to-night I said at a Meeting, that we must look chiefly for the grand final consummation of the Second Advent, it was not denied, but was not well received. It will be asked of your Society, What can it do? Well, if it depended on your intellectual and physical strength, very little could be done; but you must remember, that you are engaged in raising up a native agency, and, if you establish the nucleus of that, it is impossible to predict the issue. Our duty is perfectly clear. We are to do our best and leave the issue with God. He will superintend such a work as this, and carry it to a right issue. Our duty is to sow the knowledge of Christ, and do everything we can, so that, when the people of India become an adult nation capable of governing themselves, or desiring to do it, or taking it into their own hands, whether we desire it or not, we may prepare for that day by sowing broadcast the Word of God. Whenever we shall retire from India, do not let it be said, that we have left only in India the traces of Western vice and oppression, but let it be known, that we have sown the seed of Gospel-truth and done all we can to fix that in the hearts of the people, without which no nation can subsist in peace and honour; and in sowing the seed of the Gospel, be sure of this, that we have sown the seed of political morality and domestic virtue.

Hear also what another aged Christian, with a still more intimate knowledge of the idiosyncrasies of men, remarked at a dismissal of Missionaries of his own Society :

Mr. Venn was so infirm (1872) that he could not stand up, but he read an address to the Missionaries : he remarked, that Selfishness and Self-seeking were the bane of Missionary life and work. *My* work, *my* catechists, *my* teachers, *my* converts, *my* pupils, was a language that always pained him. One of his hearers, an old Missionary, now at rest, adds that he could not acquit himself of the charge. Yes, it is the tyrant *Self* that must decrease, before Christ can increase.

I can confirm the truth of Mr. Venn's complaint from my own experience. Whence come wars and fightings among you? Come they not from *Self*? In all my experience I never knew men so opinionated, so thoroughly perverse, and unreasonable, so harsh in their judgment of others, and so wilfully disobedient to orders as some Missionaries. I speak, as a Public Officer who have had to obey, and thus learnt how to command. In India I have known the Magistrate having to interfere to prevent a breach of the peace betwixt two Missionaries quarrelling about their dwelling-house : I have found Members of the same Mission, all noble and God-fearing men, living in total estrangement, with no possible hope of reconciliation. I can point out Stations with only two Missionaries, unable to live together, and as hostile as dogs and cats. Public servants of the State do not act like this, and are spiritual men made of baser clay? Under the Statue of King Henry V. of England at All Souls' College, Oxford, is inscribed : "Conqueror of his Enemies, and of Himself." Under the picture of each Missionary let those blessed words be recorded : "Converter of the Heathen, and of Himself."

XIII. I read, that in China some Protestant Missionaries, following the example of the Roman Catholics, adopt the native garb, and maintain, that the influence of so doing was beneficial. I cannot believe it. No Protestant Missionary in India has ever done so : it is not suggested, that a Missionary in Africa, and his wife, should dispense with garments altogether, according to the custom of the country, or in cold Northern climates adopt the costume of the Eskimo. Surely it is better, that each Nation should adhere to its own habits, its own dress, its own nomenclature, its own manner of food, its own peculiar culture. The Missionary should abstain from introducing among his flock the personal and local names of his distant country. Why not allow the people to use the same names as their non-Christian ancestors. St. Paul has set us this example. Tryphéna, and Tryphósa are not very spiritual names, and yet they were retained. Then the introduction of Bethel, and Bethesda, and such like local names, is open to great objection. Some of our

great Hindu converts, Krishna Mohun Bánérji, Gopi Chand, and Ram Chand, retained their Heathen names, though actually names of their false Gods. Equally objectionable is the practice of urging them to change their costumes, their mode of life, and thus inclosing in an ephemeral, worldly, perishable, husk the eternal, unchangeable, spiritual, kernel of the Gospel. On the other hand, the employment of Native music, and other unobjectionable Native arts, is to be recommended.

XIV. The Missionary should care for the health of himself, and his family. It has cost much to bring him to his post. Disease and death have already too many opportunities: let him not by rash exposure multiply those risks. St. Paul shows a tender care for the health of Timothy. Even in things secular prudence is advisable. Prudence enabled me, and many others, to pass a quarter of a Century in uninterrupted health in India, and return to our native land stronger than our contemporaries, who had never left England. The Missionary has consecrated life and faculties to his Master; let him take care of the poor weak earthly tabernacle, not for its own sake, for it is worthless, but as the necessary adjunct to the Spirit, which he has consecrated. The care, which the Parent-Committee takes of its Missionary, is nullified, if he himself, by false confidence or carelessness, does not take care of himself, and his wife.

XV. Let the Missionary shun the worldly and fashionable life of his countrymen: he will find it impossible to maintain the double position. If he cares for the Natives, as he ought to care, he must live for them, and among them. He cannot, and he ought not to drag them up: he must condescend to men of their estate, leading a simple holy life in their midst. The residence of the Missionary, and his way of life, should be simple: his profession is a serious one, and his family should not surround themselves with the luxuries of secular life. In the Missionary Conference at Lahore in 1862, I was amazed at the manifestation of the seeds of bitterness already sowed betwixt the Missionary, and his Converts, and this is one of the trials of the future. It is vain to suppose, that the man of European culture can ever be brought to the level of the Natives of Asia, Africa, or Oceania: there is the abyss of centuries betwixt them: but the difference need not be accentuated.

XVI. The Native ordained Evangelist and Pastor will, under any form of Church organization, claim to be on an equality with the Missionary; but there must always be one exception, and the control of the expenditure of the funds, supplied by the Parent-Committee, must be reserved to the Missionary only; while the Native Church has control over its own funds.

XVII. And let the Missionary eschew narrowness of mind: let him be liberal in every word and deed, except in what affects

his most Holy Faith: in that let him be strictly conservative. Hear what one writing from China writes in the leading English Daily with regard to Missionaries in China.

The narrowness of many of the Missionaries has evolved a further specific obstacle to their success, in that it has led them to denounce what they designate as the worship of ancestors as idolatry, thus doing despite to a pious and ennobling sentiment. Surely nothing could be more ill-judged or less Christianlike than to affront the conscience of a whole people in this manner. Similar measures meted out to the English people would let loose the iconoclast in St. Paul's and Westminster Abbey.

And with regard to India, why do Missionaries run a tilt, and a very hopeless tilt indeed, against that peculiar custom in India, known as Caste? It exists all over the world, in Great Britain, and in North America. The Missionary himself would shudder at the idea of his daughter marrying the Native Pastor, or of his being compelled with his wife and family to eat his meals with the men of less clean habits in the Native village: he would say, with justice, that his origin, his habits, his culture, are different: but the population of India is made up of an infinite number of races, and tribes, which never have fused together, and they shun intermarriage and commensality. Let everything else which is called Caste, be swept away: one caste does not ordinarily pretend, that it is better than another, *but different*, and, the lower the Caste is, the more particular are the Caste-rules. The Civil Government in its Schools, its Railroads, its Ferries, its Courts of Justice, refuses to recognize Caste: let the Missionary draw the same line, and insist, that in the School, and Chapel, and at the Lord's Table, there is no Caste, but not attempt Love-Feasts and Social gatherings, and *forcibly* unite in marriages converts of different Castes. We should not tolerate such action by a Minister in any British, or American, Church. Each class of the community lives its social life apart. The Missionary by the necessity of the Vernacular is tied for the whole of his life to one narrow Field: he picks out what he considers to be the great obstacle to his progress, and denounces it, without considering that the progress of Missions in other Regions, where that particular obstacle does not exist, is not more encouraging (see Part II. Essay IV.).

XVIII. Another caution is required. The majority of Missionaries are men of ordinary talent and acquirements, though of unblemished character, and of great self-consecration: but amidst their number in all denominations rise up from time to time, men who are giants, whose talents are of the highest calibre. These men throw a lustre in the eyes of the world over their profession, but are not necessarily better Missionaries. If their talents are linguistic, they cannot exert them too freely, or too abundantly, in the work of translations of the Scriptures, and

composing of Educational and Devotional works; but, if their talents are those of the Man of Science, they should remember, that they were not sent forth at the expense of Churches, and Families, to be Geographers, or Explorers, or Botanists, or Zoologists, or Conchologists, or Geologists, or to establish Plantations, or Manufactures, or Trade, or to plant Cocoa-nut trees, or breed Ostriches, but to preach the Gospel of Christ, and they should maintain a holy restraint upon themselves, folding up their particular talents, perhaps with a sigh, in a napkin, rather than permit them to hamper the work for which they were called and chosen. The idea of a self-supporting Mission is a dream. It distresses me to read in Stanley's "Kongo" of a Missionary, who had shot twenty-five elephants, and made great profit by the sale of the tusks. Still more distressed was I, when I came upon French Missionaries in Algeria distilling intoxicating liqueurs (see Part III. Essay I.).

XIX. The Missionary in these days should ponder well over the last verse of the ninth chapter of St. Luke's Gospel. Here again the Roman Catholic Missionary presents a bright example, and magnificent examples are supplied in the annals of every Protestant Mission. It is a life-work, which the Missionary undertakes, and he should not be always running home. When tempted to leave India, Carey remarked :

I account this my own country, and have not the least inclination to leave it. And he never did. What an undignified position the returned Missionary occupies in his own country, talked of as the "returned empty!" The contrast of those brave men, who hold on beyond their strength, comes out more strongly, when the faces of others are seen so often in England. It was not so formerly, but with the facility of communication has come a laxity of control, and an infirmity of will. Of course a medical certificate has to be complied with, as lives must not be sacrificed; but I allude to other cases. Hear what a Bishop, who died at his post, says :

It was a very nice question of conscience, how far a man who leaves his post, *because his wife is ill*, can suppose himself one of those, who are expected to leave everything for Christ.

And again :

An ordained man is bound to give practical proof, that he does reckon his calling something higher than a comfortable home and easy-going quiet. I should be ashamed to read our Lord's words about forsaking homes and so forth, if I had refused, *when I had a clear opportunity*, to do the thing, which He recommended.

It is all very well to say in an off-hand way, that Mission-work among the Heathen of Great Britain is not essentially different from work among the Heathen of Asia and Africa. Yes, Friend,

but the climate, and the degree of self-consecration, and the exile, and the accommodation, and the character of the uncivilized races, are essentially different. It is all very well for young men, after taking deacons' orders, to try two or three years *at their own charges*, and, if they find themselves unequal to the burden, they can with honour retire from a service, to which they had never consecrated themselves, because they have never been a charge to the Churches, and have shown a desire to serve God in a way, for which experience has proved that they were not suitable. But the Missionary, who has been educated at the cost of a Society, who has been supported by the alms of a Church, who has openly consecrated himself to a particular Mission, acquired the language, and proved his efficiency, such a man is distinctly "looking back, after putting his hand to the plough": such a man is forgetting his first love: such a man is not giving up everything for Christ. To sink to worldly examples: a volunteer soldier might have gone out to the Crimea to try his capacity, and, failing, might have returned home: but one of the Queen's soldiers must have gone, stayed, fought, and died: it would have been no use for him to say, that soldiers' work at Dublin, or Windsor, or Aldershot, is the same as soldiers' work in the Crimea: if he had done so, every post would have brought him a cover enclosing a white feather. Shall the Soldier of Christ fall below the high standard of the Soldiers of the Queen? This is one of the notable instances of the want of fibre in the modern Missionary.

XX. Missionaries should not be down-hearted, if their labours are not crowned by immediate visible success. Nothing is more remarkable in Missionary Annals than the uncertainty of results. "I planted, Apollos watered, but God gave the increase." We read in the biographies of Missionaries, how in some cases a harvest suddenly sprung up, and then all faded away: in other cases no harvest at all appeared in the lifetime of the laborious founder, but soon after his departure, there has come a change, and his successor has entered into his labours. To few has it been conceded to do what is recorded, on the tombstone of a Missionary in one of the Islands of Polynesia:

When he came there were no Christians: when he left there were no Heathen.

After all, if he has preached the Gospel faithfully, as far as he is concerned, his work is done.

XXI. Missionaries should ask themselves, why Missionaries, and Missions, are so exceedingly unpopular among their own countrymen, sojourners in different parts of the world, and in their own native lands. Yet it is so undoubtedly. And it is not the irreligious and unbelievers, that speak ill of them, but persons who are given to benevolence, but have a deep-rooted aversion

to Religious Missions. There are certain individuals, families, and classes, who enthusiastically support Missions, but the great majority ignore the work, the men, and their publications. I remark this Phenomenon with regret, but I do remark it, and see clearly the cause (see Part II. Essay V.).

XXII. I remarked above, that Missionaries are narrow in vision. Cannot they correct this by reading systematically the Periodicals and Reports of other Societies, of other Denominations, and cannot the Parent-Committee supply them? Each Society should publish Biographical notices of esteemed deceased Missionaries, and collective narratives of each Mission, so that the traditions of the past may be maintained. The Missionary will then find that the difficulties, which press on him in some remote corner of the world, have been disposed of elsewhere: he will find methods, and machinery at work, which will admirably meet his wants, but of which he had never heard: he will gather wisdom from the failures of others, as well as his own. The Lawyer, the Statesman, the Merchant, in their secular avocations, do this with advantage. The human side of Mission work is an Art and a Science, and is progressive from age to age. The Grace of God upon the imperfect labours of his Servants is unchanged. Not only the most excellent materials, but the highest professional skill of the period, were consecrated to the erection of the Temple of Jerusalem (see Part III. Essay VII.).

XXIII. The Missionary should take pains with his Annual Report: he should abstain from Scripture-quotations, and stock-phrases of piety, which are expressions of common form, and neither calculated to instruct, inform, or edify. I read Missionary Reports by the yard, or the furlong, and such conventional expressions pall very much on the taste, and most readers skip them. Sometimes there is a most indecorous, and unjustifiable, familiarity with the plans of Almighty God. I have sometimes remonstrated against the vain repetition of the Divine Name in every page, but have been told, that the supporters of the Society expect it: they should be taught better things: the compiler of the Report should try to elevate the taste of his readers, and not lower himself to their vulgar level. The allusion to birth or death of children of the Missionaries is really quite unnecessary. I sometimes seem to detect, in a good report the marks of a second hand, which has inserted pious tags, or hits against the Roman Catholic, or a tilt against Caste, or the Opium Trade, as if some one on a perusal of the draft had said, "Mrs.—, or Dr.—, who are good supporters, lay great stress on such remarks to flavour the Report." Many Reports, however, contain no such blemishes, or conventionalities, and yet from the first to the last line breathe a holy and devoted spirit. The Bible is not textually quoted, but the whole Report is, as it were, steeped

in the very essence of the Scriptures. If my subordinates in secular employ had garnished their report, with weak platitudes, and quotations, I should have checked them by the remark, that I knew them better than they did. The Parent-Committee can say the same, as it has to read them from year to year. Sensational stories of death-bed scenes are not wanted: a narrative of the consistent walk of a redeemed community is more acceptable. A thoughtful and earnest labourer can so bring his joys and sorrows, his successes and failures, his hopes and his fears, before his friends at home, in a humble and subdued tone, as will secure their love and esteem. Above all, let there be no abuse of the Powers that be, no railing against men in authority, no sneers at Missionaries of other denominations. Such phrases do not speak well for the Christian spirit of the writer. He can state his facts truthfully, and leave it to the Parent-Committee to form a judgment on those facts. Stereotyped abuse of the Roman Catholic Missionaries should be specially avoided. Any case of *illegal* aggression should be the subject of a separate letter. The Missionary sometimes forgets, how completely the weakness of his own character is evidenced, and exposed, by his own letters.

XXIV. It would seem incredible, that Missionaries should be charged with the heinous crime of promoting wars among Native Tribes, but I adduce the following resolution of the Aborigines Society as proof:

This Society, while rejoicing in the early termination of the Zulu war, and expressing an earnest hope, that Cetywayo may yet be dealt with in a just and magnanimous spirit, desires to call the serious attention of the Missionary Societies to the support, which many of their representatives in South Africa have given to this wicked and unnecessary war, apparently under the impression, that the cause of Missions will be promoted by the invasion and conquest of the Zulu territory. This Society believes, that no idea could be more immoral in itself, or more calculated to prove fatal to Missionary enterprise in South Africa, and it therefore considers, that the time has come, when it is imperative that the Missionary Societies should impress upon their Agents the duty of giving no countenance to a course of action so opposed to the principles, upon which those Societies are based, as well as to the traditional practice of British Missionaries, who have laboured among uncivilized races.

The French Protestant Missionaries openly admit, that they encouraged the Ba-Súto in South Africa to fight against the British (see Part III. Essay V.). It would seem, as if the Missionary Societies on Lake Nyassa regarded with complacency the idea of a British invasion of that Region, which would necessarily be accompanied by slaughter of the people, whom they wish to convert (see Part III. Essay V.).

XXV. The Missionary should refrain from teaching his converts the details of National, or Denominational, differences, which have defaced the History of Europe. How ridiculous it sounds, that the inhabitants of Islands in Oceania should be

encouraged to celebrate the anniversary of the Battle of Waterloo, or the Fourth of July (see Part III. Essay III.).

XXVI. The Missionary is sent out to preach the Gospel, and he will find that to do that properly will require all his time, strength, and ability. He should not meddle with matters, lying out of the orbit of his chosen and blessed duty. St. Paul is his great example. At Corinth, or at Rome, he saw "Nothing but Christ crucified." Missionaries should not take up fads, and give way to crazes, and join crusades against the evils of this wicked world. Many practices, which seem strange to them, have the sanction of centuries, such as child-marriages, and will only be abandoned under the gradual enlightenment of Christian education (see Part III. Essay VI.).

XXVII. How thoroughly the French Missionary is imbued with the idea of being a Frenchman first, and a Christian afterwards, is evidenced by the fact, that in December, 1885, M Casális, a Missionary of the French Missions Evangeliques, in Ba-Súto-land, was decorated with the order of the Legion of Honour because :

Il a contribué par ses Missions au developpement de l'influence française dans l'Afrique Australe. Titres exceptionnelles.

The Periodical states, that a considerable population in the heart of a British Colony only pronounce the name of France to bless it, as it is synonymous with Goodness, Justice and Charity (see Part III. Essay IV.).

XXVIII. Missionaries must not think, that they have a right to turn their residences into asylums against the Police of the Country, in which they reside, and to write protests against the proceedings of the Government *against their own subjects*, or express their opinion as to the justice of the procedure, or the innocence of the accused. Let them only reflect, how such conduct on their part would be laughed at, or perhaps fined, in British India (see Part III. Essay IV.).

XXIX. The European Missionary should from the beginning work with the steady policy of *effacing himself*, at as early a date as possible, and placing the Native Ministry in power. All buildings should be erected with that view; the European should act the part of a *temporary visitor*, with no intention of staying, or being a burden to his flock, or his Church at Home. He must not keep his flock in helpless pupillage, and treat them as mere children. They are wiser than him in many things. At any rate they represent the public feeling of their own people. They must be reminded from the first, that they are responsible. It may be a trial to an orderly mind to see work less well done according to red tape, or rubrics; yet one, who loves the object, will look over the defects of the work in the present generation, in the anticipation of perfection in the next. Remember that

the Syrian Church in India, the Koptic in Egypt, the Armenian, Syrian, Nestorian, and Greek in West Asia, have managed on a purely native basis to outlive oppression, in spite of ignorance.

XXX. A Mission-Station should not be allowed to be a city of refuge to runaway slaves; it is dangerous, and is wrong. St. Paul did not do so. Until the Civil Power abolishes the status of slavery, the Church can only look on in sorrow. I give instances of the inconvenience :

Reported that a catechist had lately been in trouble through assisting a man, who had escaped from a creditor. The man was recaptured, and told the authorities what had been done to help him, so the catechist was fined £3 2s. 6d., which he hoped would be repaid to him by the Committee. The F.C. felt unable to do this, but the various members subscribed £2 5s., and decided to ask friends for the balance.

A catechist was charged with helping two slaves of an influential chief to escape, and he demanded restitution. The matter at one time looked serious, but appears now to be settled. Such cases show the continued need of caution.

And again :

I asked Bishop Patteson of Melanesia to consider, what was the sight to a Christian man, of slaves driven off with a yoke on their necks, and whether it did not justify armed interposition. He replied, upholding the principle, that the shepherd is shepherd of the cruel and erring, as well as of the oppressed, *and ought not to interfere.*

I found in Morocco last year, that an agent for the conversion of the Jews chose to interfere as regards the sale of slaves, forbidding husband and wife to be sold separately: this, no doubt, was a right suggestion, but what business had he to give it? It might have cost him his life, and placed the Diplomatic Representative of his country in great difficulties. He received a caution at my suggestion to keep to his own work.

XXXI. The Missionary should try to make the Native Chiefs exercise a rightful authority, and only give them advice. Traders charge the Missionary with usurpation of power, and meddling with politics, and trade; those complain most, who want to take advantage of Native ignorance. On the other hand, the Missionary should steadily refuse to constitute himself a Chieftain, or arrogate power and authority (see Part II. Essay III.).

XXXII. It is really essential, that a Missionary should move about among the people. A rolling stone is said to gather no moss, but a stone, that never moves, is apt to be choked with moss. Nor, on the other hand, should he itinerate too widely, but return year by year to old acquaintances. Human kindness is a key, that opens every door, however firmly it may seem to be closed against us. In the early days of a Mission, before the language is learnt, very little dependence can be placed on oral teaching, but power and influence is obtained by a consistent Christian life. Something in the manner, and voice, and general bearing, has a magic effect upon unsophisticated races, and

the constant exhibition of the Christian virtues of gentleness, patience, pity, purity, can never be without its charm. The Missionary should set the example of a steady and willing obedience to the law of the land: he assumes an awful and dangerous responsibility, when he encourages people, over whom he has influence, to resist the Powers that be, forgetting the advice of St. Paul to the Romans, who dwelt under the rule of the Emperor Nero.

XXXIII. The subject of Education as a Missionary agency, requires serious reflection with reference to the circumstances of each Field. It is the "hiding of power," that has done so much in primitive Missions for the Spiritual Kingdom. It may be a question, whether High Schools, and Colleges, excellent in themselves, are proper Apostolic methods, and proper objects for money collected to preach the Gospel. I do not like to see the Message of Salvation sandwiched between Moral Philosophy and Physics: if the Schools are intended to train evangelizing agents, or to educate the children of Christian converts up to the level of *reading the Bible, and no further*, call them so. Knowledge is Power, and it cannot be right with Mission-collections to elevate the converts to a status in life above that of their friends. The fear is, lest in the midst of all the Educational tendencies, the direct preaching of the Gospel should fall out of fashion. All other matters are ancillary. In British India the Missionary might leave Education to the State, and care for the Education of his converts, and training colleges and schools. What has the Missionary to do with Higher Education? Is he qualified any more than an ordinary Minister in Great Britain, to superintend an Educational establishment higher than a Sunday School? (see Part II. Essay VII.).

XXXIV. Hear the voice of a late Viceroy of India:

Nothing in my opinion could be more entirely alien to the feelings of Henry Venn, who of all men I ever knew was the most interested in Missionary work, and the wisest conductor of Missionary operations, than that Missionaries of any kind should be betrayed into using physical force to control the Natives of the country, to which they are sent. Missionaries must be prepared, if they go to foreign countries, to carry *their lives in their hands*. They have lost their lives on former occasions, and it is needless to say, that a man in that position, taking the Message of God to the Natives of Africa, is bound to lose his life rather than use physical force.

(See Part III. Essays III. IV. V.)

XXXV. While on the one hand Missionaries should not refuse to give presents in lieu of transit-duty, and reasonable taxation to the Sovereign, or Chief of the country, they should resist all exactions, and rather leave the country, if the demands are unreasonable: they should have about them as little property as possible, so as not to excite cupidity: under no possible circumstances should a Missionary make presents of lethal weapons of

any kind, ammunition, or intoxicating liquors or drugs : he should not have such things with him to give. It is scarcely credible, but it is recorded as a fact, that Missionaries have presented firearms to Natives. They should be prohibited from doing so, either in their private capacity, or their public position as agents of the Society (see Part III. Essay IV.).

XXXVI. After all, the formation of Christian communities, and the creation of Christian life, is the object of Missions. I inclose this quotation as a warning and an encouragement:

In estimating the advance, which has been made in developing a higher type of Christian life, I fully recognize the difficulty of obtaining reliable data for observation, and I do not forget how misleading it often is, to apply a time-standard in calculating the growth of moral perceptions and spiritual instincts. The Natives have been nominal Christians for more than fifty years. The time has been long enough to effect a great change, but let our demands be reasonable. It is unreasonable to expect from a people, who had sunk so low, a type of exceptional holiness, or to complain, because they are not paragons of virtue, and superior to the grosser forms of vice. I have no hesitation in saying, that a very great change has been wrought, and a change as great, as I have any right to expect. I have met and addressed large assemblies of Native Christians. I have met in conference more than two hundred native pastors. I have attended meetings at the college, where more than one hundred students were present. I have had quiet talks with individuals. I have talked with Missionaries and foreigners about the converts, and unhesitatingly I affirm, that a great and unmistakably Christian work has been accomplished. Native Christians have not yet conquered their characteristic national and social weaknesses, but the force of new Christian principles is felt, and the Divine truths of the Gospel are transforming, by a sure process, the character of the people. It is possible, to throw over Paganism a Christian dress without changing the old pagan heart or eradicating the pagan nature. I am persuaded that more than this has been done. The pagan nature has, in many cases, been brought into subjection to the mind of Christ, and the subjection has advanced as rapidly as the circumstances surrounding these people would permit. I place no limit on the power of the Spirit of God, but I do not forget, that the effect of human environment is still seen in those, who are manifestly the subjects of the Spirit's power.

One hindrance to the spiritual advancement of the people is to be found in the influence of a certain class of foreigners, who have settled in the islands. I gladly recognize the fact, that there are creditable exceptions ; but my report would not be complete, if I did not refer to the foreign element as being in too many cases a distinct obstacle to the Christian life of the Native churches.

We must not expect to find angels, but we may hope not to find surface-Christians or downright hypocrites, or dull formalists, or, as may be said of the Romish converts, the same men using different fetishes, and repeating different, but still unintelligible, formulæ.

XXXVII. Hear the words of an Indian statesman, a true friend of Missions, from whose published works I extract the following : let Missionaries lay it to their hearts (see Part III. Essay VI.):

The natural right of a Hindu parent to direct the religious education of his

child, while under years of discretion, is as sacred, *as that of the Christian Parent*. It cannot be interfered with by the State without a breach of the first principles of Christian Liberty, to which we ourselves should appeal, were we the subject party. The spirit of Christian Equity enjoins us to do unto others as we would that we should be done by.

XXXVIII. Hear the advice of a dead Missionary, one of the Saints of God, from whose life I extract it :

1. Of all qualifications for Mission work, CHARITY is most excellent.
2. Of all methods, the only safe and sure one is to purge the heart of Vain-glory, Worldliness, and Selfishness.
3. Of all plans to insure success, the most certain is Christ's own, and becoming a corn of wheat falling into the ground, and dying.

The last is in the hands of God, but as to the first two, I can only add, Oh ! that ye were wise, that ye understood this !

XXXIX. It is not wise for a Missionary to engage in Commerce, or Manufactures, or Agriculture : it takes the spirituality out of him. Some of the continental Missions fall to the level of pious traders : this is something different from Evangelists : the Moravians practise it, but it provides the only means of subsistence of themselves and their people. The introduction of workshops, and industrial schools, is very dangerous. The introduction of new habits, new kinds of food, and clothing, not suited to the climate, and habits, is dangerous. Nature has adapted the food to the particular animals : the Eskimo, unnecessarily fed on coffee, cannot work as they did on a diet of train oil.

XL. I picked up somewhere the needful attributes of a Missionary : few will attain all :

1. He must count the cost, before he begins to build.
2. He must be a man of sanctified common sense.
3. An unworldly spirit, and unselfish aim.
4. Thoroughly intent on his work.
5. A man of Peace, with the Spirit of Peace in his house, heart, speech, and environment.
6. Simple habits and contented spirit.
7. Personal holiness.
8. Inexhaustible patience.
9. Unshakeable faith.
10. Full of prayer, and a reader of the Bible in prayer.
11. Dauntless, but quiet : courageous in deeds, rather than in words.
12. A sound judgment, a chastened spirit, a man of soft answer, but truthful.
13. Loyal to his Church, his Society, and his God.

XLI. The ignorant Missionary allows himself to heap unlimited abuse on the sacred books of other Religions, of which he knows nothing : this is injudicious : the hearers know well

enough, that he is ignorant. The learned Missionary should avoid the opposite error: he should render all due praise to the noble sentiments, and conceptions of the non-Christian Philosopher, but never for one moment concede, that he is inspired, or divine, or that his words are good for Salvation of men hereafter, though good for morals, and often elevating. None of them rise higher than Socrates. And he should be cautious in selecting passages of unequal value, and thoroughly bad in morals, from their Sacred Books: the scoffer might retort in a manner, painful to a Christian, by misquoting the Bible.

XLII. Missionaries should decline to undertake any duty, that is not included in the words "carrying the Gospel to the non-Christian world": the office of Magistrate, Vice-Consul, Member of Local Board, or anything connected with the Civil or Criminal administration of the State, should be refused, if offered. It is a snare. A Missionary writes in an Annual Report as follows, from a great City in Upper India:

I am terribly deep in Municipal Committee-matters. I am going in especially for the conservancy of the City and the Water-supply.

Imagine St. Paul looking after the drains of Corinth, or the water-supply of Ephesus! These kinds of employment must destroy spirituality, if it ever existed. So also a Missionary should decline to take *permanent* clerical duty among Europeans, which interferes with his proper work. This will not exclude occasional services in the Church, and visits to the sick, when called upon: but under no circumstances should he take any emolument. Payments, made by the State, should go to the Mission-Treasury.

XLIII. Judging from the exaggerated statements in some reports, the religious world at home often thinks, that the non-Christian world is living in the practice of shameless and abominable sins: this is not the case. Live with the people in the villages of India, and you will find rude and patriarchal virtues, and evidence of great nobility of character, and kindly disposition, dutiful conduct of parents to children, purity of home circles, loving meeting of relatives, neighbourly friendships, and gentle manners. It is the act of a partizan, not of a faithful Chronicler, to be so severe on the Heathen and Mahometan, and overlook the sad failings of an European population, and the avowed vices of nominal Christians. God has not left Himself without a witness, in that He does good, and gives them rain from Heaven, and fruitful seasons, filling men's hearts with food and gladness. Missionaries should abstain from sweeping assertions, and excessive statements: it is enough, that they are not Christians, and must be made so.

XLIV. There is no reason to suppose, that St. Paul and his companions lorded it over the Heathen: quite the contrary. The

humble Evangelists of the time of Augustine, and Columba, and Boniface, did not do so. The Nestorians, and Moravians, did not do so. Why should the Anglo-Saxon Missionary of this Century assert such an intolerable superiority over those, whom he goes to convert? The holiest Missionary is the humblest: he works through others, not thinking of self, his own station in his native country, his acquired knowledge, his natural ability, his station in his Church, but of *the Lord's work*. He cries:

Let the work be done, even if I am driven out, effaced, overlooked, despised.

That pride of race, which prompts a white man to regard coloured people as inferior to himself, is strongly ingrained in most men's minds, and must be wholly eradicated *by the Grace of God*, before he will ever win the hearts and souls of the Heathen. Nothing is more depressing in the Reports of Missionary Societies than this feature. Every Missionary would be better for a copy of Thomas à Kempis' "Imitation of Christ," as his constant companion. And let the Parent-Committee avoid being puffed up, as if they had done something wonderful, as if their counsels had secured the measure of success, which had come to them from the Lord only. Above all, let care be taken never to talk of a man, as a Hero, when living, or a Saint, when dead: *he did his best: others will do the same*: his place will soon be filled up: the ranks of the Lord's Army are always full. Many men are spoilt by inordinate flattery.

XLV. The necessity of Native Teachers is admitted by all, but has not been recognized by all, as much as it ought to be. The black net to catch souls must be let down, but held in its place by white corks. Hear what Missionaries, who do employ Teachers with marvellous success, write:

The necessity for careful European supervision becomes the more urgent, as the number of Natives, who become teachers, increases. It is a wonderful evidence of the hold, which the Gospel takes on the natures of these people, that, at so early a period in the history of the Mission, so many are found willing to be trained, and fit to be trained, as Evangelists to their fellow-countrymen. The rapid progress of the Gospel is assured, if this responsive spirit continues to be manifested. At the same time, it must be borne in mind that at present, they are at best but young converts to Christianity. Though their knowledge of the truths of the Gospel, after a course of training at one of the Mission Institutions, may be such as amply to qualify them for the duties of teachers, strength of principle, and that fine Christian spirit which can discern and maintain the right course in times of temptation and difficulty, cannot be acquired with equal facility. To leave such men to stand entirely alone for any length of time among their own Heathen countrymen, without the moral support, stimulus, and counsel afforded by frequent visits from a European superintendent, would not be wise or kind.

(See Part IV. Address II.)

XLVI. Whatever Anglican Bishops, who live years in the

country without learning to speak the language, may think, the fusion of the permanent indigenous Eurasian, and Native populations into one Church with the European birds of passage, is not likely to take place. The Native Churches, as they gradually become independent, will take their own line, and will be influenced by Provincial and Linguistic considerations, and the European element, of whatever denomination, will remain alien and, if the British are driven out of India, will cease to exist, while by God's blessing the Native Churches will abide for ever.

XLVII. The serious question must arise, how a Native Church is to provide itself with the elements for the Lord's Supper in countries, where neither the vine, nor corn, which were the staples of life in Palestine, are forthcoming. The inward and spiritual Grace should be the object of consideration, and it is distressing to read of the Native Pastor buying a bottle of wine at a low European store, especially when it is desirable to keep the people free from the use of liquors, specially European liquors. One Missionary Society has decided as follows. The question of foreign bread and wine being used at the Lord's Supper was discussed, and, feeling the tendency of the Natives to regard the Sacrament with superstitious feelings, and the desirability of keeping it as simple and primitive as possible, and also of using elements, that might be easily procured, by the Natives, we determined to use the *bread and wine of the country*, viz. the beautiful yams, and the cocoa-nut milk, which is more Scriptural than water, coloured with a little wine, and bread made from the dregs of the Missionary's cask: the object is, that the Natives should find the elements within their own reach for the sustentation of Christianity.

XLVIII. The Christian village has its dangers: such was the commencement of Monachism: the thought was a good and pure one of isolating those, who wished to serve God, from the evil around them, and so to preserve their integrity: but the whole history of the Church shows, that it was a mistake, and has worked evil to the converts, evil to the Foreign Missions, and evil to the Heathen. The isolation was so much Christian power lost to the work of evangelization; nor was the individual benefited by being sheltered from the rude struggle, and temptation and persecution: their example was lost to the Heathen, their leaven to the lump, and their own faith became less strong, because not nerved to the test. All who have seen the Christian barracks springing up round the Mission-house, must admit this: let the converts live amidst the Heathen and Mahometans, among them, not of them: not changed in external habits, but changed internally. They should not be denationalized by false kindness: the living water of the Gospel is able to strengthen the fibre,

and develope into beauty any form of civilization, with which it comes into contact: above all, let the danger be avoided of accustoming races of lower culture to the luxuries and wants of a highly civilized life. "Where is the sugar?" This question, made by a Native convert, is suggestive. The British Missionary on the march had produced the cocoa, and milk, for the evening-meal, *and was content*: the native youth, a few years ago a redeemed slave, and before that a naked Negro, glad to get anything, or go without anything, pampered by contact with a higher civilization, asked querulously for a condiment to sweeten his cup.

XLIX. With regard to the status of Native converts, whose political situation is no way changed by their change of religion, let me quote the words of a Chinese Missionary:

It is true that all British subjects resident in China are required to obtain an annual certificate of registry at a Consulate by payment of a fee to Her Majesty of five dollars each, or one dollar each for artizans and labourers. But no Native Christian whatever is eligible for such registry, nor would the British Government on any pretext whatever admit *the claim of a Native Christian to be regarded as otherwise than a subject of the Chinese Empire.*

In cases of actual persecution the British Minister has on certain occasions interposed, basing his remonstrances, not on the ex-territoriality of the victims of persecution, but on the Treaty-stipulations with regard to liberty of conscience. The same remark applies to the American representative.

With regard to the French and Russian Ministers, I cannot speak with certainty; but my impression is, that although they are possibly more ready to intervene on behalf of converts than are the British and American Ambassadors, they make no pretence to exert anything but a benevolent influence in favour of Toleration, relying upon Treaty-stipulations.

(See Part III. Essay V.)

L. Hear the advice of a Missionary Bishop to his subordinates:

Avoid all reasonable ground of offence. Be not proud, and self-reliant, but be ready to suffer wrong rather than exact your extreme rights. Follow, as far as you can, the customs of the place and people. Quarrel with no one, however much provoked. Treat no one with contempt. Never use violence, or hard language. Seek to do, as Christ would have done in your place. Try to understand the thoughts and difficulties of the people you live amongst. Put your message into such words, and deliver it in such a manner, as will be most acceptable and intelligent.

Do not grow weary in well-doing. God is with you. Though you may see no result, your labour is not in vain. If you are in danger from war or tumult, do not be in a hurry to escape; if your people stay, it will be best for you to stay with them. Even in the extremest danger God can save you. If you are in danger on account of your Religion, do not shrink from meeting it: *look upon it as a special honour*: in any case, whether from disease or violence, do not fear Death, for what men call Death is really the gate of peace and joy to all true Christians.

LI. Let the Missionary reflect, that the Education, rather than Instruction, given in a Mission-school, however humble, cannot be without effect: the very employment in building a wall, straight by line, in being paid a day's wage, in being kindly

spoken to, in *not* being kicked or abused: this is a good day's Education. The sight of a cart, a wheelbarrow, and draught-cattle, elevates the African's idea, and differentiates him from a beast of burden, which he deemed himself to be before. No boy or girl can have passed months and years in a Christian School without a conscience, or heart-voice, being evoked: they are gradually enlightened, their dormant faculties evoked: new habits formed, and a certain amount of decency of speech and conduct is cultivated: that Pudor, and Reverentia, which every Schoolboy feels to each other, and his teacher. It is impossible for a boy or girl to forget their training at the most impressible period of their lives, and return to their old sensations of being like an oyster on a rock, or a reptile in a hole. This is *not* Christianity in its dogmatic sense, for Heathen and Mahometan share it, but it is the first dawn in the mind of a young Barbarian of Order, Duty, Emulation, Desire of Praise, Honest Pride, Personal Dignity, and *love and devotion to the Teacher*, who has worked this marvellous change, and this leads on to Christ.

LII. I read with astonishment in the life of a Missionary, that before he started he took instructions in musquetry, which enabled him to show his men how to clean guns, and put locks together; and of another Missionary, that he discharged his gun into a crowd, sending no doubt one or two with lead in their bodies to their homes, or their death. Such statements should not be published, and such acts should not be done.

LIII. The following is a Bishop's advice:

Each Missionary should pray for mutual love and concord among themselves, that they may learn to think more of the graces and virtues of their fellow-workers, than of their defects: that they may never intrude their own opinions and practices into the works of another: that they be very slow to take offence, and always answer unkindness, and injustice, by special kindness, and unusual acts of self-denial and self-forgetfulness, that they may all be helpful one to another, and with or without them God may be glorified.

Laymen in Committee look with astonishment on the quarrels, and the consequence of quarrels, of ordained Missionaries. Every one in official life knows, how often he is yoked with an uncongenial fellow-labourer, and yet he gets on by mutual concession, and the Government, which he serves, would not think well of him, if he complained. As to asking, that a colleague might be removed, so as to make oneself more comfortable, I never heard of such a thing: when this state of affairs incidentally transpires, a move is often made so as to oil the working of the official machine: but Missionaries *selfishly ask for men to be removed*, regardless of the deep injury done to the man removed, the serious expense to the Parent-Society, the injury to the work of the Mission, and the entire discredit, which must attach ever after to the judgment of the applicant.

LIV. A Missionary need not be cast down, if he finds, that the great Grace of power to help forward the conversion of individual souls has not been given to him: or rather that he thinks, that it has not been so in the way expected by himself: great Missionaries have been aware of this gift being denied to them, and

Humbly admitted, that they thought that they had not the power of bringing souls one after another to Christ, of showing them their sins, of breaking down the barriers, that gird the heart against all religious influences, and of creating in them a sense of their true need.

Perhaps they may have failed in words, but the attracting and converting light shone out of their deeds, the expression of their countenance, the vision of their lives: there are diversities of gifts, but the same spirit. Of the Missionary who uttered the above holy and humble opinion of himself, the natives of the country, among whom he laboured, had formed another estimate, and described him *as the man, who prayed for the African, and tried in every way to do them good*: of another Missionary his people still speak tenderly, *as the man who, after Christ's example, died for us, black fellows!* With this remark my Notes end.

May the Lord bless them to the hearts of the readers !

Notes on Missionary Subjects.

Part I.

ESSAY II.

LANGUAGE ILLUSTRATED BY BIBLE TRANSLATION.

CHAP. I. ORIGIN, OBJECT, AND METHODS OF THE SOCIETIES.—
CHAP. II. DESCRIPTION OF THE LANGUAGES.—CHAP. III.
RESULTS AND SUGGESTIONS.—APPENDIX. A. TABLE OF
LANGUAGES.—B. MAP OF THE WORLD.

SECOND AND ENLARGED EDITION.

The sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God.—*Ephesians* vi. 17.

The Word of God, which liveth and abideth for ever.—*I Peter* i. 23.

And I saw another Angel fly in the midst of Heaven, having the EVERLASTING GOSPEL to preach unto them that dwell upon the Earth, and to every Nation, and Kindred, and Tongue, and People.—*Revelation* xiv. 6.

TO MY DEAR FRIENDS AND COLLEAGUES

ON THE

COMMITTEE OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY,

BY THE AUTHOR,

WHO HAS ONLY ONE GREATER DELIGHT THAN THE STUDY

OF LANGUAGE, AND THAT DELIGHT IS THE STUDY OF

THE LAW OF THE LORD,

AND IN THESE PAGES BOTH STUDIES AND BOTH DELIGHTS

ARE UNITED.

LONDON, JULY, 1886,
AND JULY, 1888.

PREFACE.

THE favourable reception, with which my first Edition has been received, has induced me to revise and enlarge the work. The object is, to interest people in the Work of Bible-Societies. The Annual Reports are too full of business-details, and presuppose a great knowledge of previous Reports, and no one Report treats the whole subject: of course, criticism, and suggestions, would be out of place in the official Statement of a year's work of a Society, and both are required. I have treated the subject as a whole, without reference to particular Societies, and I particularly repeat to Bible-Societies the warning, which I have impressed on Missionary-Societies: "Beware of setting up your own Society in the place of Christ, and doing worship and sacrifice to your own net, and bringing incense to your own drag."

And let reality be given to the Report, and Catalogue of Languages, by careful attention to Geography, and Linguistic Knowledge: it is clear from some of the early Reports, that the Compilers threw together names, and places, which they knew nothing about, and had never taken the trouble to place the facts, brought to their notice by their different Agents, often very inexperienced men, into the crucible of accurate Science: why should a Language be still called Karass-Túrki, because the translators were Scotch Missionaries, who, years ago, dwelt at that obscure town?

Consider then the Orthography of the names: no one principle of transliteration was adopted, and even now there remains much to be desired, though many changes suggested by me have gradually, year by year, been adopted by the British

and Foreign Bible-Society. By the extraordinary practice of fastening on Anglo-Saxon suffixes to the names of Islands in the South Seas, or tribes in Africa, the real name often became thoroughly disguised. There cannot be a more universal rule, than that no suffix or prefix should be attached to a foreign name, unless that suffix be according to the grammatical rules of that particular language: thus, Bangáli, Kashmíri, are correct, but what of Java-nese, Japan-ese, Assam-ese, Tibet-an, Korea-n? Then, again, some writers persist in prefixing a Ki, or a Chi, or a Ba, or a Wa, to some South African languages, though they allow Zulu, and Yao, and Bondei, to go unencumbered.

Confessedly a great deal more has to be done even to ascertain what work remains to be done. Prince Louis-Lucien Bonaparte has cleared up the mutual relations of the Finn Branch of the Ural-Altaic Family: it is to be hoped, that the Russian scholars of the University of Kazán on the Volga will clear up the difficulties of the Túrki Branch, as, in fact, the whole of that Family, with the exception of the Osmánli, and the variety spoken at Yarkand in Chinese Tartary, has passed under Russian domination. I am myself proceeding this Autumn to Kazán and Orenberg, to make local inquiries, and consult experts on the spot. It is a remarkable incidental advantage of Bible-translation, that it places beyond doubt what the language of a particular tribe is, as they would not buy books, which they could not understand.

EASTBOURNE, *August 24, 1888.*

II.

LANGUAGE, AS ILLUSTRATED BY
BIBLE-TRANSLATION.CHAPTER I.—ORIGIN, OBJECT, AND METHODS OF THE
SOCIETIES.

A DAINY little volume is on my table, called "The Gospel in Many Tongues," published by the British and Foreign Bible Society, London, 1888. It exhibits one verse of the New Testament in two hundred and sixty-seven Languages, or special Written-Characters. This is no ingenious *tour de force* to exhibit the intelligence or industry of one or more scholars: the verse selected is part of a portion of the Holy Scriptures, or of the whole, which has been published at the expense of certain Religious Associations for actual use by Christian Churches, scattered all over the world. I purpose in the following pages to show, how the study of Language has been advanced to an extraordinary degree by the impetus given by Religion to the translation of one Book. The phenomenon is perfectly unique, and is the more remarkable, as the number of translations goes on increasing every year, a score or more being always on the anvil. No book has ever been multiplied to this extent, as the issue of these translations counts by hundreds of thousands, and even millions. The published accounts show that, although the book is sold below cost price, an income of more than one hundred thousand pounds is annually received from the sale. The books, that approach nearest in circulation and number of translations, are the Pilgrim's Progress, the Imitation of Jesus Christ, by Thomas à Kempis, and the Book of Common Prayer, which derive their whole attraction from the Bible, as they follow it both in letter and spirit.

I propose to treat the subject chiefly from the scientific, intellectual, and secular, point of view, and it is a very interesting

one, illustrating, how much Science is advanced by the Religious Instinct of a Nation ; for, although Language alone is alluded to in this Essay, still it could be shown, that other branches of Science, such as Geography, Ethnology, and even Commerce, have been advanced by the same impulse.

In the beginning of the present century the Bible was available in about thirty Languages ; first in order were the two original Books, and next to them came the Greek of the Septuagint, which was honoured by being textually quoted by inspired writers, and those quotations thus have the force and sanction of inspiration, and the early translations into Syriac, Koptic, Ethiopic, Armenian, Georgian, and Latin. As time went on, translations came into existence in all the chief languages of Europe, a few in the adjacent Provinces of Asia and Africa, and fewer still in the countries beyond, and so it would have remained, had it not been, that a wave of Missionary Spirit at the beginning of this century passed over some of the Protestant Nations, making them feel, that it was their duty to evangelize the Heathen, and the Mahometan. This at once provoked the establishment of special agencies to supply the Word of God in the vulgar tongue of every Nation and Tribe, which was brought under the new influence. This is one of the essential differences betwixt a Protestant and Roman Catholic Church : the former desires to place the Word of God in the cheapest possible form in the hands of every man, woman, or child, who can read, or comprehend words read by another : the latter has been known to spend large sums to prevent the possibility of the Word of God reaching the masses, and would destroy with ignominy every copy, on which it could lay hold. This assertion is based on the facts ascertained in every country, where the Roman Catholic Priesthood still retains influence. The Greek, the Armenian, and the other Ancient Churches, have no objection to the distribution of the Scriptures ; the Heathen receive them with alacrity, and the Mahometan with respect.

Of the thirty versions available, it cannot be stated, that any one of them, with the exception of course of the Inspired Hebrew text of the Old Testament and the Inspired Greek text of the New Testament, and the Septuagint, were final. Of the remainder several have been left high and dry by the retreat of the linguistic tide, and are Literary curiosities, being obsolete, such as the Mæso-Gothic of Ulfilas, and the Anglo-Saxon of Bede : several have crystallized into a liturgical medium of vocables, incomprehensible to the vulgar, such as the Latin, the Old-Slavonic, and the Koptic : several have been replaced by entirely new versions, made from the original Hebrew and Greek, whereas the superseded versions had been made from the Septuagint, or the Vulgate. Other versions have been under-

going constant revision, the best proof of which is, that the English, German, Spanish, and French, versions are undergoing the process at this moment, and no finality seems near at hand.

But even, supposing that the Versions had been finally settled, or were, like the Hebrew and Greek, immutable, the cost of a copy was such, as to place its possession out of the power of the poor. The Family-Bible of those days meant the only copy in the house, or of the village, or the town. The idea of every individual child possessing a portion of the Bible, and carrying it about upon his or her person, was not conceivable. Nor were there any arrangements for distributing the precious book even in Protestant countries like Great Britain, and how much less in Roman Catholic countries! As to distribution in Heathen or Mahometan countries, it seemed to pious and good men a dream of Utopia.

It was under such circumstances, with such an environment, that the idea of a Bible-Society came into existence, for the purpose of multiplying correct versions, publishing them cheaply in enormous numbers, and distributing them at something below cost price in towns, villages, houses, huts, in encampments, tents, and caravanserais, laden on ships, boats, camels, waggons, or packs, all over the Globe. As was to be expected, the hand of God worked through the weakest and humblest of His creatures to start the colossal movement, that was destined to shake the world. The story of the little Welsh girl, Mary Jones, is given in a volume of its own. The result was, that Mr. Charles, a Welsh Minister, proceeded to London, and in an assembly of friends suggested the establishment of an Association to supply Welsh Bibles: but, when the subject was discussed, it occurred to them: "If for Wales, why not also for Great Britain and the World?" In those days people had the strength of their convictions, and the British and Foreign Bible Society was established in January, 1804. From its loins have sprung every other Society, that exclusively sells Bibles.

The founders invoked the aid of Christians of every denomination and every country: there was limit neither to their enterprise, nor their charity. One of their first Committees was for the purpose of conveying the Bible to the then unknown kingdom of China: as a fact their first published translation was for the use of the Mohawk in North America. The divine afflatus spread like wildfire over Europe, and North America: the idea, the principle, the constitution, of the Society met the approbation of all, and in a few years the Parent-Society, endowed with ample resources, stood in the centre of a great Bible-system, which encompassed, as with a network, nearly the whole Globe. Emperors, and Queens, were the Nursing Fathers and Nursing Mothers. Heads of great Churches, who agreed

in nothing else, welcomed this new ally. Popes, and Cardinals, and Metropolitans, blessed the Society by their Anathemas and Pastorals, advertising and attesting the value of the Book, the contents of which they feared. As the followers of the new Sect were first called Christians at Antioch, so in Roman Catholic publications the term "Société Biblique" is applied to all Protestant Missionary Societies, as a term of reproach, though really the title of the highest honour. The practice of course differs in different countries at different times. In Great Britain an educated Roman Catholic will assure you, that he is at liberty to read the Bible, and does do so. In France large editions have been sold under the authority of the Bishops. In Austria and Spain the ignorant Priests encourage an ignorant and unlettered people to destroy the Bible. As Education advances, and Civil Liberty, the power of the Priest, which is based on Ignorance and Tyranny, is diminished. Italy is in a transition-state. It has Civil Liberty, but is only just emerging from ignorance. I quote the following:

The attitude of the Italian priesthood towards the propagation of vernacular editions of the Bible is entirely intelligible. To accuse them of desiring in these days to withhold Scriptural knowledge from the people would be a calumny. They are anxious, that Italians of all classes should learn the truths the Bible contains. But they greatly prefer, that the people should imbibe them at second hand through their pastors' hands. In the form and order, and with the interpretation they append, the priests sincerely believe, that Biblical truth keeps all its intrinsic value without the danger of radical perversion. From the purest as well as selfish motives they seek to retain the direct custody of the muniments of the faith. Their rulers have long ceased to forbid dogmatically the reading of the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue, if they ever authoritatively prohibited it. The hierarchy probably could offer proofs that, with their full sanction, many obedient sons and daughters of the Church openly possess, and use Italian versions. With all this it cannot be doubted, and they would hardly deny, that their influence is employed against the common circulation of the Bible, and for the check of its study by the laity, unless under the immediate and constant guidance of a priest. Their inclination in this way could not have continued to exert itself effectually, if national education had not been miserably neglected. The Italian masses, if they had read at all, could not have been excluded, as virtually they have been, from acquaintance with the book, on which the religion they still profess rests.

Differences arose both inside and outside of the new Society, but they only worked to the expansion of the Agencies: this was a business, in which Rivalry was welcomed in the form of Sister-Societies, and affiliated Associations. God overruled all the differences about the publication of the Apocrypha, the use of the Vulgate Versions, and the employment of the word "Baptism," to His own greater glory. The Churches on the Continent seemed to be waiting the arrival of the emissaries of the Bible Society, ready to form themselves into new groups, and take up the work. The destitution of the Christian Church then became apparent. Many persons advanced in life had never

seen the Bible. Large Editions in some of the languages of Europe were sold off in a few days: in the first excitement the Roman Catholic Priests bought as freely as Protestants, and aided the circulation. Men seemed to spring up, as it were, predestined for the work, to travel over Europe, and form new Associations, and arrange for new translations. Dr. Pinkerton had been expelled from a Mission in a quiet corner of Russia. Messrs. Henderson and Patterson could not find a door open to them in India. The policy of the Governments of Russia and India, which set those three great men free to do the marvellous work, which they accomplished, was overruled to the Glory of God. Scholars in Universities discovered old Manuscripts in Libraries, men of business and enterprize came forward made for the work: ample funds, wise and sober management of the Parent-Committee, earnest and intelligent co-operation on the part of the Local Associations, were the features, which marked the first fifty years. In 1853, at its Jubilee, the Society stood surrounded by 8000 associations, and since then it has gone on conquering and to conquer.

The following separate organizations now exist, but they all sprang from the same seed-plot..

- I. British and Foreign Bible Society, London.
- II. National Bible Society of Scotland, Edinburgh.
- III. American Bible Society, New York.
- IV. Baptist Bible-Translation Society, London.
- V. Netherlands Bible Society, Amsterdam.

These are of the first class in the extent and importance of their past and present operations, and to them must be added the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, which came into existence more than a century earlier, but never threw its energies fully and solely into Bible work, and has no agency for foreign distribution, which is one of the essential features of the true Bible Society. In the second rank of Associations, occupied chiefly in home-work, are nearly sixty minor Associations in Europe and North America: they have more the character of Bible-Clubs, to supply their own Churches, than Missionary Bible-Societies.

In reading the Annals of the great Society, and in considering the vain opposition once offered by ill-advised Sovereigns, and misguided Priests, the first two verses of the second Psalm come spontaneously to our recollection. India once excluded the Bible, and we must pardon the cautious Statesmanship of that early period, when the East India Company hardly realized the grand Empire, which had fallen under its rule, and had not learnt the Art of Rule: the Bible is now distributed in that country in annual thousands in more than a dozen languages. Russia has varied her policy, but on the whole has been a

steady friend. France is so saturated with Bibles, that the Roman Catholic Bishops petitioned the Pope to allow them to publish their own Edition in French, and their translation is a good one, but high-priced; but has been since placed on the Index by a retrograde policy in the Vatican. The Priests have been constrained to follow the same policy in the Arabic-speaking countries, and their Arabic Edition published at Beirút is an excellent one. While Pope Pius IX. was expelled from Rome in 1848, an Edition of the Bible in Italian was published in the Eternal City, the unsold copies of which His Holiness burnt on his return the following year; but he lived to see depôts of the Bible Society opened under his windows in the Vatican, and under the shadow of the Propaganda, and Colporteurs hawking the Scriptures in every town in Italy. In 1888 a popular edition of the Bible in Italian, with notes and illustrations, is published in halfpenny numbers by a well-known Liberal Journal at Milan. In Africa and Oceania Savages and Cannibals have found themselves in a few years transformed into translators, type-setters, proof-readers, and Sunday School-teachers. By the marvellous influence of this one Book, barbarous tribes have passed in one generation through the curriculum, which it took Europe centuries to traverse; they have found ready-made for them, the outcome of the slow growth of ages, the Alphabet, the Pen, the Printing Press, the material for letters and books, and the School. Minerva has appeared to them at once fully armed.

Science is the object of this paper, and to that I try to restrict myself, but with difficulty, as I feel carried away by the grandeur of my subject. Incidental notice must be made, with a feeling of thanksgiving, of the many dying beds, which have been comforted, the many inmates of prisons and hospitals, who have been blessed, the many sinners, who have been converted; for the Bible is a sharp two-edged sword, able to do its own work without the aid of man's interpretation, and there are innumerable instances, that it has done so.

I give some instances:

A native Missionary, connected with the Calcutta Mission, recently paid a visit to Joynagar, a town distant about sixteen miles. While there he found a band of young men, who were in the habit of meeting together to study the Bible. They number about a dozen, and assemble regularly every Sunday to worship God, and to read the Scriptures, and that in a most public manner in the sight of their Heathen neighbours, a mark of unusual moral courage. When the Missionary reached Joynagar, some of these young men came to him, begging him to come and preach to them, which he did with evident delight. No sooner was one sermon finished than they asked him for another. The leader of the movement was a candidate for baptism in Calcutta some three years ago, and what he then learned has sunk into his heart, and prompted him to read God's Word himself, and also to try and induce others to do the same.

A Merchant on his travels put up in a village, and at parting gave the

villagers some clothes, of which he had no need: in the pockets there was a single Gospel, and some tracts: they were read: the Spirit of the Lord worked through them with such force, that the readers were converted, and got rid of their idols. The truth of this wonderful case was carefully investigated, and is recorded by Sir Bartle Frere in a volume on Indian Missions.

When the work of editing old translations, and preparing new ones, was commenced in earnest, linguistic secrets were revealed, of which our fathers never dreamt. In their easy-going way they imagined, that the people of China all spoke one language, and the people of India another, and that Arabic was intelligible over the best part of Africa. As to the people of Oceania and America, they hardly gave them credit for the power of emitting articulate sounds, fondly believing, that they transacted their affairs by the help of symbols, whistles, clicks, grunts, and gestures. In Europe they little knew of the tangled network of mutually unintelligible dialects, of sister-languages, of different written characters, misapplied in a strange way, such as the Turkish written in Greek characters, and Slavonic languages in Roman characters: they knew nothing of such composite jargons as Judæo-German, and Judæo-Spanish; of the three dialects of the Basque, of the dialects of the Engadine, of the triple variety of the Lapp language: as to the hundreds of languages in Asia, Africa, America, and Oceania, they had not the least conception, nor would they probably ever have had any but for the necessity imposed upon the Christian to present the Word of God to every Nation under the Sun in their vulgar tongue. No one, who has carefully region by region surveyed the different Continents, and gauged the existing knowledge, however imperfect, of the forms of speech used by the human race, can hesitate, if he has the feeling of gratitude existing in his nature, to render cordial thanks to those great Protestant Religious Societies, which have produced the translations, and the Bible-Societies, which have published them.

The basis of the translation was fixed on the Hebrew text for the Old Testament, and the Greek text for the New, and the translations were restricted to the well-known "Textus Receptus" in both cases. This excluded the Apocrypha, the Septuagint, and the Vulgate. By the Holy Scriptures, which were the subject-matter of the Society's operations, was meant the Inspired Word of God, which could not be asserted with regard to the Apocrypha. The Septuagint, though honoured by being textually quoted in the New Testament, differs materially in many respects from the Hebrew Text, which latter was necessarily preferred to the exclusion of the former. By parity of reason there was no place for the Vulgate. No doubt many early translators, being ignorant of Hebrew and Greek, made their translations from Vernaculars in existence; but these have been, or will be, superseded in the

course of Revision. As regards the New Testament, since the publication of the Text followed by the late Company of Revisers, a certain latitude as to the use of either that, or the Textus Receptus, has been permitted. Had permission been given, or the licence been tolerated, of the translator going behind the Received Texts, and forming his own basis of translation, the wildest confusion would have followed.

Who were the translators? No University, no State-Department, no Learned Society, could have supplied men, willing to conduct such operations, or capable of doing so. It was not abstract knowledge heaped up in the study, that was requisite, but the gift of conversing with, and understanding the people: it was not a city of Europe or North America, in which such work could be done, but the Mission-Stations in the midst of half-converted Natives: it was not earthly honour, or high remuneration, that would tempt capable men to dwell in noxious climates, often far from the civilized comforts of the age, but the wondrous desire to save Souls, the entire consecration of talents, health, and life, to the spiritual welfare of their fellow-creatures: the work, when done, was not to be crowned with a Volney-Prize, or stared at as something wonderful in a public Library; but it was to be submitted at once to the test of daily use in the school and Mission-Chapel. It would be exposed to the criticism of European colleagues, and Native Pastors, and Catechists, who read it and quoted it, and explained it every day of their life. It might therefore be rugged, be unpolished, but it must be intelligible, and real. In many cases it was set up and printed, and the sheets stitched together, by members of the very flock, for whose use it was made: and no wonder, that they loved it, and prized it, as their own, and in many cases rejoiced to send to the Parent-Society the whole cost of the production. Some of the best translations are entirely indigenous productions, just as in a village in India the Cotton is grown in the fields, the pods are picked by the women, then cleaned, then spun, then woven, then made up into garments to be worn by the men, women, and children. Of all the great Manufacturing wonders, of which Great Britain is proud, perhaps none is more soul-uplifting than that of the translation, and printing, of the Holy Scriptures.

The translators were with the fewest exceptions the Missionaries of the Protestant Societies of Europe, and North America, and herein lies an additional confirmation of the necessity of a Bible-Society being the representative of United Christendom. Well-meaning, but imperfectly instructed, Members of the Established Church of England, claiming to themselves an authority, which it is difficult to reconcile with common sense, and impossible to reconcile with history, murmured at the idea of such a union;

but the Practice has approved the Principle. How should we have compassed the round world, if we had restricted ourselves to one denomination, or one coterie of scholars? It required the united effort of every Protestant, and every scholar, and every Society, to do what has been done; and it must be admitted, that those, who scruple to join and support the Society, do not hesitate to make use of good translations, without inquiring too closely by whose *unauthorized* learning and devotion they were made. "Factum valet, quod fieri non debet." It is natural, that Christians should prefer the denomination, to which they conscientiously belong, but the Unity of Christ's Church on Earth is an essential feature of our common Faith, and pity must be felt for those, who place the Shibboleth of their own particular fold above the interest of the whole flock.

I now come face to face with the languages themselves, the forms of speech, the sentences made up of words, by which man communicates with his fellow-man: these forms of speech may be separate languages, possibly sister-languages, coming from the same common stock, like Italian and Spanish from Latin, or dialects of the same language, like the Venetian and Neapolitan dialects of Italian, differentiated from each other in phonetics, in word-store, and in structure. The subject is a most fascinating one: there is but one more subject more charming than the study of Language, and that is the study of the Bible, and here both are combined.

Some scholars have studied the literature of one particular Epoch, such as the classical periods of a language, and turned their attention to the subject-matter of that literature, and the style of the authors: other scholars have looked over these points altogether, and studied the sentences, the words, and the letters, viz. the materials, and not the result of the combination of those materials: it is, as if a tourist in Italy were to consider the pebbles, of which a tessellated pavement was composed, and not the pattern of the mosaic. Upon closer reflection such scholars will be found to be on the most interesting track. The words of a language, the way in which they are compounded, or modified, the order in which they are grouped, the friction, which they have undergone, the shades of variation of meaning, which they have acquired by the contact of the genius of the men, using them as vehicles of thought, present phenomena unequalled in intricacy and wonder. Some words seem to be indestructible: the three letters *k*, *l*, *b* meant the idea of "writing," when Moses brought the tables of stone from Mount Sinai, and they mean the same thing now over a great part of Asia; the three letters *b*, *r*, *k* meant "blessing" at the time of the Exodus, and mean the same thing still. The necessity of a bilingual interpreter soon forced itself upon the notice of natives

and tribes, who held intercourse with their neighbours, and, when the forward step was taken of inventing Ideographs, Syllabaries, and Alphabets, for the record of past facts, and the written communication of current facts, the necessity of translations of esteemed works became obvious.

We know, how before Christ the Hebrew Books were by order of Ptolemy, King of Egypt, translated into Greek. Our Lord on the Cross quoted from the Psalms in an Aramaic version: it may be assumed, that, when He read from the Book of Isaiah in the Synagogue at Nazareth, He used an Aramaic version, as the Hebrew had ceased to be a Vernacular, and the Synagogue-roll was a translation. When the Christian Religion spread, the difficulty of tongues was soon felt. The Eastern Church was never jealous of the translation of the Scriptures into the Vernacular, and the same impulse, that led Jerome to reside at Bethlehem, and translate the Bible into the great Vernacular of the Roman world, had three centuries previously led to the Koptic, the Syriac, the Armenian, and the Ethiopic versions: this example was freely followed by other nations: when Rome fell into unscriptural errors, she sealed up the book, which would expose those errors: still, insensibly, she permitted the existence of a French translation by De Sacy, a Spanish by Scio, a Portuguese by Figuerido, an Italian by Martini, a German by Van Ess. When the British and Foreign Bible Society commenced their operations on the principle, that the Bible should be conveyed to every Land, that the Gospel should be brought to the door of every Nation, and Kindred, and Language and Tongue, the Committee had to grapple with an untold variety of circumstances. It was easy to multiply copies of the English Bible, and the supply of books to the other residents of these Islands, the Welsh, the Gaelic, the Manx, the Erse, and the French for the Channel Islands, required no great effort; but when great, distant, and comparatively little-known countries had to be dealt with, startling problems had to be solved, such as had never been dealt with at any period of the world's history. The scholarship of the great scholars of the period was soon exhausted. Not as yet had Bopp raised the study of Language to the rank of a Science, not as yet had a Geographical solution been applied to the great problem:

Given the surface of the Globe, and the approximate number of the inhabitants thereof, to find out what languages are spoken, and to reduce those languages to writing, and to translate the Scriptures into them, so as to be understood by the women and the children, the old and the ignorant, as well as by the young enterprizing men of business.

If the Committee in its first quarter of a Century had realized the immensity of the problem, they would have shrunk from the endeavour; but it was concealed from their eyes, and it is only,

as their successors have plodded on, that it has become manifest, how magnificent is the spectacle of from two to three thousand mutually unintelligible forms of speech being at this moment used in the world.

The lives of languages are as uncertain and precarious, as the lives of men: they have fallen, and will continue to fall, like the leaves of a tree. It is one continual struggle for life between the strong and the weak. How many languages has the English devoured, and how many more in its lordly progress over Continent and Island it will still devour! While the Edition of the translation of the Bible into the Náma dialect of the Hottentot language was passing through the Press, a warning came to the Committee to stay their hand, as the Dutch language by the force of its own superior vitality was treading out the ancestral language of a tribe passing into the lower levels of civilization. Emperors and Popes blindly try to stamp out politically obnoxious languages in Europe, but their efforts are vain. The vehicle of human thought obeys a law of its own, and defies the ukase of a Sovereign, the Bull of a Pope, or the Act of a Parliament. Of most of the languages, which came under the hand of the translator, there were no Grammars, or Dictionaries, or Texts: the words had to be caught alive out of the mouths of unsympathetic Savages, who could not conceive, what the Missionary was after in trying to find out the meaning of words, the cause of alterations of syllables, and the construction of sentences. It must be remembered also, that these good and earnest men were with very rare exceptions anything but scholars: they knew small Latin and less Greek, and indeed nothing but their Mother-tongue: it was therefore in a new arena, that they had to fight, and they were not furnished with the experience and acumen of the trained comparative scholar, whose very instinct leads him to understand the manifold variations of the human intellect, and its struggles to clothe its meaning in vocalic symbols. Some of these good men allowed themselves to indulge in platitudes, which raise a smile, for each complacently considered, that he had the most eccentric and unmanageable language to cope with, being himself utterly ignorant of any other. Some went so far as to describe their languages, as possessing no Grammatical Rules, forgetting, that Grammar is but the Photograph of the method actually in existence, and it could not be pretended, that words left the mouth of any tribe at haphazard. Some maintained, that the languages of barbarians and savages were necessarily so simple, that their word-store was inadequate to express the ordinary ideas of their daily life, and that the early Missionaries, as it were, created the language: we may puff away such oft-repeated fallacies: the logic of the brain of the Savage moves as freely, as that of the educated man, and the majority of Savages are born orators.

Nor are their languages necessarily simple or incomplete: this may be said of the Hebrew, which had the advantage of very early culture, and being committed to written record very early, was stunted in its growth: but in three languages in different parts of the world we find phenomena of a very different character. The Sontál language in Central India is described as being highly complicated, yet strictly logical, possessing five voices, five moods, twenty-three tenses, three numbers, and four cases. The great Bántu languages of South Africa, South of the Equator, are described by all, who have studied them, as rich, abounding, in expressions, which exhibit most delicate shades of thought, regular, exact, and precise, and sufficing from their own word-store, if the rules of their own marvellous structure are worked out, to translate the whole Bible without the necessity of a single loan-word. What shall be said of the Túrki language of Northern Asia, before it became diluted and poisoned with Arian and Semitic admixtures? Its accumulating and self-contained power was such, that each word could develope into many hundred possible forms.

And the translation, when made, was not destined to be placed on the shelf of a library, or to be used by a few select scholars, or even by the larger and more sharply critical circle of students, such as those, who study the Scriptures in the Hebrew and the Greek. But these translations at once passed into the hands of the Native Catechist and the Native Sunday School-teacher, and the Bible-women, and the old crones, who loved to spell out their Bible. One Missionary records the process:

As fast as the Bible was translated, my wife taught it to the women and girls: she taught them first to read it, and then to commit it to memory, and left the Spirit of God to apply it to their hearts and consciences (translated "heart-voices") in His own time and way. The Bible was the basis of their religion, and of their civilization, and the fruit appeared in due time.

More than that, the flow of new Missionaries is continuous, and the order of men's minds strangely varies, there being a general preference even among consecrated men to their own opinion on matters of literary taste, or translationary accuracy. We see thus, that the work of the translator, the man who broke up the virgin soil, the prentice-hand, that tried to do his best, had a heavy ordeal to go through. Besides being an honest man, loving his work, he became his own severest critic. A one-man translation is, and must always be, looked upon with suspicion.

No one man, however well qualified for the task, ought to be entrusted with the entire responsibility of translating the Word of God into a foreign language; it should therefore be a standing rule, that after the translator has done his work, he should submit his MS. to a Committee of not less than three of his brethren, European and Native, appointed for the purpose at a

general meeting. The translator should be one of the Committee, but the Committee should be responsible for the translation, every word being compared with the original, and the renderings settled, as the united voice of the Committee decided. The time seems to me to have come, when all the translations of the less well-known languages should be submitted to the independent criticism of scholars selected for the purpose: many circumstances have led me to fear, that serious errors of judgment have been committed, and an artificial language introduced.

Other eccentric mistakes may have been made, *ex. gr.* "Let Us make man in our own Image." In the Hebrew and Greek the Plural number is used: some commentators imagine, that the Trinity is alluded to: but this hardly justified a translator in a language, provided with four numbers, singular, plural, dual and *trinal*, to use the last, and take credit for his skill in the rendering, "Let Us *three* make man." This is interpretation, *not* translation.

Then again the Holy Spirit in the Revelation of St. John speaking through one, who knew the Greek language, condescends to illustrate the all-comprehensiveness of the Saviour by saying, "I am Alpha and Omega." No doubt it is a great difficulty, and the Hindustáni version "Main Alfa aur Omagá" reads awkwardly, but no doubt is as intelligible to a Peasant in India, as the Greek words are to a Peasant in Great Britain, yet this hardly justifies the version in an African language using a Roman Alphabet, "I am A and Z."

There may be more than one denomination of Christian Missions working in the same Language-Field, quite ready to make use of the same version, when once it is settled, but naturally desirous to have a word in the matter. Many distinct views may be taken of the duty of a translator: some prefer literal, even servile, following of the Greek, or Hebrew, text, which, owing to the difference of the languages, may lead to inconveniences: others may incline to a paraphrase, which may prove dangerous, as implying interpretation. The tastes of some may incline to a stilted, and classical, book-style: others may err on the side of too vulgar a Vernacular, falling below the dignity of the subject. Add to this the nice points as to the meaning of certain terms in the original, and difficulties of exegesis, difficulties of finding correct renderings of the great land-marks of Theology, such as Faith, Justification, Repentance, etc. It requires a long familiarity with the original text, and a deep penetration into its spirit, to be able to sort out, build up, create, or coin, suitable renderings.

All these difficulties crop up out of the subject-matter, but there are additional causes of heart-burning. Within the region there may be a cluster of sister-dialects of one common language, but none having such a pre-eminence as to justify its being made

the Standard. At the time of the Peloponnesian War would the Spartans with their Doric, or the Ionians with their Ionic, have submitted to be taught, and preached to, in Attic? The translator naturally takes to the dialect of the particular tribe, among whom he has dwelt, and from whose lips he has picked up his knowledge. Within twenty miles of his station dwells another tribe, speaking a markedly distinct dialect, and among them has settled a Mission of another Denomination, and another Nationality, say German or French. Here commences the battle of dialects. The Bible-Society, with reason, strives to safeguard the Bible from the peril of *a double voice*, in rival and discordant translations, and objects to encourage in any way the publication of two versions in closely allied dialects of the same language, and strives to compose the difficulty, which is aggravated often by a feature still more serious. In countries, such as India, there is a multiplicity of magnificent alphabets, adapted with precision to the sounds of their languages. Strange to say, the translator, who is new to his work, invites sympathy to himself by dilating on the fact, that he has to use a foreign alphabet. With greater reason the translator, who has to deal with a language, never previously subjected to the discipline of an alphabet, may dwell upon the real difficulty of differentiating the sounds accurately, and recording them precisely. It is generally accepted, that, when no alphabet exists, some form or other of the Roman alphabet should be adopted: not the imperfect and inadequate machine, which is applied to the English language, where one symbol, without the help of diacritical marks, is made to represent several distinct vowel-sounds, but an improved, enlarged, and scientific, Roman alphabet. Here commences the battle of the alphabets. No French, or German, Missionary appears to be able to transliterate in the same manner, as an Englishman. Systems have been propounded by competent scholars, but have never found general, fearless, and universal, acceptance. In Africa there are two or three systems slightly differing: in Ashanti-Land two versions of of a portion of the Scriptures have been published by the Society: the dialectical variation of the Fanti, and Akwápem, is slight, but the difference of the transliterating method is so great, that none, but a practised student, could read both. In North America some of the translators with greater hardihood have gone back, as it were, many Centuries on the path of Civilization, and adopted a brand-new Syllabary, thus cutting off their flocks entirely from the possible contact of European literature. In South America a Missionary has adopted a system, which no one understands but himself; for the inventor, whose name it bears, disavows it on account of the radical changes made in the course of its use by the Missionary. The proofs of the sheets

printed in London have to be sent to Tierra del Fuego to be corrected, occupying six months of wasted time.

A Committee of Revision, formed of representative men, is the method adopted by the Bible-Societies to bring discordant elements into some kind of harmony: the process is slow, and costly, but sure, and lasting, and leading on to finality in some dim and remote future.

The following rules were agreed upon for the guidance of one Translation Committee, and are given as a sample:

“ 1. The object is to make a translation, not a paraphrase, or explanation.

2. The translation is to be as literal, as the language will allow.

3. The translation is intended for popular use, and therefore should be as simple as possible, yet not vulgar.

4. Ambiguity in the original is to be retained, where practicable.

5. Peculiar Biblical phraseology to be retained, where practicable.

6. Important words, and their cognates, to be translated as uniformly as practicable.

7. Questions of principle to be referred to the Parent-Committee.

8. The existing version, published in 1880, is to be taken as the basis of the new translation in respect of the general meaning of the original; but reference may be made to the Authorized and Revised English versions, and those members of the Committee, who are acquainted with Greek, should be consulted in regard to the meaning of the original in doubtful cases.

9. The European members of the Committee are entitled to express their opinion, whether in regard to the meaning of the original, or the Vernacular rendering, but they are not entitled to a vote on questions, that merely involve a question of language.

10. The Secretary shall first draft the version of each chapter. This shall be printed, and a copy with wide margin sent to each member of the Committee, who will make such corrections as seem to him desirable, and return it within a week to the Editor. He will consider the corrections thus made within the week, adopt such of them, as he approves of, and send a copy thus corrected to each member. The members shall then meet and decide all questions by a majority of votes.”

And, when the Manuscript is ready, every ingenuity of Art and Science is utilized to multiply copies, and perpetuate Editions. The sizes of the sheets, and of the types, and the number of the copies, and the character of the binding, the quality of paper, and the price to be charged, are all subjects, involving reflection, a sound judgment, a multiplicity of opinions, and an abundance of resources. Sometimes Photography is made use of.

And the wonderful God-made vehicle of language is always found adequate, though in a multiform and various manner, to convey the meaning of God's Word correctly. The Divine Word is itself so marvellously enshrined in human vocables, it is so human in its outward form, that it lends itself readily to new renderings: the pure gold is easily cast in the new linguistic mint. This cannot be said of any other book. Sometimes the translator has turned too readily to the use of loan-words from dead or living languages, and has thus defiled the pure fount of the Native Vernacular: it is much to be regretted, and in my opinion implies the absence of study of the resources of that language: the particular words wanted did not exist, because the idea had not existed, and the word was not wanted. Fifty years ago nobody required such words as "Railway, Station, Telegram," etc.: with the necessity came the word, which has been evolved from the undeveloped Word-Store of the language. The fault lies with the translator, not the language.

A translation of the Bible is generally the nucleus of an indigenous literature, and from that date the grammatical structure of the language becomes fixed, and a certain amount of permanence is guaranteed to its existence. There is therefore a great objection to translations in a Jargon, a Patois, a Coast-language, or Pigeon-language, which occupy a position lower down in the linguistic scale than a dialect, representing either the Business-form of words used by ignorant traders, landing on the Coast, and dealing with still more ignorant tribes, or sometimes the linguistic medium of the village and family, who have conserved a domestic idiom, although using the ordinary Vernacular out of doors. The idea of a Pigeon-English translation in China would be odious, or a trader's jargon on the African coast; but there are circumstances, under which a relaxation of a good rule must be made. We have already alluded to the special translations made for the Hebrew Nomads, who still dwell in Europe, as it were in tents, and use a dialect with their own word-store veneered upon an Arian structure. Another cause of relaxation has been the necessity of Creole translations, and West Indian varieties. The American Negroes have been the victims of circumstances: of their own languages they have lost all trace, and have adopted weak and corrupted forms of European languages. Souls must be saved, at any sacrifice of linguistic purity. The words seem to our ears ridiculous, but, if they become the vehicle of true prayer, and of sound teaching, the Holy Spirit will doubtless work through such a medium to as rich a blessing, as would be called down by a similar use of the most polished language. The Word of God must be brought to the level of being understood by the humblest man, woman, and child, and will not suffer from the apparent degradation.

On the one hand, proud literary languages, which delight in honorific phrases, and a phraseology of deference, such as the languages of Java, the Osmánli Túrki, or the Bangáli, must be levelled down to the grand simplicity of the Hebrew and Greek, and the comprehension of the unlettered poor: while, on the other hand, poor, unsettled, uncultivated, undeveloped forms of mixed words must be levelled up to the dignity of being the vehicle of God's Message to Man, and the golden censer, in which prayer is offered to the Most High.

Let us consider the dignity of the office of a translator: he is not indeed composing a new Bible, but making an old one comprehensible for the first time to a new people: and the work must be done by consecrated persons, begun, continued and ended in prayer, often under great physical and local difficulties, and far from references to critical helps, and books of reference, but in touch of the people, for whose benefit the Holy Spirit is guiding the faithful and humble-minded translator. It is the first book in many languages, and often the only book, and always the best book. As the wonderful story is spelt out in new combinations of syllables and letters, or hesitatingly pronounced in new sequences of strange, but still euphonious, sounds, and, as the divine conception of Sin, Faith, Pardon and Peace, impresses itself on the consciences and intellects of untutored, yet sympathetic, savages, how the heart of the translator is gladdened, how his eye is brightened to think, that in the course of ages to him it has been reserved to be the first interpreter of Revelation to tribes, so long lying out of the way of the Gospel! On the tomb of more than one venerable scholar the Inscription could have been recorded, that he translated the whole Bible into a language previously unknown. Universities, slowly wise, and meanly just, have lately conferred Scholastic honours on both European and Negro translators, as some slight return for such great services both to Religion and Science; I am glad to record, that to the Negro race this honour has been conceded to be forward in this great work. Archdeacon Henry Johnson on the Upper Niger, though a pure Negro, is an accomplished scholar, and a courteous gentleman: he is exhausting worlds of linguistic Science, already partially discovered, and discovering entirely new forms of speech, and clothing the Gospel in this new material.

It is a great marvel to sit in the Library of the Bible-House, and follow the fine lines of the spider's web, which stretch out to every part of the world, and to touch with respect and awe the specimen-copies of versions, printed in words, which no one in Europe can understand, by the agency of native presses in far-distant regions, which Cæsar never knew, but which have been revealed to our generation. How narrow seems the Region

alluded to in Acts ii. 5, under the sounding expression of τῶν ὑπο τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, or "every nation under Heaven," compared with that infinitely wider region, in which man can now hear and read the mighty works of God, each in his own language! Just as a new Planet rolls itself into the orbit of human sight, so new languages of new tribes spring annually out of the Great Unknown into the arena of Knowledge, exhibiting new forms of Grammatical texture, new word-stores cast in unknown moulds, and calling out to the Servants of Christ, whether the Yellow Mongol, or the black Negro, or the red American, or the white Caucasian, to come over and make use of them, and ennoble them, and perpetuate them by committing to them the Oracles of God. And beyond those, which are partially known or dimly revealed, the vast empty space on the latest maps warns us of the existence of a great *terra incognita*, and unrevealed Millions. We are, as it were, standing on the sea-shore, and listening to the confused noise of the waves, or upon a high tower, listening to the murmurs of the unseen crowd below, that float up to our hearing. There are secrets reserved for the twentieth Century to reveal, and the Catalogue of Versions, which we now fondly look on with satisfaction, will be alluded to with a pitying smile, as the puny effort of a generation honest, yet not over-wise, well-intentioned, but not very capable. Time is on the side of the Bible-Societies, which so far resemble the Persian irrigating wheel with a never-ending chain, pouring out a continuous stream of fertilizing water. Fifty years hence, if Great Britain lasts so long (and even then the American Bible Society will survive, and the Australasian Associations will be independent), we shall know something: and, until we have the Bible in every language spoken under the Sun, it is quite premature to discuss the origin and object of Human Speech, for it appears to me, that the Gift of Speech was only made to us for the purpose of conveying God's Message, not to Churches, and Priests, but to the individual man for the well-being of his Soul.

But in the work of translation other difficulties arise than those of the Language. No class of men are so narrow in their vision as Missionaries, except Scholars, and the Scholar-Missionary, or rather the One-Language unscholarly Missionary, is a most opinionated, untractable, individual. He raises up an isolated pinnacle of his own judgment, and can see with only one eye, and that perhaps a distorted eye. He is aware of his great value, but is not aware, that the more profound the scholar becomes, the more humility he acquires, and the more accurate is his instinct of seeing beyond the mere pages into the consequences of certain expressions. It has been justly remarked, that men have become slaves of their words, instead of maintaining an authority over their vehicle of ideas. In

China, the Divine name has been and is the cause of a long and endless quarrel. The inspired writers of the New Testament laid hold of certain ordinary Greek words, and gave them by their holy touch a new significance. It may be possible, that the Chinese have no term appropriate to the Lord of the Universe, and Creator of Mankind: unquestionably the people of India, Persia, and Arabia, are well supplied. The question in China lies principally between "Shin" and "Shang-Ti." To meet the difficulty of two wholly irreconcilable schools, whole Editions have been published, leaving a blank, wherever the Divine name occurs, so that it may be filled up by hand, at the pleasure of the Missionary. A similar difficulty has arisen in the Zulu language of South Africa: unquestionably a foreign name should never be introduced. When the Teutons were converted, the word "God" was used, not "Deus," or "Θεός." In India for many years a storm has raged on the mode of transliterating the holy name of Jesus. In Mahometan countries the tradition has been handed down of the word "Isa," and such is the term used in Arabic, Turkish, and Persian translations; but many of the Indian translators will have the word "Yisu," and it is possible, that gradually in the minds of an ignorant people there will exist separate individualities to correspond with the two separate names. The use of the word "Baptism" has rent from the Society a considerable number of adherents, and led to the foundation of the Baptist Bible Society using a Vernacular term meaning "Immersion." It must be remembered, that one of the organic rules of the Society is, that the translation is to be without note or comment. Clearly so to translate a neutral word, as to give it an interpretation, which is not admitted by a majority of Protestant Christians, would be to depart from that rule.

Another controversy has lately arisen as to the transliterating, or translation, of the great name of the God of Israel, "Jehovah." The Jews veiled it under the term Adonai, and the unpronounced tetragrammata have the vowel-pointing of Adonai. The Septuagint and our Blessed Lord, and his Apostles, use the translated word *Κύριος*, the Latin Church "Dominus," the German "Herr," the Arab and Turkish Churches "Rab," and the people of Northern India "Khudáwand." Only in certain special passages, where there is an obvious necessity, in all the versions except the Hindustáni, is the term Jehovah used. The translators of the Old Testament in Persian and Pastu seek to introduce a change, for in both languages a term analogous to Adonai has been used by the earlier translators. There is an objection to a one-man version, because in such matters an arbitrary man listens to no reason: if a Revision-Committee arrives at a certain conclusion, supported by a majority of the Missionaries of the

Region, the Parent-Committee would accept their ruling: but, where there is only one man, and not one of wide experience, the Parent-Committee is bound to be firm to its own opinion, and, if the translator is so ill-judging as not to yield, he should be relieved of his task of translation: it is no justification to a Society, that it permitted an error, because such and such a one desired it. The problem is not a simple one, as some would fancy. One Missionary writes, that he had been in continued prayer on the subject, and had arrived at a conviction, the same as preceded his devotions. Another connects the Afghans with the Ten Tribes, and gives that as a reason. Now the Old Testament Company of Revisers were not convinced, or at least had not the strength of their conviction, to introduce the sacred Name into the Revised Version of the Old Testament. The New Testament Company could not do so, as the inspired Greek Text forbade them to depart from the strict duty of translators. So in the event of a transliteration of the sacred Name being adopted for the Old Testament, the Mahometans (and it is by them alone of the non-Christian world that the Book will be used) will notice with surprise three readings of the name of the "Creator" in the Old Testament, El or Elohim, Al Shaddai, and Yahvah, two separate ones in the New Testament, *Κυριος*, *ὁ ψιςτος*, and will remark with complacency, that Mahomet went back to the primeval form "Allah," and that alone.

The question does not rest with theologians, or Bible-Students in Great Britain: the only judges are those, who are familiar with the details of translation into non-Christian languages. For that purpose I must divide the Non-Christian world into two categories: the first is that vast Region of Western and Central Asia, and North Africa, over which the Mahometan Religion and Culture, and the Arabic language, spread: the second category is the rest of the world. Now, as regards the second category, I do not admit, that any translators were justified in departing from the example of our Lord, and His Apostles, of the Septuagint-Translation, and St. Jerome, of the translators of the Syriac, Koptic, Ethiopic, and Armenian versions; but I accept facts, and no inconvenience will arise. But, as regards the languages of the Mahometan Region, I would steadfastly follow the example of the great Arabic and Túrki versions, the latter in its five-fold varieties. The Persian and Pastu languages are spoken exclusively by a Mahometan population, accustomed to Arabic prayers, invocations, and salutations. Both languages, though of Arian structure, are poisoned by Semitic loans not only of words, but of phrases, and inflections. The same may be said of the Urdu, or Hindustáni, of North India: it is an Arian language, deeply affected by Persian and Arabic loans: with the exception of the

Balúchi, which is as yet untouched, the problem ends here, and no future translator will be vexed on this subject.

If, however, the arguments for adopting a transliteration in Persian and Pastu prevail, and to prevail they must be overpowering arguments, a vista of unknown difficulties is opened out. With what consistency can the Bible-Society distribute another copy of the translation of the Old Testament in Arabic, Armenian in two varieties, Kurd, Túrki in five varieties, and Mongol in three varieties? The Arabic translation is the property of the American Presbyterian Mission, and it may be unhesitatingly stated, that they will allow no change. The Azerbijáni Túrki belongs equally to the American and British Bible-Societies: no change would be possible. As regards the Osmánli Túrki the field is chiefly occupied by American Congregationalists, and not a single British Missionary, so they must be arbiters of their own practice.

Oh! the difference between the great, and the humble, scholar, and the over-confident, self-satisfied, unscientific, stringer of sentences!

The late Bishop Steere is admitted to have been a most successful translator of the Old and New Testament in the Swahíli language: it is true, that he had not studied Hebrew, and took no Arabic with him to the African Coast, but still he succeeded: what, however, was his own opinion of his own work?

He expressed his agreeable surprise, when a lesson was read from the Philippians, to find, that it seemed almost intelligible, but he attributed this to the way, in which the reader read it: he used to say, that he only published his translations, lest others, not so well equipped, should translate and publish: he never ranked his own translations highly, and he thought his Swahíli unidiomatic, and, if he thought, that Missionaries in learning to speak and write Swahili, would rely on his translations, he could wish them all to be burnt. All that he could do was to write the language with grammatical correctness, but the genius of the language must not be sought in any of his translations.

Perhaps in such terms Jerome, and Luther, spoke depreciatingly of the works of their own brain and hand: but Posterity did not agree with them in this particular, and their works will live for ever: unless I am mistaken, the good Bishop's life-work will not soon be superseded.

Then comes the difficulty of abstract words: there is no doubt, that the capacity of the language could provide the words, if the nature of the idea could be brought home to the unreflecting savage. He sees matters in the concrete, rather than the abstract, and does not moralize. The word Love is an abstract word, and the idea of pure and holy Love, such as is conveyed in the feeling of man to his Maker, and God to his creatures, is unknown to races in a low state of culture. The translator has to feel his way to a suitable phrase, and in one instance a painful mistake was made in the rendering of the sentence "God is

Love." The writers of the New Testament must have been greatly exercised in their choice of suitable words from the current Greek phraseology of the day, such words as ἀγάπη, πίστις, πραΰτης, ταπεινοφροσύνη, in addressing heathens, who knew no love but lust, who were total unbelievers, who were fierce to resent insults, and considered lowliness of heart as cowardice in disguise. Then it requires a nice knowledge of a language to avoid vulgar or slang phrases: it will occur to any one, how distressing it would be to find slang phrases interwoven with the story of our Lord. But another difficulty arises: the Bible, though a Divine Message, is essentially a human book, localized to a region in a temperate zone, and the writers drew their illustrations from the scenes around them, the Fauna and Flora of the Country, the food, the clothing, the habitations, and the manners, and customs. The Natives of Europe are similarly situated, and have been able to understand the purport, and make allowance for the slight differences. With regard to the Japanese it was remarked that :

Simplicity of style and freedom from Chinese and foreign terms had been carefully maintained. The main difficulty was in finding satisfactory equivalents for some names of animals, birds, insects, trees, flowers, and precious stones; the Hebrew weights, measures, etc., were simply transliterated into Japanese, as in every other version.

But what do the Greenlanders, and the Eskimo, and the Polynesians, and Melanesians, and the Equatorial Africans, know about bread and wine, about fig-trees and sheep? Their ideas about clothing the body, and habitations, differ *in toto*. The customs of Child-murder, Cannibalism, and Human Sacrifices, as well as the habit of both sexes going about stark naked, imply a state of mind differing widely from that of the Jews and Syrians. In some congregations in the South Sea Islands the Yams and the Cocoa-nut milk take the place of bread and wine in the celebration of the Eucharist. Among the Greenlanders the Moravians are stated to have used a strong analogy, and described our Lord as the "little seal" of God, as the conception of a sheep and lamb was unknown, and the seal was to them what the sheep had been to the Syrians.

I have said enough to show the extreme difficulties of the translator, and that they have succeeded proves the guidance of the Holy Spirit to human agents, who, following humbly the steps of the Prophets and Evangelists, placed Divine Truth in the earthen vessels of poor, perishable, changeable, insufficient, vocables, the distorted reflections of untutored, variable, and capricious thought.

CHAPTER II.—DESCRIPTION OF THE LANGUAGES.

LET me now glance at the languages of the different Regions of the World, and consider what has been done, and what remains to be done. Before any finality can be arrived at, we must know the name of every language, and every leading dialect of that language: the exact position of the language-field: the number of people using it. Such statistics have not yet been collected. The difficulty is to secure one accurate nomenclature, and guard against double entries. The exploration of the world is not completed yet. Our linguistic knowledge is not yet up to the mark. Ingenious people copy down names, and put them into Alphabetic order, and print them, but, as the names have not been tested by the Geographer, or the Linguist, the lists are worthless. It was truly remarked some years ago, by a deceased Secretary of the British and Foreign Bible Society :

We may well dispel the fear, expressed by some, that Bible-work is approaching its end. If we regard merely the progress of Scripture-translation, we may see how immensely remote is the end of our labours. Allowing that something has been effected, we ought to ask ourselves such questions as these : 1. What proportion does this number bear to the total of languages spoken in the world? 2. In how many of the three hundred and thirty is a mere fragment of the Bible rendered? and 3. How many versions are as yet only tentative and rudimentary, holding the ground only until something much more worthy takes their place? Even great versions are likely, in time, to be superseded, and if so, what changes may not the future see in many of the minor versions, upon which little or no scholarship has as yet been expended? Besides which, unless we are to accept the labours of the scholars of this generation as final, who shall say, that our children's children may not possess better materials than we possess for determining the words used by the Evangelists and Apostles? and we may be sure that, whatever advantage textual criticism may give to them, they will feel it their duty to communicate to their fellow-men in all lands, and every tongue.

1. EUROPE.

The languages of this Continent occupy most of the thoughts of men, but they are not in themselves the most interesting, nor do they represent much linguistic variety. The great Arian, or Indo-European, procession Westwards from their primeval home

commenced at some remote period of antiquity, and four Branches of that Family, feeling their way North of the Caspian Sea, crossed the River Volga into Europe, presumably in the following order. The Kelt led the way, and was pushed on by his following brethren to the Atlantic, and, as a matter of fact, a great many have been pushed across the Atlantic. Five separate languages survive, and all are represented by translations of the whole Bible: Welsh, Gaelic, Erse and Manx, within the British Islands, and Breton in France. Behind them came the Teuton Branch, represented by the following languages: English, German, Dutch, Flemish, Fries, Danish, Swedish, Norse, Icelandic, in all of which the entire Bible has been published, except the Fries, which seems to be falling to the rank of a District-Patois, and is represented by one Gospel, to the printing of which I objected, as it appeared to be more a literary curiosity than a vehicle of Gospel-truth. Some dialects of these languages are represented by translations: for instance, the English by Surinam-Negro, the Danish by Creole-Negro: one Gospel exists in the Icelandic dialect of Faro Island: the New Testament and Psalms in Judæo-German. Behind the Teuton came the Lithuanic Branch, containing the Lithuanian with the Samogitian dialect, and the Lett, and for their use the whole Bible has been provided. Behind them came the Sláv Branch, represented by the old Slavonic, a liturgical language, the Russ, Pole, Wend, Czeck, Slovák. Slovén, Ruthén, Serb, with the dialect of Carniola, and Bulgár. In some of these the entire Bible has been prepared: in the remainder only portions: but several dialects are also represented. Two dialects of the Wend are used in Prussia, and another dialect in Hungary. We here enter regions, where the Greek Church uses one form of written character, and the Romish another; but the Bible-Society supplies both, so as in any way to secure readers.

But one potent Branch of the Arian Family penetrated into Europe by a route South of the Caspian Sea, passed through Asia Minor, and, occupying the shores of the Mediterranean, established a proud predominance in Art, Arms, and Religion, which has never been surpassed: this is the Greco-Latin Branch, which has left an enduring mark on the whole world never to be effaced. Two dead languages represent this Branch in the first line, both classical, and both liturgical. The whole Bible exists in both: the Old Testament has been translated into Greek, and the New Testament, in the inspired original Greek, so far lives, that in Chapels and Schools the ancient language is used; but the modern dialect, called Romaic, is represented by the whole Bible; and a version of a portion is in the Roman character for the use of Greek Roman Catholics. The Greek Priests say, that the only language fit to convey divine things is Greek. The

Latin language died, but, like a Phoenix, gave birth in dying to a grand Family of languages, the Italian, the Spanish, the Portuguese, the French, the Romanian of the Danube, the Romansch of Switzerland: with the exception of the last, they are all represented by the whole Bible: and there are dialects, such as that of Vaudois, the Provençal, and Mauritius-Creole of the French: the Catalan, Judæo-Spanish, Curaçoa-Negro of the Spanish: the Indo-Portuguese of the Portuguese: the Piedmont of the Italian. A dialect of the Romanian is spoken by the settlers of that race in Macedonia: of the Romansch there are three varieties of the Engadine and Oberland in Switzerland.

But in Europe there exist other languages besides the Family of the Arian. In the Pyrenees the Basque Mountaineers still speak the ancient language of the Cantabrians, and the Bible-Society has supplied them with portions of the Holy Scriptures in the French, Spanish, and Guipuscoa dialects of that interesting and unique language. In the Turkish Province of Albania an isolated language has survived, and copies of the New Testament have been supplied in both the Gheg or Northern, and the Tosk or Southern dialect: here again the written character is a difficulty, political in this case, and not religious, for the former is printed in the Roman, and the latter in the Greek character, and an attempt has now been made to form a National Alphabet to supersede both. To this must be added the Gitáno or Gypsy. There remain in Europe the languages of the Ural-Altaic Family. First in order is the Finn Branch, containing Magyar of Hungary; Finn; Lapp in three dialects, according to the kingdom, in which they are situated, Norwegian, Swedish, and Russian; Esthon in the two dialects of Dorpat and Reval; Livon or Liv; Karel; Sirjin or Zir; Perm; Mordwin; Cheremissi in two dialects; and Wotyak. The entire Bible, or portions, have been supplied to these populations.

Next comes the Túrki Branch, containing Chuvásh, Kazán, Nogái in two dialects, and Kirghíz in the Kazák dialect. Portions of the Scriptures have been supplied to all. I reserve the Osmánli Túrki, though the language of authority in Turkey in Europe, for the catalogue of Asiatic Languages, where it is the Vernacular.

2. ASIA.

I have divided this Continent into nine language-Fields, for purposes of convenience of description rather than according to laws of Science.

- I. Semitic.
- II. Ural-Altaic.
- III. Caucasus.
- IV. Arian.
- V. Non-Arian of India.
- VI. Indo-China.
- VII. Malaysia.
- IX. Extreme Orient.

In the Semitic Field the Bible Societies supply the whole Bible in Arabic: a portion is supplied in Hebrew character for the use of Jews, and in Syriac characters for the use of the Syrian Church; the entire Bible is also supplied in Syriac in its ancient dialect, being liturgical, and portions in the modern dialect, spoken in Urumiah in Persia. A translation of the New Testament into Hebrew has been made by Dr. Delitzsch: two other translations exist, and are preferred by some.

Of the Ural-Altaic Family there are five Branches: I. Finn; II. Túrki; III. Mongol; IV. Tungus; V. Samoyéd: the last is not represented by any translation.

In the Finn Branch, a portion of which I have already noticed in Europe, I find Ostyak and Wogul in Russia: in each of these there has been prepared a single Gospel.

In the great Túrki Branch, which extends across Asia from the Chinese Frontier to the Balkan Mountains, and from the Arctic Circle to the Caspian, I find five varieties of the Túrki Language represented, the Osmánli, the Trans-Caucasian or Azerbijáni, the Trans-Caspian or Jaghatai, spoken by the Tekke of Merv, the Kirghíz in the Kara dialect, the Kumik, and the Uzbek or Sárt, spoken at Khiva. The New Testament, or single books of the Old and New Testament, are supplied in the less-known languages, but the whole Bible in the Osmánli Túrki, with an edition in the Greek character for the benefit of Greek Christians, who use the Osmánli language, but conserve their own character, and another edition for the Armenians, who use the Osmánli language, but conserve the Armenian character. With the exception of the Osmánli, all these tribes are Russian subjects.

The Mongol Branch is represented by the entire Bible in the Mongol literary dialect, and the New Testament both in the Mánchu, and Mongol, characters, to suit different classes of readers: one or two Gospels are supplied in the three varieties of the colloquial, the Northern, or Buriat, in Russia, the Southern, or Kalkhas, in China, the Western, or Kalmuk, in Russia.

The Tungus Branch is represented by the Mánchu in China.

In the Caucasus Field we find one language only, the Georgian, with the same version in the Ecclesiastical written character, and also in the ordinary character. Much has still to be done to

bring the Bible to the wild races secluded in these mountain-fastnesses.

In the Field of the Irán Branch of the Arian Family, which occupies the centre of Asia, we find the Persian, the Armenian, the Kurd, the Ossét in the Caucasus Mountains, the Pastú of Afghanistan, and the Balúchi. The whole Bible is supplied in the first two: in the latter of the two are three distinct dialects, the Ancient, which is liturgical: the Modern dialect in the form spoken in Asia Minor in Turkey, and a distinct ruder dialect in the Russian Province of Trans-Caucasia. In the other languages of this Branch portions only are supplied, but the whole Bible will gradually be completed in the Pastú and Balúchi, which are extensively spoken on the frontier of British India. The four Gospels are supplied in Persian in Hebrew character for the use of the Jews.

In the Field of the Indic Branch of the Arian Family I find an unequalled wealth of languages, and of Bible-Work. By the Grace of God we have been enabled to give of our best to the people of India. The whole Bible is published in the dead and liturgical language of Sanskrit, and the living languages of the Panjábi in the Gurmukhi character, the Hindi, and its magnificent dialect Hindustáni, or Urdu, which is the *lingua franca* of India, in Bangáli, Asámi, Mághadi, Uriya, Maráthi, Gujaráti, and Sinháli of Ceylon. Half a century ago a great number of tentative translations were made in dialects of Hindi, but being of no practical importance, they are omitted, as being obsolete: on the other hand, portions of the Scripture are available in Kashmíri, Multáni, Sindhi, Nepáli, and in Pali, the dead and liturgical language of the Buddhists. We find translations in dialects of the Mahometans of Bangáli, the Katchi of Sindhi, the Kónkani of Maráthi, the Dákhani, Marwári, and Pahári of Hindi, the Dogri, and Chambáli of Panjábi, the Pársi of Gujaráti. Some versions are in the Roman character: some in the peculiar variety of the Indian character belonging to the language.

In Southern and Central India I find the same phenomena in the Field of the Non-Arians of India. There are four Subdivisions. Of the Dravidian Subdivision there are four lordly languages, the Tamil, Telugú, Karnáta, Malayálim, and the whole Bible is supplied in all four. In the minor languages of the Tulu, the Badaga, the Gond with its dialect the Koi, the Rajmaháli, there are more or less considerable portions in various characters according to the requirements. Of the second Non-Arian Subdivision, the Kolarian, I find the Psalms, Four Gospels, and the Acts, in the Roman character in the Mandári or Kol, and the Sontál. In the third Non-Arian Subdivision, the Tibeto-Barman, I find the Lepcha of Sikkim, the Manipúr,

the languages of Tibet, and Barma, the Karén in three dialects. In all these languages large portions are available, each in the character understood by the people. In the fourth and last Non-Arian Subdivision one isolated Language, the Khási, possesses the New Testament and the Pentateuch.

Passing Eastward of British India, I enter the Indo-Chinese Field, with two Subdivisions, each represented by translations: the Tai by the language of Siam, and the languages of Laos, and of the Shan: the Mon-Anam by the Mon, spoken in Pegu, within the Province of British Barma. I now turn South and enter the Indian Archipelago, or Malaysia, Field. The Region of Malaysia must be distinguished sharply from that of Oceania, though they are often blended together: they have scant philological, and no political, connection, and only a slight and partial ethnical affinity. Malaysia is unquestionably in Asia: Oceania is a separate part of the world. The important language of Malay is spoken as a *lingua franca* over the region, and specially in the Peninsula of Malacca, and the great Island of Sumátra. There exists a translation of the whole Bible in Malay in the Roman character, and another in the Arabic: portions are translated in the Sourabáya or "low Malay" Dialect. In the Island of Java portions are published in the language, called that of Java, and also in that of Sunda. A translation is published in the language of the adjacent Island of Bali, and one Gospel in the separate language of the little Island of Nias. In the interior of the Island of Sumatra there are tribes, who have conserved their own language, the Batta, and portions of the Scriptures are supplied to them in two dialects in their peculiar character. The Dyak of Borneo in two dialects, and the Macassar and Bugi tribe of Celebes, and the Alfuor, have not been forgotten, and the whole or portions of the New Testament have been supplied. For the inhabitants of the Sangír Islands a version of the Psalms, and New Testament, has been published, and a translation in one of the languages of the Philippines, the Pangasína; thence doubling back to the Bay of Bangál, in the Islands of Nicobár I find the Gospel of St. Mark in preparation, and the Lord's Prayer in the Bojingijída language of the Andamans, actually published by a private individual. To this Field belongs the translation in one of the languages spoken by the aborigines in the Island of Formosa, in China.

The supply of Bibles to the great Kingdom of China might well require a separate Bible-Society, for in addition to the great Delegates version, or Wen Li, of the whole Bible, which is in the Classical or Book language of China, and of no use to the uneducated masses, but, owing to the character, in which it is written, intelligible to the educated speakers of all the different colloquial forms of speech of China, I find portions both in

the Northern and Southern Mandarin, or official language, and in the colloquial vernaculars of Shanghai, Ningpo, Kínhwa, Canton, Hakka, Fuh-Chau, Amoy, Chau-Chau, and Hainan, sometimes in ideographs adapted phonetically, and sometimes in the Roman character. The actual colloquials were quite a novelty, as the Chinese scholar never dreamt of writing a book, or even a letter, in the colloquial or patois of a place: hardly a specimen existed before the colloquial versions of the New Testament appeared. Thus in China, as in Great Britain and in India, and in Africa, America, and Oceania, the appearance of the Bible has settled, and strengthened, and fixed in print, the oral Vernacular of the people. It will be long before the united force of the Bible-Societies will be able to make any solid impression on the vast and inert mass, and the people of China will go on absorbing vast supplies of the Scriptures for many generations. Beyond China is the Field of the Extreme Orient, and the whole Bible is ready in the language of Japan, and portions in the languages of the Lúchú, the Aleutian Islands, and the Koréa, each in their peculiar written character. A translation of a Gospel in Aino is prepared. This ends the story of Asia. It is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes.

3. AFRICA.

In the Dark Continent ever since the days of Aristotle there has been found

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always something new, something strange, something unexpected, and unique, Pyramids and Obelisks, Snow-capped Mountains on the Equator, and Imperial Rivers; in one part of the Continent the language is so diverse, that near neighbours cannot understand each other; in another part one great Family of more than a hundred congeners, marvellous in symmetry, and capable of expressing from their own word-store every shade of human thought. In that Continent we find populations cheerfully flourishing under oppression, which would have extinguished any other; boundless prairies, unlimited capabilities; thousands of miles of water-way; Cannibalism, Human Sacrifices, deadly sorcery, grotesque customs, and abominable crimes. Last century Europeans were content to play the part of man-stealers, and traffickers in black ivory: in this century the scramble for Africa itself has commenced, the most shameful spoliation, and heartless conspiracy to destroy the souls and bodies of millions by the boundless import of spirituous liquors,

arms, and gunpowder. It is well indeed, that the Religious world, of every Protestant sect and denomination, has striven to supply the only antidote, the Bible, and give the African a chance of Education, Civilization, and Salvation, physically as well as spiritually.

The Bible-Societies have not been found wanting. Of the Semitic Family of languages, Editions of the Ancient Ethiopic, and the Modern Vernaculars of Amhára and Tigré have been supplied to the people of Abyssinia. Of the Hamitic Group, the Bible has been published in whole or in part in the dead and liturgical language of the Koptic, and progress is being made in translations for the benefit of the Kabáil of Algeria, and the Shilha of Morocco in the Riff dialect. For the Hamitic tribes of Abyssinia portions have been published in the language of the Bilin, *alias* Bogos, and the dialect of Agau, spoken by the Falásha Jews, who occupy the anomalous position of not being Semites either in blood or in speech. For Galla-land, that comparatively unknown Region South of Abyssinia, portions of the Old Testament and the New Testament are ready in three dialects. Of the Nuba-Fulah Group, the Gospel of St. Mark, in the Fadidja dialect of the Nuba, prepared by Professor Lepsius, has been published in the Arabic and Roman character, and a translation of a Gospel in the Futa-Toro dialect of the Fulah is in MS.

For the Negro Group, in the long belt of country from the Nile to the Atlantic, North of the Equator, the following translations have been put into circulation at the different Missionary Stations, being read in the Chapels, and taught in the Sunday-Schools: the Wolof in Senegambia, the Susu on the River Gambia, the Mande, Temne, Bullom and Mende South of that River, and round the Colony of Sierra Leone: the Grebo in Liberia, the Ashánti in two dialects, the Akwápém and Fanti, the Akrá or Gá, the Ewé in two dialects, the Anlo and Dahómi, *alias* Popo, on the Gold Coast, the Yáriba in Yáriba-land, the Ibo, Igára, Igbira, and Nupé in the Basin of the Niger, the Hausa in Central Africa, and the Efík on the Old Kalabar River. Some of these languages are spoken by Millions: translations in other languages are in preparation: printing presses are at work in several of the Missions, and it is a struggle for life betwixt the Bible and the Gin-bottle, the devoted Missionary and the unscrupulous trader; while the European Governments, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic, look on with perfect indifference, and cold impartiality, making no attempts to control crime in their nominal Protectorates, or Spheres of Influence, which are mere "Dog in the manger" arrangements.

South of the Equator is the great Bántu Family of languages, with translations of the Holy Scriptures, in whole or in part,

in the Dualla and the Isubu of the Kamerúns, the Ediya of the Island of Fernando Po, the Benga, the Kele, and the Pongwe of the River Gabún, the Kongo, Téké and Nkundú of the Kongo Basin, the Umbundu of Benguella, and Kimbundu of Angola, in the Portuguese West African Colony, the Heréro of Damara-land, the Chuána, Pédi, and Suto of the tribes South of the River Vaal, the Siga, *alias* Tonga, of Inhambáne, the Xosa of Kafraria, the Zúlú of Zúlú-land, the Gwamba of the Transvaal, the Nyanja, Ngoni, and Tonga of Lake Nyassa, the Yao and the Makua of the region behind the Portuguese Colony of Mozambík, the Kagúru of U-Sagára, the Swahíli, the *lingua franca* of Eastern Equatorial Africa, the Bondei, the Nyiká of Mombása, the Kamba, the Gogo, the Ganda of Victoria Nyanza on the Equator, and the Gúhha on Lake Tanganyika. Many of the languages are spoken by hundreds of thousands, strong, symmetrical and melodious, a marvel to the Philologist. Some of these translations are only in progress, or being used in Manuscript, or in the rough proofs of the Mission Press. In a few years the number will be greatly increased.

In the Hottentot-Bushman Group only one translation has been prepared, in the Náma of Namáqua-land, and the completion of that was arrested by the assertion of some, disputed by others, that the Native language was being superseded by a dialect of Dutch. However, it has lately been determined, that the whole translation should be printed. The objection to printing a translation in the Cape-dialect of Dutch has not yet been got over.

The entire Bible has been published in the Malagási, the ruling language of Madagascar; it belongs to the Malayan Family of Asiatic languages.

In Africa lies the greatest hope of expansion in the Future: in the present state of our knowledge no limit can be fixed. It must be expected, that some great languages will swallow up the smaller and weaker: and the ravages of the Slave-Trade result, not only in the depopulation of districts, but the extinction of languages. The Missionaries sometimes unwisely try to force upon a tribe, which has a good Vernacular of its own, the use of one, which he himself understands.

4. AMERICA.

America represents a new and distinct world of languages, not like the languages of Africa, strong and vigorous, and likely to last for ever, but poor, shrinking and decaying. The languages of Europe, such as the English, French, Spanish and Portuguese, have brought an influence to bear, which these weak languages,

and diminishing populations, will be unable to resist. In the Arctic Regions is the Eskimo, extending from the Pacific to the Atlantic, and to Greenland: the entire Bible has been published in one dialect, and the greater part in two other dialects. On the Pacific translations have been lately made by the Missionaries in the language of the Shimshi Indians of Metlakatla, and Kwagutl of Vancouver's Island, the Nishkah of the River Naas, and Hydah of Queen Charlotte's Island. I come next to the great Athabaska Family. Five languages are represented, the Tinne, Chipewan, Slavé, the language of the Indians of the River Beaver, Tukudh, *alias* Loucheux Indian, beyond Fort Simpson, in the Province of Alaska, and the Blackfoot of Saskatchewan. Proceeding Southward I come among the different branches of the Algonquin Family, and there are translations of parts, or of the whole, of the Bible in the Cree language in two Dialects, the Ojibwa, the Mikmak of Nova Scotia, with its dialect Abenaki: the Maliseet of New Brunswick, the Delaware, and Ney Perces. Of the Iroquois Family, the Bible-Society has prepared a portion of the Scriptures for the Iroquois proper, the Mohawk and the Seneka. Considerable portions are also available to the Dakóta, or Sioux Indians. Of the Floridian or Appalaquian Indians of the Southern States an opportunity of studying the Word of God in their own Vernacular has been supplied to the Choctaw, the Chéroki, and the Muskóki, or Creek Indians.

Passing down into Central and Southern America, there is but a scanty show, as the influence of the Roman Catholic Priests has choked the Gospel. In the Maya of Yúkatan, there are two Gospels, and one Gospel in the Aztek of Mexico; one Gospel exists in MS. of the language of the Moskíto Indians. In South Guiana there exist translations of portions in the Karib, Akkaway, and Arawák: one Gospel represents the Quichúa Language in Peru, and Aimará in Bolivia. A Gospel is preparing in the Guaráni of Paraguay, a language said to be the Vernacular of half a million, but this is disputed by others. Far to the South, not far from the Antarctic Circle, is the Lone Star-Mission of the Bishop of the Falkland Islands, and the Gospels and the Acts have been gladly supplied from London to Tierra del Fuego for the tribe of the Yahgán. Thus, from the Arctic to the Antarctic Circle something, though not sufficient, has been done to publish the Word of God, and it is worthy of note, that in that vast extent of country there is reason to believe, from the obvious coincidences of the Grammatical structure of the languages, in spite of the difference of the Word-store, that we are dealing with one Branch of the Human Family.

5. OCEANIA.

The World is generally considered to consist of four Continents, but lying outside them in the bosom of the Pacific are fairy regions, secluded gardens of the Ocean, where Day never shuts her eye: regions, which were dreamt of by the Poet Horace:

Nos manet Oceanus circumvagus : Arva beata,
Petamus arva, divites et Insulas.

In later days Tennyson has described them in a few wondrous lines :

there to wander far away
On from island unto island at the gateways of the Day,
Larger constellations burning, mellow moons, and happy skies,
Breadth of tropic shade, and palms in cluster, knots of Paradise :
Never comes the trader, never floats an European flag,
Slides the bird o'er lustrous woodland, swings the trailer from the crag :
Droops the heavy-blossomed bower, hangs the heavy-fruited tree,
Summer isles of Eden lying in dark purple spheres of sea.

These regions have been marked by frightful crimes, Cannibalism, Human Sacrifice, Sorcery, and by the murders of Cook and La Perouse, the explorers, and John Williams, Gordon, and Patteson, the Missionaries. Yet God did not leave for ever these lands without a witness, and at the close of last century Missionaries found their way to Tahiti from England : later on Hawaii and Mikronesia were occupied by an American Mission : soon after New Zealand was evangelized from England, as well as Samoa, Fiji, the Loyalty Islands, the New Hebrides, Banks' Islands, Santa Cruz, Solomon Islands, and New Guinea. Never since the days of Pentecost had there been so plentiful an outpouring of the Spirit, for God chose men from the humblest to be his Messengers, and the Divine method of sending out Native Teachers two and two to Evangelize their own countrymen was adopted with wonderful success by all Protestant Denominations. Those, who have travelled in tropical climates, know, how at night the ship leaves behind it a long and broad brilliant furrow of light, marking for many leagues the course, which has been taken. Such is the light left behind in their annual visits by the Missionary Ships, the John Williams, the Wesley, the Southern Cross, and the Dayspring, the memories of unselfish acts of kindness, devotion to the best interests of the islanders, and the desire to elevate them, and protect them from their own cruel customs, and from the cruel trader and man-stealer. Among the earliest efforts has been the translation of the Bible in the languages of these Islands, and the versions thus published came

upon the scholars of Europe with all the freshness of a new Revelation. There are four Regions: I. Polynesia, in which, including Hawaii North of the Equator, and New Zealand far to the South, all the languages belong to one Family; II. Melanesia, including New Guinea, where there was a multiplicity of totally distinct languages; III. Mikronesia, where only a few languages have been investigated; IV. Australia, where the aborigines seem to have been neglected, and a scanty instruction conveyed in English, though still there are many Native Languages. In the first region we have translations of the Holy Scriptures in the languages of Tahiti, Rarotonga, the Marquesas, Hawaii, Samoa, Niue, Tonga, and Maori. In the second Region we find Fiji, Rótuma, Maré or Nengóne, Lifu, Uvea, Aneityum, Tanna, Nguna, Mai, Futuna, Erromanga, Aniwa, Faté, Mota, Arag, Oba, Maewo, Espirito Santo, Wano: Florida, Isabel, Murray Island, South Cape, Saibai, Máfor, Motu, New Britain, and Duke of York's Island. In some the portions translated are very small, but they are the first efforts. Of the third or Mikronesian Group there are five languages represented, Kusaie in Strong Island, Ebon in Marshall Islands, the language of the Gilbert Islands, Ponape, and the Mortlock Islands. Of the fourth, or Australian Region, there is but one representative, the Narrinyéri, and so entirely out of circulation, that I cannot get a copy. In Tasmania all the aborigines have been killed down, and, alas! left no portion of the Scriptures as their Epitaph, and Memento.

With this entry closes the detail of the great work of the great Bible-Societies. Laus Deo!

As already stated, it is no easy matter to prepare the MS. of the original translation, or of the revised translation, ready for the Press: then arises the question as to the form of written character, which ought to be used, the type, the paper, the size of the type and of the paper, the place of printing, the alternative readings, the marginal references, the use of Capital letters for such words, as the Divine Name, the Maps, the Title-Page, the Binding, and lastly the Price. When all these points have been settled, then comes the great problem of Distribution. This feature distinguishes the proceedings of the Bible-Societies from that of any other Publishing, or Wholesale Firm, in any time Past or Present. It does not condescend to advertise, but it sends its wares to every part of the world, consigned to its Agent or local Committee, whose task it is to distribute from town to town, and village to village, and man to man. The System grew up so simply, and on such well-understood lines, that it appears simple, though it is in reality a most complicated machinery. Enter the Warehouses of the great Bible-House in Queen Victoria Street

in London, or the Bible-House in Astor Place, New York, U.S., and you will find cases ready packed, and directed to every portion of the world. Infinite as are the directions, to which the wares are sent, manifold as are the forms, which those wares assume, it is the same Pearl of great price, which the merchant-man, who sought such wares, found at last, and went and sold all that he had and bought it; it is the same leaven, which a woman took, and hid in three measures of meal, till the whole was leavened: it is the same good seed, which a man sowed in his field. At the other end of the world, and in every great City of the world, there are Auxiliary Societies, and Agents, and Depôts, and Colporteurs, and Bible-Evangelists, and Bible-Women, who receive these precious wares, and convey them, at the risk of life, health, and comfort, from town to town, from village to village, from house to house, and from room to room in crowded family-mansions. Listeners are assembled on the lone hill-side, or in the crowded street, and family circles gather together apart from the public gaze: thus amidst the din of the market, amidst the braying of the soldier's trumpet, in the recesses of the secret harem, in the public classes of the school, in the great gatherings together of thousands for the worship of false Gods, or the obedience to false Prophets; in front of the Propaganda, and St. Peter's, at Rome: under the Dome of the Greek Cathedral at Moscow: at the door of the tomb of our Lord at Jerusalem, and the place of His birth at Bethlehem: on the steps of the great Hindu bathing-places on the Ganges at Banâras: under the shadow of the gigantic statues of Buddha in Ceylon, and Barma; in the Joss-house in China; in the Courts of the Jama Masjid at Dehli; in the inclosures, set apart for Human sacrifice to hideous Idols in the Islands of Polynesia: in sight of many a Heathen, or Mahometan, shrine; many a sealed Roman Catholic Convent; the old old Story is read out to each man in his own tongue, how God made and rules the world, how Jesus lived and died for all, how the Holy Spirit still watches over His elect!

From the earliest period of the History of Man we find indications of the difference of forms of speech: what was the real meaning of the Confusion of Tongues at the time of the Tower of Babel I cannot say: what was the precise nature of the Pentecostal effusion of the gift of Tongues is equally uncertain: at any rate, the detail of the languages spoken and understood on that memorable occasion, enables us to perceive, that they belonged to a region, to which the expression *Ἡ οἰκουμένη* only applies, as a figure of speech. We gather the fact of a differentiation of dialect in the anecdote, connected with the pronunciation of the word "Shibboleth," mentioned in the Book of Judges; and later on, we find, that the Assyrians, who besieged Jerusalem,

used a language distinct from, though kindred to, the language of the Jews. We find the use of the Chaldee creeping into the Book of Daniel. The words, uttered by our Lord on the Cross, tell us, that the Hebrew had given way to an Aramaic language, and Greek had become the dominant language at the Christian era, and most fortunately so, for St. Paul's arguments could not have been so precisely stated in any Semitic form of speech. In the Revelation we find the Almighty condescending to illustrate his All-comprehensiveness by a comparison with the first and last letters of the Greek alphabet. As some measure of the increase of our knowledge of the Science of Language during this century, I may state, that men no longer with our forefathers believe, that Hebrew was the Mother-tongue of Human speech, and the language of Paradise. On the other hand, the work of the Bible-Societies has convinced all of the absurdity of the opinion, expressed in 1778 by an Orientalist, that no translation of the Bible could possibly be made into the language of China, because the nature of the language would not allow of any translation being made. It is difficult to bring back the mind to the standpoint, whence such an opinion could have been entertained.

Many languages would never have been reduced to writing, would never have been known to later ages, would have been trodden down under the triumphant footfall of some more powerful language, leaving no track on the sands of time, but for the Bible, which has kept many a flickering form of speech alive by lending it a spiritual light of its own, and has given an immortality to others: there are languages in North America, in which the Bible was translated by early Missionaries, but the whole tribe has become extinct, or has adopted English, and still that language lives enshrined in the Words of the Gospel, comprehensible to students, though no longer living on the lips of men. Of all the languages, in which Xerxes, King of Persia, issued his letters, to each Province in its own language, only those two have survived, and are still heard and understood after the lapse of twenty-four Centuries, Hebrew and Greek, to which were committed the oracles of God. No language has ever perished from the reservoir of human knowledge, which has been the vehicle of conveying divine knowledge, for being honoured by being so selected it has become Immortal.

What feeling has kept the translator, in spite of sickness and privation, to his post? Some *opere in medio* have died, and their hands stiffened on their Manuscript: the story of the last moments of the Venerable Bede is but the type of many other ends: they felt, that all their gifts to Him belonged, and to Him they consecrated their expanding, mature, and failing, powers. Other men may have been greater poets, greater orators, and a

translator has intellectually but a limited orbit: he is but a torch, handing on the divine flame, but to be the medium of handing on such a flame is the greatest of honours and privileges. One great translator remarked, that he could almost wish, that all the Lord's people were translators, that they might see with their own eyes the very words, and style, in which God expressed His thoughts to Man. I quote the remarks of one loved and revered translator still spared to us:

To me it is of pathetic interest to recollect, that I went in July, 1851, with the first complete edition of the Scriptures, issued by the British and Foreign Bible Society. I have long been the sole surviving Missionary of that date. I witnessed the joy of the book's first reception, and the gradual transformation of character, which its blessed influence brought about. And now it has fallen to me to revise that same Bible for a standard-edition. Too high praise cannot be given to the original translators, for the faithful way, in which their work was done, and for the marvellous grip they possessed of the language at that time untainted by outside influences. The Spirit of God evidently rested upon these good men. My edition is essentially a return to theirs. Foreign words have given place to native equivalents, rendering the book more intelligible. The aim has been to make this version as popular and useful as the old authorized version has long been to English-speaking people.

It is also a subject of fervent rejoicing, that Women have not been behindhand in this work of love; in every part of the world I find, that this high Grace has been conceded to our sisters of "labouring in the Gospel," and thus "inscribing their own names in the Book of Life." It has come under my knowledge, and it gladdens my heart to record it, that the Bible-Societies have instances of the sweet yoke-fellowship of the Son and the widowed Mother, the Father and the Daughter, the Husband and the Wife, in this most precious consecration of intellectual capacity united with Spiritual devotion. Single ladies, and widow ladies, have not been slack in seeking a blessing, by being zealous in this service, and at their death they leave behind something more precious than the garments, which Dorcas left behind to her weeping friends, inasmuch as they have helped to clothe the Word of Life in a new vesture of words and sentences, which will never wax old, nor require change, nor perish, but will be fresh, and profitable to generations still to be born.

Nor must I forget to record the services of those, who prepare the way for the translator by compiling Dictionaries and Grammars of previously unknown languages. I may allude to Mr. Holman Bentley, who a few years ago published his Monumental Dictionary and Grammar of the Kongo language. In the middle of his labour he was temporarily afflicted with loss of eyesight, but he was able to continue his labours by the help of his wife, who developed a great aptitude for such work. In the Preface I wrote as follows, having taken continuous interest in his great enterprize:

For it is for the purpose of advancing the Kingdom of the Lord, that this great work has been commenced, continued, and completed. It is a solid brick in the great edifice of the Evangelization of Africa. How can they hear, unless they are spoken to? How can they be spoken to, unless the Missionary masters the vulgar tongue of the people, to whom he is sent? Mr. Bentley consecrated his great talents to this noble work in the hope, that it would enable his colleagues, and those who come after him, to spread the Gospel of Christ. This was his main object, and for this purpose only, the funds of a Missionary Society can be properly devoted to the expense of such publications.

But the scholars of Europe and North America would indeed be dead to all feeling, did they not feel gratitude to Missionaries, who have revealed to them new worlds, and helped them to enter in, and admire the beauties of hitherto sealed gardens. The Kongo language takes its place by the side of the Swahili, the Zúlú, and the Pongwe, as one of the typical languages of the Bántu family. Differing from each other in many particulars, they still have such ineffaceable affinities as indicate their common stock. The mechanism of one often explains misunderstood anomalies in the others. Mr. Bentley has been able to get to the bottom of many knotty points, which will, no doubt, throw a reflected light on unexplained features in sister-languages, of which the study is only now commencing. A Dictionary and a Grammar are but means to an end, and that end, from the point of view of all, who love their Lord, is the translation of the Holy Scriptures, and the circulation and faithful preaching of the Everlasting Gospel. All human knowledge, all intellectual talents, are vain and profitless, unless, directly or indirectly, they lead on to the salvation of souls, and I heartily congratulate Mr. Bentley, that he has been permitted to ~~render~~ a service to the great cause, which will be lasting, and pave the way to services, whether performed by himself or others, which will be still more endurable, still more acceptable, and still more blessed.

The translator has not only to grapple with new word-stores, and new grammatical forms, but with new idioms, a strange unlettered logic of ideas, and a new mode of collocating words, so as to represent the ideas, as they rise in the mind. All men do not ratiocinate in the same way. Place a sentence in the *lingua franca* of India by the side of a sentence in English, and it will be perceived, that the ideas rise in the mind in a reversed order, and yet so plastic is the mind, when trained, that many among us speak both languages without an effort. Each Family of languages seems to have a soul of its own: its genius at some remote period leapt out of darkness, and became fixed for ever. The Chinaman may use English words, but he uses them after his own method. When he learns an Arian language, he passes out of the orbit of his native conceptions, and accepts a new method of ratiocination.

It takes some degree of culture to arrive at abstract words: a Savage knows, what it is to be brave, but he has no word for valour: he cannot realize what is spiritual guidance, but he can grasp the conception of a pillar of light, or a corporeal Angel: he knows not the meaning of temptation, but he can conceive the idea of a tempter in human, and generally female, form. The translator has not only to translate Greek and Hebrew words, but he has to communicate the very notion of

Pardon, Self-restraint, Forgiveness, and herein lies the Prayer-relying difficulty of the translator. While new words are being coined to represent new conceptions, old words are being happily choked out, such as Sorcerer, and Medicine-man, whose name and office are soon clean forgotten. It would be an interesting study to follow out the introduction of words, or their decay, from the influence of the Missionary, or the Trader; the first two English words in the New Hebrides were Missionary and Tobacco, soon to be followed by the wholesome terms of Bible, Chapel, and School, and the unhappy antitheses of Gin, Rum, Firearms, and Gunpowder.

What a study it is to mark the Patois growing up to the level of the authorized Vernacular! The Romans in their day may have laughed at the patois of the Gaul, the Iberian, the Dacian, and the Italian, but they grew, and grew, till they strangled their mother. A speaker of English must not judge harshly the young hybrids, which are coming into existence in every part of the non-European world, the issue of a European linguistic Father and an African, Asiatic, American, or Oceanic, Mother: already specimens are being collected and arranged. Some will strike root, and be the Vernaculars of the future. Once let the Bible be translated into them, and their future is secure. Some languages seem to fall short of the due stock of expressions of thought: some seem to be supplied far beyond what is necessary. A South African chief, understanding that an interpreter had expressed his inability to translate an English letter, owing to the poverty of the Vernacular, proudly offered to render it in three distinct versions without using the same word more than once. Some languages reduce words to one syllable; others include the whole of a long sentence in one inseparable word. Some languages are melodious, abounding in open vowels; others are debased by sounds worthy of brute beasts.

It is beyond the power of a Cæsar, or a Pope, to arrest the magnificent progress of the Bible over the world: they might as well try to stop the Sun in mid-heaven. This unequalled book will roll on in its majesty, until earthly tongues cease, and Language has had its day. Once impressed with the value of this book, no nation will part with it. Witness the story of Madagascar and Tahiti. In the former Island the persecution of a Heathen Monarch was of no avail against a race, which buried Bibles in secret places: in the latter Island the French Roman Catholic Priests have found all their endeavours in vain to extirpate the Tahiti Bible. The Kings of the Earth may rage, and the people imagine a vain thing, but holy men have gone to the stake with a copy of the Bible tied round their neck, as their insignia of nobility. In many Southern Islands the arrival of the printed volume from Great Britain was hailed

with rejoicing, and, ere the ship had touched the shore, large editions had been sold off to eager thousands, who crowded with their arrowroot, and other articles of raw produce, to make their purchases. The Islands of Samoa were occupied at the close of last century by tribes so fierce, that they devoured part of the crew of the French Navigator, La Perouse. A few years ago they transmitted gratefully the last instalment of the cost of the whole Volume translated into their language. Such leaves have been indeed to the healing of the nations. There is also a strange and subtle advantage in placing in the hands of such a variety of the human race, one book, and such a book; so deep a book, and yet so simple: so human, and yet so divine: so localized, and yet so world-embracing. It at once proves beyond doubt, that all Mankind are common brotherhood, because all are found to be influenced by the same talismanic power: and yet the book enables the observer to gain an intellectual parallax of the problem of Life. He sees what the South Sea Islanders, the Arctic Eskimo, the Antarctic Patagonian, the Equatorial African, think of this Law of Present Life, this Hope of a Future Life, when newly presented to them. Whatever the *blazée* minds of the so-called superior races may think in their blind pride, the unsophisticated minds of the children of Nature accept willingly, and do homage to what is to them a pure, simple, new, and abiding, Revelation of Right and Wrong, of Sin, Punishment, and Pardon.

Where else can the comparative Philologist have such an opportunity of comparing Language with Language, differentiated by a long isolation of centuries, separated by a vast diapason of space, and yet the same grand and simple story flows on, flows on, in a distinct environment of words and sentences, in an entirely antagonistic ordering of logical conceptions? If the scholar grapples with one family of translations, he will see the old synthetic system of the elder days of the Arian, and Semitic, races gradually relaxing, dissipating, melting into the analytic method. He will note the progress of the pure gold, all from one mine, becoming gradually admixed with the alloy of baser metal, and yet gaining strength, flexibility, and harmony: the grand sonorous polysyllables of a compounding Language by an unconscious decay losing their meaning, till words become so abraded, curtailed, and beheaded, that they become mere symbols, or counters. A linguistic mould, which in the outset consisted of carefully arranged melodious homophones, has degenerated gradually into an inartistic conglomerate of almost Algebraic symbols, by which nevertheless the underlying logic of the mind is completely and accurately conveyed.

The effect upon the Nations of the world will be strange, when this one book becomes a Classic, and instrument of Education

everywhere: there will then be for the first time a common standard of comparison of Right and Wrong, one long Meridian of Light, piercing with a golden ray every dark corner of Theism, Polytheism, Agnosticism, or Atheism, dispersing the fogs of the intellect, cutting through as with a sharp sword the sophistries of the Elder, as of the Later, World. The Bible does not shun the light, does not fear the critic, evinces no tremor under the scalpel of the dissector. The other sacred books of the world are designedly shrouded in darkness, placed away in arks of shittim-wood, folded up in silk and precious cloths, shrouded up in the death-sheet of a dead language; if read aloud, disguised in unintelligible sing-song chaunts. The Roman Catholics, if they had had their way three centuries ago, would have reduced our Blessed Book to the same vile conditions, but it is too late now. The mighty Spirit has escaped from the vessel of brass, and not even the Seal of Solomon will force it back to its narrow prison, or restrain it. No one, who has studied the sacred books of the elder Non-Christian Religions, can fail to speak with reverence of those grand feelers after God, if haply they could find Him, those sobbings of the poor human heart in its hopeless search for the great Parent of all, those wonderful introspections of the secret of Human life, "What am I? whence am I? whither do I go?" those attempts to take Heaven by violence, or fraud, by heaping Pelion upon Ossa, and accumulating Works upon Works, though all inquiry ends in a hopeless wail of the soul, that cannot find comfort. If any still trust in them for guidance in this world, or a sure hope in a future life, why do they not translate them into the great Vernaculars of the World, and distribute them broadcast among every Nation under the sun?

Did it ever enter into the head of a sincere Jew to translate the Old Testament for the benefit of the Gentiles, although it had been done for his own peculiar people, who had forgotten the language, spoken by their forefathers, before they went into Captivity in Babylon, since which date it ceased to be the language of common life? Has anybody ever remarked a follower of Confucius, Zoroaster, or Mahomet, taking pains to translate into the Vernacular, comment, compare texts, and then publish, and take measures to bring to others the knowledge attained? Can a man value Knowledge, and not desire to impart? These sacred books are full of precept as well as ritual. Can we point out any one, who has tried to live up to the level of his book, whose prayers were not empty sing-song repetitions? Can any one tell us of a conversion wrought by such a book? I have lived among people, who loved their sacred books, but the object of their love was a dead thing, a mummy, a dear departed, and not a living friend.

Bible-Societies work neither for the profit of an individual, nor

of a Church: they interfere with no right of private judgment: they venture on no note or comment, no alternative readings, but those founded on Philological grounds: they lay the revealed Word before all, the believer, or the unbeliever. Thus, through their agency, the whole human family has the privilege afforded to them of a personal intercourse with Christ, and the Holy Spirit. Such Societies show, that Christianity is not hostile to Science, as they conduct their proceedings on the lines of the highest, soundest, and most unflinching, Scholarship: they cast down the gauntlet at the feet of the profoundest linguistic scholar, and bid him examine with the closest microscope the translations, which they circulate: if errors occur, and they do occur, they are errors of good faith, and are corrected. Each age of the Past received as much of the Divine Revelation as it was able to understand. To us the whole Book is laid open, and we find one golden thread twining through the whole story from Genesis to Revelation. We find in it the *Ποῦ στῶ*; of the Mathematician, the spot outside the world, on which the lever can be rested, that will move the world, when the Holy Spirit gives the power, and that same power will be given against the Scepticism and Infidelity of Civilization, as it was against the superstitions of the Savage.

The Word of the Lord will be abiding, when walls of Chapels and Churches, even the most spiritual, crumble to the ground, when Shibboleths are forgotten, and all stand before Christ face to face, and handle Him, and see. The largeness of the scope of Bible-Societies is such, that they confound all human state; they care for the poor as well as for the rich, for the stranger as warmly as for the fellow-countryman, for the Heathen as earnestly as for the Christian. Nobody, who enters the great Bible-House in London, can say, that he has no interest in its welfare, and can himself not find some blessing from its operations. When the Queen of Sheba visited Solomon, and saw all the glory of the House of the Lord, her heart sank within her; and she admitted, that the reality far surpassed all that she had heard. No one can form a conception of the wealth of languages, and the magnificence of the work, until he has made a pilgrimage to the Bible-House, and seen it with his eyes. A Cardinal of the Roman Catholic Church lately visited it, for the purpose of buying a copy of the New Testament in a foreign language, and he was with due respect taken up to view all the treasures of the House, which had been built for the Word of God, and, as he left the door, he remarked, "The Holy Spirit is being poured out upon us: that is the secret of it." *Μεγάλη ἡ ἀλήθεια καὶ ὑπερισχύει.*

CHAPTER III.—RESULTS AND SUGGESTIONS.

HAVING traced the origin, the nature of the work, and wide spread of the operations, I now proceed to allude to results, and to make suggestions.

The written Word inserts itself into holes and caverns, whither the human voice cannot reach, and abides, and fructifies, upon the barren hard rock, like the seed dropped by the passing bird, which silently, without the aid of man, ~~developes~~ into a great tree. All Churches, who agree in ~~nothing~~ else, agree in this, that the Word is ~~precious~~: it is the axis, round which Christian Faith and Practice turn at different distances, and with varying rapidity. In countries, where for thousands of years the voice of Public and Private Duty has been silent, it is heard for the first time, when a portion of the Bible is being read. For a long time the Moravian Missionaries worked among the Eskimo without any result: they occupied their otherwise useless hours in translation: the time came at last. God chooses his own season: a Missionary was copying a Gospel, and four Eskimo drew near to watch him: at their request he read a portion, which chanced to be the account of the agony in the Garden of Gethsemane. As he read on, the Spirit of the Lord fell upon them, as manifestly as upon Cornelius and his companions. Some of them laid their hands on their mouths, which is their manner of expressing wonder: one man called out in a loud and anxious tone,

How is that? Tell me that again, for I would also be saved.

This man proved the first of a long succession of converts.

In this last case the Sun had never risen to these poor savages. Let me glance at a case, where the light had intentionally by evil men been obscured. I read how in the South of Europe a little Protestant child was taken to a public hospital to die. In her last moments she gave her little Testament, the only thing that she possessed, to the Nun, who had nursed her. Between the leaves of that little book the Spirit of the Lord was lying hid. The keeper of the Bible-depôt remarked with surprise, that he sold during the next few days several copies to female figures, who crept in after dark. That day Salvation had come within

the walls of that Convent: no doubt the books were soon discovered, and in the parlour of the Lady-Abbess, and the presence of the Priest-Confessor, and weeping women, there ascended the tiny smoke of a sacrifice of burning paper, the unaccepted offering of Cain, who slew his brother; but certain precious promises had been too deeply printed in the memory and the heart to be effaced, and had been in Faith appropriated by these humble Saints; for whom some day a door, by Grace, may be found ajar, which will be closed against Pharisee and Cardinal, who in the day of their opportunity would not enter in themselves, and shut the door on others.

Let us glance at the other extreme, and raise up in our imaginations an assembly on the other side of the Atlantic, of those, who once had known and had abandoned God. They are gold-diggers, and are taking their midday-rest. A new digger from the old country had just joined them, and with him a motherless lad. In their rough sport they had searched the boy's pockets, and found a little Testament, the gift of the boy's dead Mother: out of mere wantonness, one of them begins in a scoffing way to read out aloud, but his fingers, and eyes, were guided by a power greater than his own, for first he read, how Jesus came walking on the sea, and then the story of the good Samaritan. The laughing and oaths had ceased, and all were listening, when the wind blew the leaves over, and the reader found himself reading solemnly the awful tale of the Crucifixion; a tale well remembered, though forgotten, old, but still new: as he came to the last words of the penitent thief, and our Lord's reply, the book fell from his hands to the ground amidst an awe-struck silence, only broken by sobs. God has his chosen ones in every assembly of his children; he has his corner in every human heart. A hoarse voice came up from the rear:

Will no one pray? Can no fellow remember a prayer? .

The echo of far-off English Sunday-Schools, the warning throb of their own death-struggle, perhaps not far distant, stirred into life those dead hearts: the fool may have said in his heart, that there was no God, but these men were not fools, and knew better, that God was near unto them. The call was for some one to pray, but words are not forthcoming, unless the Spirit supplies them. As the lad crouched forward to recover his lost Testament, he was caught up by strong arms, and ordered to pray. As his childish treble went up to the clear sky, repeating the little prayer, which he had often said at his dead mother's knees, hats were off, and knees were bowed, and a deep calm fell over the assembly, while this innocent child became the mouth-piece of these rough emigrants. Not as yet had he learnt to be ashamed of his innocence: not as yet had his lips been

defiled with oaths and obscenities ; and his little prayer rose up to heaven above the tall pines, and who can say how many brands may be saved from the burning by the chance contact of one little Testament ?

Such stories as the above repeat themselves in different terms from book to book, and from platform to platform : they are not supported by eye-witnesses, and rest upon hearsay : they are but a few out of hundreds, and, if not true, they give evidence of a great truth, that, so long as the human heart beats, and the Divine book comes into contact with it, the electric spark will display itself. The wind bloweth where it listeth, and we hear the sound, but cannot tell whence it comes, or whither it goeth.

It is, because it is found by experience to be suited to every state of man, because it is intelligible to the mind in the lowest stages of culture, and yet not unworthy of the highest intellect ; because it is both wise and tender, full of judgment, full of pardon ; so deep, that no plummet can reach the bottom ; yet so transparent, that the eye of faith can pierce through it : so consolatory, yet so outspoken in condemnation of what is wrong ; such a feast to those, who are in good health, such a medicine to the sick, such a balm to the weary one ; so full of high hope for the young : so full of chastened resignation for the aged : so full of parting comforts to the Soul about to return to its Creator : for these reasons the Bible-Societies consider it their bounden duty to spare no pains, to grudge no expenditure, to place it in the hands of every one, the sailor, the emigrant, the soldier, the fisherman, the miner, the shepherd. Each public event, each local distress, each private calamity, seem a call to them to press onward. In the Report for 1885 I read of a woman, who remarked, that she had often heard of the Bible, but had never seen it till that day ; of the Railway-Policeman, who, on buying a copy for the first time, took off his hat, and saluted it, "Long have I desired to possess a copy, and now I have one." "Still there was room," whispered the humble dying man, thanking the reader for the comfort conveyed in the words, that there might still be room for him. "That blessed letter M," said the Countess of Huntingdon, as they read to her, that not Many mighty, not Many noble are called. In Dr. Stern, the Abyssinian Missionary's Memoirs, I read how, writhing under wounds inflicted by King Theodore, he was comforted by thinking of the words,

Neither shall there be any more pain.

And throughout all the agonizing days, and agonizing nights of those long four years of captivity, the Bible with its promises was the solace and the joy of his despondent heart.

The last Journal of Bishop Hannington, so marvellously

preserved to us, tells us, how that faithful Christian, in the miserable outward circumstances of his last days, was still sustained by the daily reading of, and meditation on, the Psalms of David.

Impressed with these convictions, I have long been anxious to find out, and bring to book, the extent of Bible-Work, which has yet to be done, in order to place the Holy Scriptures at the disposal of every Nation and Tribe in the world in their own proper language or dialect, for it is clearly our duty to aim at nothing short of this: but it is necessary previously to discover

A. How many languages, and dialects, mutually unintelligible, are spoken at this time (1888).

B. In how many languages, or dialects, translations have been made.

An answer to the first question is being slowly worked out. I am gradually completing a survey of our existing knowledge, proceeding on a Geographical Method. This must stand over, but the materials are accumulating, though it may not be my lot to sum up the total.

An answer to the second question is the subject of this discussion. It is not so simple as it may seem. For my purpose it is sufficient, that any portion of the Holy Scriptures has been translated, printed, and *put into circulation*, or brought into use. For where a portion has been disposed of, it is merely a question of time, capacity, and money, to dispose of the remainder, should it be found necessary. On the other hand, all translations of small portions made by Scholars and Grammarians, merely as linguistic texts, are omitted; they may be interesting, but they are not Bible-work in the sense understood by me: they are however numerous, and show how the work may be advanced.

A great many agencies have been at work, and there are several Tables or Lists of considerable repute, but none of them are complete, none of them are scientifically arranged, so as to form a correct basis for my inquiry.

I state them as follows:

- A. Historical Table of Languages and Dialects, in which the translation, printing, or distribution of the Scriptures has been at any time promoted by the British and Foreign Bible Society. This forms part of the Annual Report, 1888.
- B. Specimens of Languages and Dialects, in which the British and Foreign Bible Society has printed or circulated the Scriptures. Enlarged Edition, 1888.
- C. Table showing the New Versions of the Holy Scriptures made by Bible Societies during the present Century, by the Rev. C. E. B. Reed. Appendix to the Report on Conference of Foreign Missions. Mildmay, 1879.

D. Annual Report of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1888.

E. List of the Languages, into which the Scriptures have been translated in "The Bible of Every Land," 1860.

F. Historical Table of Languages and Dialects in which the translations, printing, and distribution of the Scriptures has been at any time promoted by the British and Foreign, *and other*, Bible Societies. This forms a part of the Annual Report of the American Bible Society, 1888.

G. List of Translations of the Holy Scriptures into the Languages of Heathen and Mahometan Nations, 1850. Burns's History of Missions, vol. iii. p. 493. Appendix, 3rd edition.

Much information is to be obtained from other Reports : none are accurate, complete, or up to date ; in some, confusion is caused by introduction of details not required for my purpose : they are faulty in their arrangement, and inconsistent in their orthography. Most of them have grown gradually on no one system.

Let me first note the points, which I wish to exclude. I am dealing with Language alone : so I exclude all notice of editions ; dates ; Written Characters ; name of translator ; obsolete or useless versions ; plurality of translations, for the fact of one translation existing is sufficient ; names of portions translated, as the fact of any portion being translated is sufficient.

On the other hand, I require to know : every language or dialect, in which work has been done of a practical character ; the exact province or country, in which, or the tribe, by which, it is used ; to what Family or Group it belongs ; whether it is a language, or a dialect, or a patois ; by what Bible-Society, or Missionary Society, it was translated, if it is a new version of this Century. I require accurate orthography, and the exclusion of all vagueness of terminology, and uncertainty of Geography, as each language should have a Geographical name, which explains itself.

I arrive at a total of three hundred and thirty-seven languages, dialects, and patois, which are represented by some portion of the Scriptures translated for Evangelistic purposes. In making up my list I exclude the following, which appear in the Catalogues of Bible Societies :

A. Duplicate versions, prepared in different written characters, to suit the reading powers of a particular population. Now this is the same substance appearing in a different form. Again, Editions for the Blind are merely mechanical contrivances, and the publication of Dyglott Editions should be left to the trade.

B. Obsolete versions, whether originally made upon imperfect knowledge, or made for races, which have died out, or changed their Vernacular, or which have been entirely superseded by later, and more perfect translations.

C. Literary "tours de force," like those of H.I.H. Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, which, however, have a value, as pointing the way, though many have only a linguistic interest.

On the other hand, by the kindness of Missionaries, and the close perusal of Missionary Reports of every part of the World, I have been able to cull wild flowers from hitherto sealed gardens, and get, as it were, a forecast of work, that will be known to all in ten years' time. Many a busy brain, many an industrious pen, many a consecrated intellect, is at work, gathering up honey to store in the Bible-Bee-Hive, to provide sweet and nourishing food for old and young in generations yet to be born. I have used a large liberty in such additions, one Psalm, the Lord's Prayer, or a few chapters, are an earnest of blessings to come; they are the first drops of a fructifying shower, perhaps the first effort of a prentice-hand, which will hereafter do the work of a cunning workman in the building of the Temple of the Lord.

The object of my fourth column is not to adjudicate betwixt rival claims. I wish to enable scholars, Religious or Secular, to know, where they are to apply for copies. I take no cognizance of Rival Versions. My object is to state, that such and such language has received the honour of being the vehicle of God's Word.

It is clear, that Bible-Societies are not justified in preparing, and supplying, dead and liturgical versions: at the beginning of their work they may have been glad to do so, but they should remove now to a separate list the names of Latin, Old Slavonic, Old Syriac, Koptic, Ethiopic, Old Armenian, and Ecclesiastical Georgian. They do not represent the Vernaculars: they only subserve to an empty and faulty ritual, totally unintelligible to the people, and not likely to save souls: there is no guarantee, that some of them are faithful translations. On the other hand, I would resist any attempt to withdraw from circulation the translations of the Latin Vulgate into the French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese and German Languages. Many will purchase these, who will purchase no other translations: perhaps hereafter some acceptable revised translation may supersede them. We owe our Reformation to the study of the Vulgate, and it is sheer nonsense to condemn a version, which converted Luther and Calvin.

In spelling the names of languages of the Arian and Semitic Family there is no difficulty; they have, in course of Centuries, adopted Arian suffixes, such as "*Persian*" or "*Arabic*," but it is inconsistent and wrong to alter at random and by mere chance the termination of non-Arian names: we allow Zúlú, Hindustáni, Hakka, Búgi, Cree, Galla and Maori, to remain unaltered: why then add an Arian suffix to the languages in Polynesia, or

Malaysia, or North America? On the other hand, the well-known Bantu prefix of names in South Africa should be always removed, and Swahíli be written, not Ki-Swahíli, Suto not Se-Suto.

The table for each of the Five Divisions of the World is separate: additions should be inserted in their proper places. No doubt the bulk of the work in future years will consist in revision, the publication of new editions, and the translation of the untranslated portions of the Scriptures, which are represented in the lists possibly by a single Book, or a few Books. It is comforting to think, that we have disposed, more or less finally, of the sixteen great languages of the World, viz. English, French, German, Italian, Russ, Spanish, Portuguese, and Greek, in Europe: Arabic, Osmánli Túrki, Persian, Hindi, Bangáli, Malay, and Chinese Mandarin in Asia: Swahíli in Africa: each one of these languages is spoken by a population exceeding ten Millions, some spoken by eighty Millions. Great progress has been made in the languages of second rank of numerical importance: we may anticipate, that in the struggle for linguistic life hundreds of unsettled languages and dialects will be swallowed up, trodden down, and extinguished, by their powerful neighbours, before their turn comes for us to attend to them.

It is wrong, and inexpedient, either from Ecclesiastical, or Political, motives, to force a language on a people. France, Germany and Russia are always following this baneful policy, but with doubtful success. Great Britain has never done so. How should we like to have our Sunday-Schools taught in French, and to have every ray of religious light pass through a foreign medium! Let us be firm in the principle, that every man, woman, and child, has a divine and human congenital right to have the Promises of Jesus conveyed to them in the very language, in which they order their households, manage their affairs, and speak to each other. It can and will be done, if we go on in the way, in which we have begun.

I close with certain suggestions for the more efficient carrying out of the work, viewing the matter as I habitually do, not in the interest of this Society, or that, but in the interest of Bible-Work all over the world, by whomsoever done. It is such a great and serious error, to place the interests of a Society above the interests of the Work, for which the Society is formed. And yet it is the common weakness of Secretaries, and of good men, who have one Committee only. So long as the work is done, and done well, let the Society, and the Individual, perish, and the Kingdom of God be advanced.

At page 53 I enumerated the five great Missionary Bible-Societies, as distinguished from the smaller Societies, which

I ventured with every feeling of respect to call Bible-Clubs. It is to be hoped, that the almost impalpable wall of division, that segregates, rather than separates, the Baptist Bible-Translation Society from the British and Foreign Bible-Society, will in course of time crumble away, and, since love, and mutual esteem, and free interchange of translations, have ever existed, the two portions of the same original body may be reunited. This would leave four great Missionary Bible-Societies. There exist indeed in England two other Bible-Societies, one deserving of the highest commendation, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, but Bible-work is only a part of its work. And the other Association is only deserving of pity and oblivion.

But since the union and strengthening of the great German Empire, the Parent of Protestantism, the possibility of the Union into one great German Missionary Bible-Society of all the small Bible-Clubs, which exist in that country, is looked forward to. How imperfectly those small Associations grasp the idea of their high office is proved by the fact, that in one Association the sale of Bibles to Roman Catholics is forbidden, and in another the sale of translations in any other European language except German seems to be difficult. Germany has now advanced to the position of a great Colonial Power: let it remember its duty, as well as its opportunities. Its Missionary Societies have long been among the foremost and best in every part of the world, except Oceania. The time has come for a great German Bible-Society; then there will be five great Missionary Associations to supply the world with copies of the Word of God.

These Societies should form themselves into an alliance, and, while they maintain entire individual autonomy, settle certain fixed principles. They should divide the world Geographically among themselves, and, following the example of the great Missionary Societies, not overlap each other. It is a waste of time and resources to have three Societies at work in the comparatively unimportant Islands of Japan, while China is so imperfectly supplied, and many parts of the world, notably South America, are starving. The first and most obvious duty of a Bible-Society is that of supplying its own Missionary Societies with Bibles: why should not the National Society of Scotland, the Netherlands Bible-Society, and the great German Bible-Society, which I have summoned to appear, do this work? Why should in Europe Colporteurs from different Societies work in the same region, crossing each other, and treading in each other's steps?

The American Society has withdrawn from Greece, and the British and Foreign Bible-Society has withdrawn from Cuba. This is a step in the right direction. But a much larger measure of division of Empire is required, so as to economize the available resources, and the end will only be obtained, when those,

who rule, recognize as paramount, not the supposed rights of a Society, but the claims of the non-Christian world. I speak boldly, because in this matter all are in fault. If delegates from the Societies met with a Map of the World before them, a scheme would soon be worked out, which would satisfy all requirements. I had hoped, that the meeting of so many delegates of Missionary Societies this year in London for the International Missionary Congress might prove an opportunity for advancing this measure. Delegates of the American Bible-Society, and of the National Bible-Society of Scotland, did indeed meet delegates of the British and Foreign Bible-Society, and discussed in a most friendly spirit many subjects, and no doubt this is a step in advance. A few days previously I placed in the hands of these delegates, and other friends, a letter, a copy of which is appended, urging a large and comprehensive measure: but the subject was avoided: when delegations meet, they have no instructions: when they are in their own Committees, they have no opportunity to confer: it is a misfortune always to see five years ahead beyond one's colleagues: some measure of this kind must sooner or later be adopted: but men's minds are not yet ripe. Secretaries like in their Reports to be able to talk of their work in this country, or that country, though the work in those countries is ridiculously insignificant, and wasteful: it is another instance of a love for the Society exceeding love for the work of the Lord.

I quote the words of a deceased Secretary, which seem to approach very close to my idea:

But as to the occupation of territory, it may be possible for us to carry our agreement further than hitherto. It is very pleasant to feel, that there is no corner of the world, into which our work does not reach, that the sun never sets upon our colporteurs, and that there is no such manual of universal geography as the report of a Bible-Society; but we shall do well to consider, whether others may not be able in some Fields to do the necessary work without our help, setting us free for other fields, which as yet we have scarcely touched.

In addition to the questions of editions, and prices, on which consultation might well be held, the important question of the modes of translating, or transliterating, the Divine Name, should be settled, before the danger of mischief spreads further. Future generations may be hopelessly separated in rival and even hostile Churches by the use of different names for the same Hebrew or Greek word.

Each Society should supply itself with copies of the translations, made by the other Societies, and not restrict the use of its shelves to its own translations. This is a very narrow view of Bible-work. I have repeatedly been unable to supply myself, or a friend passing through London to some distant part of the world, with a copy of a particular translation, and have received the reply, that I must apply to New York, or Edinburgh, or Amsterdam, or even to Sydney, Batavia, and the Sandwich

Islands. This should not be. If a book is published in a distant Colony, copies should be sent to the Parent-Society in sufficient number to supply the Sister-Societies. At any rate the lists given in my Appendix indicate what languages have been translated and published by Bible-Societies. It would be an act of courtesy and kindness, if Missionary Societies would forward to all Bible-Societies copies of translations, which they print in their Mission-Presses. We must work solidly shoulder to shoulder.

The policy of withdrawal from Protestant Countries should be firmly acted upon. The Bible is the glory of a Protestant Country. How then can Germany, the Protestant Cantons of Switzerland, Holland, Denmark, Norway, and Finland, condescend to receive a supply of cheap Bibles, supplied to them by Great Britain, and North America? We require all our resources for the Roman Catholic, the Mahometan, and the Heathen. Reasonable notice should be given, and the agencies be withdrawn. This must be done in concert by all the Societies, because it is a great principle, on which the duty of supplying Bibles is based.

Then again some relaxation is required of the Rules with regard to the Apocrypha. It is distinctly understood, that the American, Scottish, and British and Foreign Societies restrict themselves to the Inspired Word of God, but it cannot be necessary to forbid the granting of pecuniary aid to a Foreign Society, which has not unlimited resources, because it circulates the Apocrypha, such aid being applied only to the Books of the Old and New Testament. For instance, aid cannot be given now to the Bible-Societies of Norway to print the Inspired Word in the Lapp Language, because those Societies circulate the Apocrypha in Norwegian. This is unreasonable, and injurious to the Lord's work.

It would be very difficult, if desirable, to prove or enforce a legal copyright in a translation of the Bible: but a moral right should be admitted by courtesy for (say) forty years: after which period the translation belongs to the public, and can be freely used. Within the period the comity of Societies suggests, that the owner of the translation should have a control over it, and that the supply of copies, and the licence to change certain specific words, such as to substitute "baptism" for "immersion," and *vice versa*, should rest with the owner. A compact of this kind exists between the British Societies. Any attempt after the lapse of forty years to forbid the use of, or the alteration of terms, is as futile, as it is injudicious.

It is a convenience, and an economy, to have one Depot, and Colporteur, and Staff for the Bible-Society, and the Tract-Society; but in Roman Catholic countries there is this drawback, that in

the event of a Priest, or a sincere Roman Catholic, entering the Depot to purchase a Bible, he would have his feelings shocked by taking up books of the Tract-Society, exposing (no doubt with truth) the errors of Rome. The Bible requires no such collateral aid, and it is desirable, that it should be the only book sold. Of course, there is no objection of this kind in Mahometan, and Heathen, countries.

I am totally opposed to the practice of prefixing to certain versions of the French and German Scriptures copies of the Imprimatur of Roman Catholic Bishops of a former generation. We all know, that no Bishop would under any circumstances give an Imprimatur *now*; therefore in practice it is deceitful: but it is derogatory to the dignity of the Bible, that it should be supposed to require the human recommendation of Pope or Cæsar, of Bishop or Governor.

The Bible is always, and always will be, up to the high-level mark of Human Knowledge. Commentators are not so. Their views vary from generation to generation, from denomination to denomination, from Church to Church, from one social class to another. They presume the existence of certain knowledge in their readers, to which they appeal, and often with mere half-knowledge they attempt to illustrate the full Divine Knowledge, which they are quite unable to comprehend. The Word and the Work of the great Creator must be in harmony, though we cannot always, through the weakness of our intelligence, reconcile them. Wisely therefore the Bible-Societies forbid all note and comment, not so much out of respect to the difference of denominations, of which their body is composed, as to the Divine Book itself. I remark with regret a process of whittling away this fundamental Rule. In alternative readings, based on philological grounds solely, there is no danger, but in marginal references, and Chapter-headings, there is danger. In a Roman Catholic version of Genesis the passage of the Serpent bruising the heel of the Woman, is illustrated by a marginal reference to the Woman in the Apocalypse. A deceased Secretary expresses himself as follows, and I cannot agree with him :

It may, however, be asked, whether this deepening of the channel would be consistent with the simple aim of Bible-Societies, which is to circulate the Scriptures without note or comment. Now it should not be forgotten, that this rule about note or comment has never been interpreted in the strictness and bondage of the letter. It has not been taken to exclude chapter-headings, for example, and marginal references; nay, maps, alternative readings, prefatory notes giving the authority of the text chosen, and occasionally, in foreign tongues, glossaries of technical Hebrew and Greek words have been allowed, on the ground, that they were not notes in the sense intended by the framers of the rule, but only assistant translations, and statements of fact, which made clearer the words of Holy Writ.

The very substitution of a capital letter for an ordinary letter

in this critical age has a covert meaning. A certain living Privy Councillor, well known in Literature, in his books always spells the Divine name with a little *g*, as a token of his disbelief in Him. The fool of modern days is of the same kind as his prototype in the time of David.

Another question requires serious reflection. I discussed with a certain Bishop, a well-known friend of the Society, the expediency of limiting the translation of the Old Testament for the use of tribes in a low state of culture to certain selected Books, not so much for the purpose of economy, as not to confuse the mind of the reader. He quite agreed with me, but who shall define the books to be omitted, at least for the first generation? I placed the same subject before one of our oldest and soundest translators, and Missionaries, and he replied as follows:

I believe in the educational value of the entire Bible. Parts that to us are of little interest are most attractive to savages, for the first time listening to Bible teaching. I never cared for the genealogies of the Bible until my own converts put me to shame by showing an almost perfect acquaintance with such matters. The man with the longest pedigree in the island is the most respected. But of course, the great thing is to give the Natives *all* the New Testament, the book of Psalms, the book of Proverbs, Job, and the first and second books of Moses, Isaiah, and Daniel. The stories in Judges have a marvellous power of fascination for brave savages. It comes to this, then, I would give them the entire Bible if possible. If that cannot be, leave out as little as possible.

The Committee of a Bible-Society is, like other Missionary Societies, an assembly of prayerful men, and all meetings commence with Prayer: the business is conducted in accordance with the precepts of the Book, which it circulates: there is something elevating and sanctifying in the work, and each Member of the Committee, and each employée of the Society, feels, that it is well for him to be there. It is there, that we find sanctified Science, and consecrated talents, and pens. While carnal men are fighting about annexation, or commerce, all over the world, nothing but the direct blessing of the Almighty would enable poor, weak, peaceful, men, devoid of wealth, power, and influence, to carry through this gigantic work: the idea of it would never have suggested itself to any one, but an Anglo-Saxon Protestant, and with that race alone rests the proud privilege, and peculiar blessing, of sending out the Word of God to every part of the world. And what a deep insight this familiar handling of the Word gives us into the Revealed Truth? Could any other Book stand such microscopic introspection into every sentence, and sometimes every word? Hours have been spent this very year, and not unprofitably, by earnest, busy, serious, men as to how one word of only four letters—the great Tetragrammata—should be rendered. For myself I can only express the exceeding honour, joy and

profit, which I have derived during the last ten years from the Bible-House. Many great and noble men visit it, and letters of thanks come to us from the ends of the earth. It is a great blessing to be always giving, and seeking nothing but thanks in return.

The simplicity of object, and the good faith in practice, of the British and Foreign Bible-Society, has done much during the last twenty years to draw together Christians of different views, and this may be pronounced to be a great incidental blessing. Blessed are the Peacemakers, and the Bible is the great Peacemaker. One of our most learned Bishops has, for many years, presided at our first meeting for business in May, and told us of the progress of the work in the two great Translation-Companies at Westminster, and still presides to give us the benefit of his experience, and counsel. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, under the gentle influences of the time, is no longer estranged from us, but helps us in the distribution of the Bible through Bible-Women, and receives from us a grant for that purpose. I remember the time, when the Bible-Society was mentioned in certain circles, as a kind of illicit connection for a Churchman to enter into: if in my boldness I mentioned its name, a Church dignitary would reprove me, and say:

You mean the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

My reply was:

I mean what I say, the British and Foreign Bible Society. I know and value the S.P.C.K., and am a member of the Translation-Committee of that Society, but my remarks apply to the Bible-Society.

All such narrowness of vision has disappeared. Among all the Missionaries in the Field, none has been more valued at the Bible-House than Bishop Steere of Equatorial Africa, and I rejoice to find in the Memoirs of that large-hearted man (1888) the following remarks:

The Bishop had long learnt that, *which so many Churchmen still fail to perceive*, how without the generous aid of the Bible-Society, it would be utterly impossible for the Church to carry on her Mission-work efficiently: and there was no place, where he was so gladly welcomed, or *felt himself more at home*, than in his visits to the Bible-House.

When he accepted the post of Vice-President, an honour which is only bestowed on Bishops, who are friends of the Society, he modestly remarked:

That he had long wished to do what he could for the cause of the Society: that the obligation was all on one side, and that was his: that he felt, that his work must be all unsound, without a Vernacular Bible, and that the Society had made this possible to him.

The obligation was not so entirely on the Bishop's side. The Society had long looked upon the East Coast of Africa, and the

Equatorial region, with a feeling of despair. A wise Providence selected Bishop Steere for his office at Zanzibár, and all has become light, for the Swahíli translation is becoming the prototype, and the model, for all other translations in the kindred languages of that vast region.

The Members of the International Congress of Missionaries, the Members of the Pan-Presbyterian Synod, and the Members of the Pan-Anglican Synod at Lambeth, were all welcomed at the Bible-House, and in the ordinary meetings it is sometimes Pastor Chiniqui from Canada, or Count Campello from Italy, or a Negro Bishop or Archdeacon from the Niger, or an earnest friend on our auxiliary Committee in Australia, or some one, who has done something in some portion of the world for the Bible, that is heartily welcomed, and to none greater honour is shown, and greater love felt, than to the aged translators: what indeed could the Society do, if men of their stamp, their genius, their devotion, had not been forthcoming?

From the Committee-Room, the transition is easy to the Platform: the Bible-Society has, above all Societies, this exquisite advantage, that its meetings bring together good, and worthy men, otherwise separated, and unite them for the highest purpose: hear the words of one speaker:

It was impossible not to be struck with the tone of nearly all that was said, a tone, that could have been heard and loved and caught and retained in days of deep spiritual appreciation, viz. that to have come to God in His Word, to have heard His voice there, to have recognized in it the clear, distinct message of the invisible God, guaranteeing to every penitent, faithful listener an act of Divine pardon, an assurance of Divine love, a place in God's family, a home in God's eternal kingdom, was a fact, that could not but make the difficulties that had been referred to so frankly and discussed so candidly, appear in their true light; by comparison small; by spiritual estimation mean; petty by practical result; by their effect upon men's minds poor and miserable. There is no doubt, that in the Bible-Society's work two principal blessings are poured out upon men. There is, even when both are recognized as principal blessings, still a distinction between them. Some work and gain one blessing; some work and gain them both. Some give to the work of spreading the Word of God a place in their hearts altogether alone. To them "the two only absolute and luminously self-evident truths," God and their own souls, are found corroborated by authority immutable in the words of the Word of God. To that oracle they listen, in that temple they worship, to that summons they yield, upon that assurance they rest, as upon the arm of God Himself. To believe it is life, to spread it is charity, to proclaim it is bare loyalty to Christ.

And again, in the great Metropolitan Cathedral:

Rather because she saw how hot the battles raged with ignorance and infidelity, and how, down all the line, if victory were to come, there must be implements of war ready for every hand; and just because she felt the great need for *supplies*, without joining herself to any one squadron of that great host of God, she stepped back from the fighting ranks, and left the actual hand-to-hand encounter with the foe, that she might look to the whole host's supply, that she might open out an armoury for God; that she might find for all the brave fighting bands of Christendom, under whatever garb or ensign they might

serve, and in whatever land they brought God's war, the one bright unmatched blade, with which they could go forth, "the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God."

Round the Colporteur, and the Bible-woman, a great literature of anecdotes is springing up. Not disobedient to the heavenly vision, these good people, poor in circumstances, rich in faith, do their work, a work, for which they seem to have been specially ordained. I have seen and conversed with many of them in different and far-distant countries, from the Caspian to the Atlantic, and wondered, if these good fellows had not been Colporteurs, for what other possible purpose they were born: their very existence is a living witness of the power of the Spirit. I know of no other book, for the sale of which a man or woman would risk their lives, or run the chance of being beaten. We must not moan over the destruction of books by the malignity of the Priests: to our eyes there is a great waste of human life, where so many are born, and so few do anything to justify their birth: but, if one man in a hundred does something, let the other ninety-nine perish. The Colporteur should take heed not to speak of *his* Society, or *his* Depot, or *his* Sect, or *his* Church, but stand forth as a Messenger of Christ: he injures the cause by intruding the names of Societies, of Countries, or Denominations. In the midst of all his troubles, all his labours, all his privations, he has sweet moments, when he watches the effect of his words, carried by the power of the Spirit right into the hearts of a simple audience. As he reads of the Crucifixion, and the Resurrection, the words leap from the mouths of his hearers: "Can this be true? Read that again. I have often dreamt of such things vaguely: now I realize them." Yes! true as the Sun in mid-heaven, certain as the revolution of the Moon and the Planets, and the return of Spring and Summer: believed in by Millions: the link, that unites all the children of men!

In my annual tours (free-will offerings to the great cause), I have seen these things, heard these things, touched the hands of these good men, and watched them trudging along the streets, with their bag of Bibles on their shoulder, and one copy open in their hands. Every part of Europe, Western Asia, and North Africa (save Tripolitana), has been visited: one year I was in Norway discussing the Lapp translation, the next year on the Cataracts of the Nile, listening to men speaking in the language of the Nubians: then on the shores of the Caspian Sea, or the Sea of Galilee, or down in the Sahára of Algeria, or at Cape Spartel in Morocco. Much as I have travelled, I have never got beyond the influence of the Bible-Societies: as I stood on a steamer on the Caspian, thinking that I had done something, I was humbled by the appearance of a Colporteur, who, with his life in his hand, and his bag of

Bibles on his back, had worked his way to Bokhára, sold his books, and got safe back again. I am now starting to Orenberg on the confines of Europe and Asia, to inform myself more satisfactorily of the particular languages, spoken in those mysterious regions, with a view to future translations.

We may sometimes bring the message too late, and only have time to read passages over the graves of the last of an expiring race. John Eliot in 1666 translated a portion of the Bible into the language of the Algonquin of North America, one of which was the Mohican: the whole Bible was translated in 1685 in one of these languages: all are obsolete. The Lord has gathered into His fold all, who used those forms of speech, but, being enshrined in the Word of God, that speech will live for ever. The same sad phenomenon is expected in the Islands of Oceania. Native tribes cannot co-exist with European civilization: many tribes are year by year dwindling, and will soon pass away. From the New Hebrides, the Loyalty Islands, and Polynesia, we receive the same sad intelligence, the same Banshee-cry, that the end is at hand. Translations, that have been made, will soon be placed on the shelf, as literary curiosities. No human efforts can control this march of events, or arrest this evil, if indeed it is an evil. The matter is in God's hand, who does all things well. We have many cases, where the Nation has outlived its original language: here we have the reverse, where the language outlives the Nation. Still the words of John of Gaunt stand good:

We will not be the dregs of all, seeing that other Nations have the Law of God, which is the law of our Faith, written in their own language.

Such is our duty, our maxim, and our practice.

"The Earth shall be full of the Knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the Sea."

Finis.

APPENDIX (P. 99).

May 31st, 1888.

DEAR FRIENDS,

I seize the occasion of representative members of the Scotch and American Bible-Societies being in London, to press upon them, the expediency of considering with the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible-Society, some principles for dividing territorially the great works of "Translation" and "Distribution," so as not to waste power, produce friction, and cause unnecessary expenditure of our joint resources.

The three great Societies are the above named. The Bible-Society of Holland, a Protestant Country, should be encouraged to provide for its own people, and the Dutch Colonies, from which other Societies should absolutely and at once withdraw.

Pending the constitution of a German Bible-Society for its Roman Catholic Home-work, its Colonies, and Missions, the three great Societies must do the work for them, but under a solemn protest, that the German Protestant Churches are failing in the discharge of their obvious duty.

The smaller Societies, such as the Trinitarian, and Baptist Bible-Society, need not be alluded to.

The Missionary Societies of all Nations have certain principles of Inter-Mission Comity, which are fairly adhered to: they do not, except in the case of large cities, intrude into areas already occupied, and they unite in sending delegates, when required, to conduct translations and revisions of the Scriptures.

The position of Bible-Societies is different, and it appears to me expedient, that certain principles of Inter-Society Comity should be agreed upon. I proceed to make suggestions.

A. TRANSLATING WORK AND PRINTING.

I. There is no manner of good in two or more Societies undertaking this work in common. It is obvious, that the Missionaries of all Denominations and Nations will supply the translators, and it is far better that the expenditure should be supplied by one Society, and the version belong to that Society, which will of course allow its Sister-Societies to supply themselves with copies, or even with duplicate plates, under conditions to be laid down by Rule III.

II. It is a subject of much regret, and of hindrance to the Lord's work, when two distinct versions are made of the same language in different dialects and characters. In a very great language, like Mandarin-Chinese, this may be inevitable; but in the case of the Ashánti and Fánti it is inexcusable. The Bible-Societies should decline to be guided by one Missionary, or one Denomination of Missionaries, and act upon understood principles, after consulting, if necessary, with Sister-Bible-Societies.

III. Rules for supply of copies, or plates, must be laid down at certain rates.

IV. There can exist no *legal* copyright in a version of the Bible; but a *moral* copyright should be recognized by the Sister-Societies for a term of forty years, after which date the version must be deemed common property, whether it belonged to a Bible-Society or a Missionary-Society. "The Word of God is not bound."

V. No reprint of such a version, without the leave of the Society, which owns the version, should be made within the term of forty years, and it follows, that within that period any alteration of terms, such as the rendering of the word *βαρρίσνα*, should be made only with special permission. The Societies should bear in mind, not their own prejudices, or rights, but the wants of the Native Churches. The Holy Spirit is quite powerful enough to protect its own inspired utterances without our poor assistance.

B. DISTRIBUTION.

I. The maintenance of an expensive agency of two or more Societies in one country to carry on the same work is deeply to be deplored; it is a sheer waste of resources, which might better be employed elsewhere, where there is no agency, or by the subdivision of an agency, which is too large for the territory assigned to it.

II. The remedy is, that the Managers of each Society should consider their position before God, and their duty towards the non-Christian world, and be ready to sacrifice prejudices, or predilections, for the furtherance of God's work.

III. As a Geographer, Linguist, and Ethnologist, and caring more for the Bible than any particular Society, I make the following suggestions:

A. Will the American Bible-Society take over the whole of America, North and South, with the exception of the British Colonies, and Tierra del Fuego, where there is a small British Mission, working under difficulties?

- B. Will the American Bible-Society withdraw entirely from Europe, with the exception of Turkey in Europe? If the same Spanish or Portuguese translations are acceptable on both sides of the Atlantic, they can be freely used, but each Society should act independently within its own region.
- C. Will the National Society of Scotland take over Spain and Portugal, and withdraw from the rest of Europe?
- D. Will the National Society of Scotland undertake to supply the Presbyterian Missions in the New Hebrides and South Africa?
- E. Will the British and Foreign Bible-Society withdraw (say) within a term of five years, from every Protestant Kingdom of Europe, and the Protestant portions of mixed kingdoms, like Germany, leaving it to the Protestant Churches in those countries to supply their own flocks, but maintaining its agencies to supply Roman Catholics in Germany, until the German Bible-Society is ready?
- F. Will the British and Foreign Bible-Society withdraw from Constantinople, and every Province of Turkey, where the Osmánli Túrki, and the Western dialect of Armenian, are spoken?
- G. Will the three Societies agree, that one out of their number should withdraw from Japan, and open a fourth agency in Central China? Will they also agree, that a fifth agency should be opened in China, by one of the three Societies, and that that kingdom be divided territorially, and the five agencies be assigned to one or other of the three Societies, with reference to the preponderance of Missionary Societies of their own Nationality in each subdivision?

I remark with regret symptoms of jealousy, rivalry, and misunderstanding, where no such feelings ought to exist; we are all engaged in the same blessed work, and there should be no overlapping of areas; it was an initial error to open three agencies in the petty kingdom of Japan, with a population of thirty millions, and not more than two languages. In the Province of Bangál in British India there is a population of sixty millions, with a great many languages; while the wealth and intellectual culture of Bangál far exceed that of Japan, and yet it is only a portion of the area of a single Auxiliary Society of the British and Foreign Bible-Society. China is inadequately supplied, while Japan is unduly supplied.

The British and Foreign Bible-Society should withdraw from the Dutch Colonies, and throw its strength into the remainder of the Malay Archipelago under British, Spanish, and Portuguese influence, or independent.

These are only suggestions : others may cover the same ground, but be more acceptable. We should try to look ten years ahead. I anticipate great trouble, unless there is an *entente cordiale* between the Bible-Societies. Sooner or later they must come to some form of territorial division. The number of Agencies must be increased, and the number of Depots and Colporteurs indefinitely extended. We make the boast of what we have done, but we take no account of what we have left undone. In the Translation Department vast sums will be required to revise existing Translations of the whole Bible, complete Translations, only partially undertaken and not pressed on with vigour, and make entirely new Translations of languages, which have not yet been touched. To get at tribes and regions beyond the limits of regularly organized States, or within the limits of jealous Governments, like Russia and China, we must have a superior class of European Colporteurs. There are still millions in the interior of Asia, Africa, and South America, who have never heard of the existence of the Bible. There are Christian populations coming into existence, which will have to be supplied, in every part of the world. This of itself will be a very expensive and laborious task, requiring systematic and continuous attention.

It is clear, that an epoch of trouble may be expected in Africa, and it is possible, that other regions may be shut off from European contact, as Abyssinia, and the Egyptian Sudán, now are. We must distribute the Bible, while we have the opportunity. We are certain of the unceasing hostility of the French Roman Catholics. Much larger grants are required for the Bible-Women in Oriental countries, where the women live a life of seclusion. All the Societies should take up this blessed work. In the event of the great Continental Powers determining on rigidly excluding from their territories and colonies every foreign Missionary (and it is very probable that they will do so), it will be on the Bible-Societies alone, that these populations will depend for their Gospel-teaching. This makes it more important, that one Society, and one alone, should work in each of the great Continental kingdoms, as the resident agent will be well known, and trusted by the authorities to keep his own proper duties, and conform to the laws of the Empire.

I make these remarks as a private individual, without consulting any one at all. I have been a great traveller, observer, and organizer, and I see defects, which may escape the observation of those, who have not studied the circumstances of the whole world. It is my heart's desire to see the Bible brought to the door of every nation and tribe in their own vulgar tongue, as understood by the women and children.

B. F. B. S.=By Faith Be Saved.

**TABLE OF BIBLE-WORK IN EVERY
PART OF THE WORLD UP TO
1888.**

Πόλλαι μὲν Θνήτοις γλῶσσαι, μιαδ' ἀθανατοῖσιν.

**“Their sound has gone out unto all Nations, and their words to the end of
the World.”—*Psalms.***

ABSTRACT.

I. Europe.....	79
II. Asia	111
III. Africa	66
IV. America	38
V. Oceania	43
Grand Total	337

ABBREVIATIONS.

O.V.	Old Version.
S.P.C.K.	Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.
B.F.B.S.	British and Foreign Bible Society.
A.B.S.	American Bible Society.
N.B.S.S.	National Bible Society of Scotland.
B.T.S.	Bible Translation Society (Baptist).
R.B.S.	Russian Bible Society.
Ba.B.S.	Basle Bible Society.
N.B.S.	Netherlands Bible Society.
Br.B.S.	Bremen Bible Society.
C.B.S.	Coire Bible Society.
D.B.S.	Danish Bible Society.
No.B.S.	Norwegian Bible Society.
P.B.S.	Prussian Bible Society.
B.M.S.	Baptist Missionary Society.
M.M.S.	Moravian Missionary Society.
C.M.S.	Church Missionary Society.
L.M.S.	London Missionary Society.
A.B.M.S.	American Baptist Missionary Society.
A.B.F.M.	American Board of Foreign Missions.
A.P.M.S.	American Presbyterian Missionary Society.
M.M.	Melanesian Mission.
U.M.	Universities Mission.
W.M.S.	Wesleyan Missionary Society.
B.B.T.S.	Barma Bible and Tract Society.
U.M.S.	United Methodist Society.
F.C.S.M.	Free Church of Scotland Mission.
C.P.M.	Canada Presbyterian Mission.
N.S.E.W.C.	Northern, Southern, Eastern, Western, Central.
R.	River.
I.	Island.
Prov.	Province.
MS.	Manuscript.
L.	Lake.

TABLE OF LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS.

I. EUROPE.

A. ARIAN FAMILY (5 Branches).

(IN EUROPE.)

(1) KELT BRANCH.

Name of Language.	Name of Dialect.	Region.	Source of Translation.
Welsh	...	Wales	O.V.
Gaelic	...	Scotland	O.V.
Erse	...	Ireland	O.V.
Manx	...	Isle of Man	O.V.
Breton	...	Brittany, France	B.F.B.S.

(2) TEUTON BRANCH.

English	1 Standard	Great Britain	O.V.
	2 Surinam-Negro	Guiana, S. America	B.F.B.S.
German	1 Standard	Germany	O.V.
	2 Judæo-German	do.	B.B.F.S.
Dutch	Standard	Holland	O.V.
Flemish	...	Belgium	O.V.
Fries	...	Holland	B.F.B.S.
Danish	1 Standard	Denmark	O.V.
	2 Creole-Negro	Danish W. Indies	D.B.S.
Swedish	...	Sweden, Finland	O.V.
Norse	...	Norway	O.V.
Icelandic	1 Standard	Iceland	{ O.V., D.B.S.
	2 Faro	Faro Island	

(3) LITHUANIC BRANCH.

Name of Language.	Name of Dialect.	Region.	Source of Translation.
Lithuanian	1 Standard	Lithuania	O.V., P.B.S.
	2 Samogitian	do.	R.B.S.
Lett	...	Livonia, Courland	O.V.

(4) SLAV BRANCH.

Old Slavonic	...	Dead, Liturgical	O.V.
Russ	...	Russia	O.V.
Pole	...	Poland	O.V.
Wend	1 Upper	Lusatia, Germany	P.B.S.
	2 Lower	do. do.	P.B.S.
	3 Hungarian.	Hungary	B.F.B.S.
Czech	...	Bohemia	O.V.
Slovák	...	N.W. Hungary	B.F.B.S.
Slovén	...	S. Austria	B.F.B.S.
Ruthén	...	Little Russia	B.F.B.S.
Serb	1 Standard	Servia	B.F.B.S.
	2 Carniola	Carinthia, Carniola, Styria	O.V.
Bulgár	...	Bulgaria	B.F.B.S.

(5) GRECO-LATIN BRANCH.

Greek	1 Classical	Greece, Greek Church	B.F.B.S.
	2 Romaic	Greece	B.F.B.S.
Latin	...	Dead, Liturgical	O.V.
Italian	1 Standard	Italy	O.V.
	2 Piedmont	Piedmont	B.F.B.S.
Spanish	1 Standard	Spain, S. America	O.V.
	2 Catalan	Catalonia, Spain	B.F.B.S.
	3 Judæo-Spanish	For Spanish Jews	B.F.B.S.
	4 Curaçoa-Negro	I. of Curaçoa, W. Indies	N.B.S.
Portuguese	1 Standard	Portugal, S. America	O.V.
	2 Indo-Portuguese	I. of Ceylon	B.F.B.S.
French	1 Standard	France, Canada	O.V.
	2 Vaudois	Piedmont, Italy	B.F.B.S.
	3 Provençal	Provence, S. France	B.F.B.S.
	4 Mauritius-Creole	I. of Mauritius	B.F.B.S.

Name of Language.	Name of Dialect.	Region.	Source of Translation.
Romanian	1 Standard	Romania	B.F.B.S.
	2 Macedonian	Macedonia, Turkey	B.F.B.S.
Romansch	1 Upper	Engadine, Switzerland	O.V.
	2 Lower	do. do.	C.B.S.
	3 Oberland	do. do.	C.B.S.

B. ISOLATED LANGUAGES.

Basque	1 French	France, Pyrenees	B.F.B.S.
	2 Spanish	Spain, Prov. of Biscay	B.F.B.S.
	3 Guipuscoa	Spain, Prov. of Guipuscoa	B.F.B.S.
Albanian	1 Gheg	N. Albania	B.F.B.S.
	2 Tosk	S. do.	B.F.B.S.
Gitáno	...	For Spanish Gipsies	B.F.B.S.

C. URAL-ALTAIC FAMILY (2 Branches).

(IN EUROPE.)

(1) FINN BRANCH.

Magyar		Hungary	O.V.
Finn		Finland	O.V.
Lapp	1 Norse	Norway	{ No.B.S., B.F.B.S. B.F.B.S.
	2 Swedish	Sweden	
	3 Russ	Lapland	
Esthon	1 Dorpat	N. Livonia, Russia	B.F.B.S.
	2 Reval	Esthonia, do.	O.V.
Livon (Liv)		W. Courland do.	B.F.B.S.
Karél		Prov. of Tver do.	R.B.S.
Sirjin (Zir)		Prov. of Vo-	R.B.S.
		logda do.	
Perm		Prov. of Perm do.	R.B.S.
Mordwin		Prov. of Nijni-	R.B.S.
		Novogorod do.	
		R. Volga do.	R.B.S.
Cheremissi		Prov. of Wiakta,	R.B.S.
		Orenberg, do.	
Wotyak			

(2) TURKI BRANCH.

Name of Language.	Name of Dialect.	Region.	Source of Translation.
Chuvásh	...	Prov. of Nijni-Novogorod, Russia	R.B.S.
Kazán	...	Prov. of Kazán, do.	B.F.B.S.
Nogái	1 Eastern	Cis-Caucasia, do.	B.F.B.S.
	2 Western	For Jews, Crimea	do. O.V.
Kirghíz	1 Kazák	Astrakhan, do.	R.B.S.

II. ASIA.

A. SEMITIC FAMILY.

Arabic	1 Standard	Arabia, Syria, N. Africa	{ B.F.B.S., A.B.S.
	2 Maltese	Malta	{ B.F.B.S., S.P.C.K.
Syriac	1 Ancient	Dead, Liturgical	O.V.
	2 Modern	Urúmiáh, Persia	A.B.S.
Hebrew	New Testament	For Jews	B.F.B.S.

B. URAL-ALTAIC FAMILY (4 Branches).

(IN ASIA.)

(1) FINN BRANCH (*continued*).

Ostyak	...	Prov. of Tobolsk, Tomsk, Russia	B.F.B.S.
Wogul	...	W. Siberia, do.	B.F.B.S.

(2) TURKI BRANCH (*continued*).

Osmánli	...	Asia Minor, Turkey	{ B.F.B.S., A.B.S.
Kirghíz	2 Kara	Siberia, Turkestan, Russia	B.F.B.S.
Trans-Caucasian (Azerbijáni)		Trans-Caucasia, do.	{ B.F.B.S., A.B.S.
Trans-Caspian (Jaghatai)		Trans-Caspia, do.	B.F.B.S.
Khiva (Úzbek Sart)		Khanate of Khiva	B.F.B.S.

(3) MONGOL BRANCH.

Name of Language.	Name of Dialect.	Region.	Source of Translation.
Mongol	1 Literary	Mongolia	B.F.B.S.
	2 N. (Buriat)	Russian Mongolia	B.F.B.S.
	3 S. (Kalkhas)	Chinese Mongolia	B.F.B.S.
	4 W. (Kalmuk)	W. Mongolia, Russia	B.F.B.S.

(4) TUNGUS BRANCH.

Mánchu	Manchuria, China	B.F.B.S.
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C. CAUCASUS GROUP.

Georgian	Georgia, Russia	O.V.
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D. ARIAN FAMILY (2 Branches).

(IN ASIA.)

(1) IRAN BRANCH.

Persian	Standard	Persia	B.F.B.S.
Armenian	1 Ancient	Dead, Liturgical	O.V.
	2 W.	Asia Minor, Turkey	{ B.F.B.S., A.B.S.
	3 E. (Ararat)	Trans-Caucasia, Russia	B.F.B.S.
Kurd	...	Kurdistan, Turkey, Persia	{ B.F.B.S., A.B.S.
Ossét	...	Caucasus, Russia	R.B.S.
Pastú	...	Afghanistan, India	{ B.F.B.S., B.M.S.
Balúchi	...	Balúchistan, India	B.F.B.S.

(2) INDIC BRANCH.

Sanskrit	Dead, Liturgical	India	B.T.S.
Hindi	1 Standard	N. India	{ B.F.B.S., B.M.S.
	2 Hindustáni (Urdu)	do.	B.F.B.S.
	3 Dákhani	S. India	B.F.B.S.
	4 Marwári	C. India	B.F.B.S.
	5 Pahári	Kumaon, N. India	A.B.S.

Name of Language.	Name of Dialect.	Region.	Source of Translation.
Panjábi	1 Standard	N. India	B.F.B.S.
	2 Dogri	Jamú Hills, Panjáb	B.F.B.S.
	3 Chambáli	Kangra Hills, do.	B.F.B.S.
Multáni	...	S. Panjáb	B.F.B.S.
Mághadi	...	Behár, Bangál	B.F.B.S.
Bangáli	1 Standard	Bangál	B.T.S.
	2 Mahometan	do.	B.F.B.S.
Asámi	...	Assam	B.T.S.
Uriya	...	Orissa, Bangál	B.F.B.S.
Maráthi	1 Standard	W. India	{ A.B.S., B.F.B.S.
	2 Kónkani	do.	
Gujaráti	1 Standard	do.	B.F.B.S.
	2 Pársi	do.	B.F.B.S.
Sinháli		I. of Ceylon	B.F.B.S.
Kashmíri	...	Kashmír	B.F.B.S.
Sindhi	1 Standard	Sindh	B.F.B.S.
	2 Katchi	Katch, W. India	B.F.B.S.
Nepáli	...	Nepál	B.F.B.S.
Pali	...	Dead, Liturgical	B.F.B.S.

E. NON-ARIAN (4 Subdivisions).

(1) DRAVIDIAN FAMILY.

Tamil	...	S. India	{ B.F.B.S., D.B.S.
Telugú	...	do.	
Karnáta	...	do.	B.F.B.S.
Malayálim	...	do.	{ B.F.B.S., Ba.B.S.
Tulu	...	do.	
Bádaga	...	do.	B.F.B.S.
Gond	1 Standard	C. India	B.F.B.S.
	2 Koi	do.	B.F.B.S.
Rajmaháli (Pahári, Malto, Maler)	...	Rajmahál, N. India	B.F.B.S.

(2) KOLARIAN GROUP.

Sontál	...	C. India	B.F.B.S.
Mandári (Kol)	...	do.	B.F.B.S.

(3) TIBETO-BARMAN GROUP.

Name of Language.	Name of Dialect.	Region.	Source of Translation.
Lepcha	...	Sikhim, N. India	B.T.S.
Garo	...	Assam	{ B.T.S., B.F.B.S.
Tibet	...	Tibet	
Manipúr	...	Manipúr, N. India	B.F.B.S.
Barma	...	Barma	A.B.M.S.
Karen	1 Bghai	do.	A.B.M.S.
	2 Sgau	do.	A.B.M.S.
	3 Pwo	do.	A.B.M.S.

(4) KHASI.

Khasi	...	N. India	B.F.B.S.
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F. INDO-CHINA (2 Subdivisions.)

(1) TAI FAMILY.

Siam	...	Siam	B.F.B.S.
Laos	...	do.	{ MS., A.B.M.S.
Shan	...	Shan States	

(2) MON-ANAM FAMILY.

Pegu (Mon)	...	Barma	B.F.B.S.
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G. MALAYSIA.

Malay	1 Standard	I. of Sumátra	{ B.F.B.S., N.B.S.S.
	2 Súrabáya (Low)	Malacca	
Java	...	I. of Java	{ N.B.S., B.F.B.S.
Sunda	...	do.	
Bali	...	I. of Bali	N.B.S.
Nias	...	I. of Nias	B.F.B.S.
Batta	1 Toba	I. of Sumátra	{ N.B.S., B.F.B.S.
	2 Mandailung	do.	
Macassar	...	I. of Celebes	N.B.S.
Búgi	...	do.	N.B.S.

Name of Language.	Name of Dialect.	Region.	Source of Translation.
Alfuor	...	C. India	N.B.S.
Dyak	1 Standard	I. of Borneo	N.B.S.
	2 Sea	do.	S.P.C.K.
Pangasína	...	I. of Luzon (Philippines)	B.F.B.S.
Sangír	...	I. of Sangír	B.F.B.S.
Nicobár	...	I. of Nicobár, Bay of Bangál	MS.
Bojingijida	...	Andaman I., do.	Private
Formosa	...	I. of Formosa, China	C.P.M.

H. CHINA.

Literary	...	Book language	{ B.F.B.S., B.M.S., A.B.S.
Mandarín	1 N.	Official, N. Prov.	{ B.F.B.S., A.B.S.
	2 S.	do.	{ B.F.B.S., A.B.S.
Shanghai	...	Shanghai	{ B.F.B.S., A.B.S.
Ningpo	...	Ningpo	B.F.B.S.
Kinhwa	...	Chekiang	B.F.B.S.
Fuhchau	...	Fuh-kien	B.F.B.S.
Amoy	...	Amoy	A.B.S.
Chau-chau	...	Swatow, Prov. of Canton	B.F.B.S.
Canton	...	Canton	{ B.F.B.S., A.B.S.
Hakka	...	Hongkong	B.F.B.S.
Hainan	...	I. of Hainan	B.F.B.S.

I. EXTREME ORIENT.

Japán	...	I. of Japan	{ A.B.S., B.F.B.S., N.B.S.S.
Koréa	...	Koréa	B.F.B.S.
Lúchú	...	I. of Lúchú	{ S.P.C.K., B.F.B.S.
Aino	...	I. of Japan	B.F.B.S.
Aliout (Aleutian)	...	Aleutian I.	Moscow.

III. AFRICA.

A. SEMITIC FAMILY.

Name of Language.	Name of Dialect.	Region.	Source of Translation.
Ethiopic (Gíz)	...	Dead, Liturgical	O.V.
Amhára	...	Abyssinia	B.F.B.S.
Tigré	...	Abyssinia	B.F.B.S.

B. HAMITIC GROUP.

Koptic	...	Egypt	O.V.
Kabáil	...	Algeria	B.F.B.S.
Shilha	1 Riff	Morocco	B.F.B.S.
Bilin (Bogos)	...	Abyssinia	B.F.B.S.
Agau	1 Falásha	Abyssinia	B.F.B.S.
Galla	1 Shoa	Galla-land	B.F.B.S.
	2 Ittu	Galla-land	B.F.B.S.
	3 Bararetta	Galla-land	B.F.B.S.

C. NUBA-FULAH GROUP.

Nuba	1 Fadidja	Nubia	B.F.B.S.
Fulah	1 Futa-Toro	Senegambia	MS.,C.M.S.

D. NEGRO GROUP.

Wolof	...	Senegambia	B.F.B.S.
Mande	...	Mandingo-land	B.F.B.S.
Susu	...	R. Pongas	S.P.C.K.
Temne	...	Near Sierra Leone	B.F.B.S.
Bullom	...	do.	B.F.B.S.
Mende	...	do.	B.F.B.S.
Grebo	...	Liberia	A.B.S.
Ashánti	1 Akwápém	Ashánti-land	B.F.B.S.
	2 Fanti	do.	B.F.B.S.
Akrá (Gá)	...	R. Volta	B.F.B.S.
Ewé	1 Anlo	Dahómi-land	{ B.F.B.S., Br.B.S.
	2 Popo	do.	

Name of Language.	Name of Dialect.	Region.	Source of Translation.
Yáriba	...	Yáriba-land	B.F.B.S.
Ibo	...	R. Niger	B.F.B.S.
Igára	...	do.	C.M.S.
Igbira	...	do.	B.F.B.S.
Nupé	...	R. Quarra	B.F.B.S.
Hausa	...	N. of R. Quarra	B.F.B.S.
Effik	...	Old Kalabar R.	N.B.S.S.

E. BÁNTU FAMILY.

Dualla	...	Kamerún	B.T.S.
Isubu	...	do.	B.T.S.
Ediya	...	I. of Fernando Po	B.M.S., MS.
Pongwe	...	R. Gabún	A.B.S.
Benga	...	do.	A.B.S.
Kele	...	do.	A.B.S.
Kongo	...	R. Kongo	B.M.S.
Nkundú	...	do.	A.B.M.S., MS.
Teké	...	do.	A.B.M.S., MS.
Kimbundu	...	Prov. of Angóla	B.F.B.S.
Umbundu	...	Bailundo	A.B.F.M., MS.
Heréro	...	Damara-land	B.F.B.S.
Chuána	...	Be-Chuána-land	B.F.B.S.
Pedi	...	Transvaal	B.F.B.S.
Suto	...	Ba-Súto-land	B.F.B.S.
Siga (Tonga)	...	Inhambáne	A.B.F.M.
Xosa (Kafir)	...	Kafir-land	{ B.F.B.S., B.B.S.
Zúlú	...	Zúlú-land	{ A.B.S., B.B.S.
Gwamba	...	Transvaal	B.F.B.S.
Yao	...	W. of Mozambík	B.F.B.S.
Makúa	...	Makua-land	U.M. MS.
Nyanja	...	L. Nyassa	N.B.S.S.
Ngoni	...	do.	F.C.S.M., MS.
Tonga	...	do.	F.C.S.M.
Kagúru	...	U-Sagára	B.F.B.S.
Swahili	...	E. Equat. Africa	B.F.B.S.
Bondei	...	do.	B.F.B.S.

Name of Language.	Name of Dialect.	Region.	Source of Translation.
Kamba	...	E. Equat. Africa.	MS.
Gogo	...	U-Gogo	MS.
Nyiká	...	Mombása	B.F.B.S.
Ganda	...	U-Ganda, L.	B.F.B.S.
		Victoria	
Gúhha	...	U-Gúhha, L.	L.M.S.,
		Tanganyika	MS.

F. HOTTENTOT GROUP.

Khoikhoi	Náma	Namáqua-land	B.F.B.S.
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G. MALAYAN.

Malagási	...	I. of Madagascar	B.F.B.S.
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IV. AMERICA.

A. NORTH (3 Subdivisions).

(1) ARCTIC COAST.

Eskimo	1 Greenland	Extreme N.	D.B.S.
	2 Labrador	do.	B.F.B.S.
	3 Hudson's Bay	do.	B.F.B.S.
Tukudh	...	Yúkon, Prov. of Alaska	B.F.B.S.

(2) PACIFIC COAST.

Shimshi	...	Metlakatla	C.M.S.
Nishkah	...	Naas R.	C.M.S.
Kwagutl	...	Vancouver I.	B.F.B.S.
Hydah	...	Queen Charlotte I.	C.M.S.

(3) CENTRAL PROVINCES.

Tinne	...	Hudson's Bay	B.F.B.S.
Slavé	...	Mackenzie R.	B.F.B.S.
Chipewan	...	Churchill, Atha- baska	B.F.B.S.
Beaver	...	R. Beaver	{ B.F.B.S., S.P.C.K.
Cree	1 Eastern	Hudson's Bay	B.F.B.S.
	2 Western	Rupert's Land	B.F.B.S.
Blackfoot	...	Saskatchewan	C.M.S., MS.

Name of Language.	Name of Dialect.	Region.	Source of Translation.
Ojibwa	...	W. of L. Superior	{ A.B.S., S.P.C.K., B.F.B.S.
Mikmak	1 Standard	Nova Scotia	{ B.F.B.S., A.B.S.
	2 Abeniqui	do.	Montreal
Maliseet	...	New Brunswick	B.F.B.S.
Delaware	...	Delaware	A.B.S.
Ney Perces	..	Idaho	A.B.S.
Iroquois	...	L. Eric, Ontario	B.F.B.S.
Mohawk	...	do.	B.F.B.S.
Seneka	...	do.	A.B.S.
Sioux (Dakóta)	...	W. of Mississippi	A.B.S.
Choctau	...	S. States of U.S.	A.B.S.
Chéroki	...	do.	A.B.S.
Muskóki (Creek)	...	do.	A.B.S.

B. SOUTH.

Aztek	...	Mexico	B.F.B.S.
Maya	...	Yúkatan	B.F.B.S.
Moskító	...	Moskító Coast	M.M.S.
Karib	...	Dutch Guiana	Edinburgh
Akkaway	...	do.	S.P.C.K.
Arawák	...	do.	{ A.B.S., S.P.C.K.
Quichúa	...	Peru	B.F.B.S.
Aimará	...	Bolivia	B.F.B.S.
Guaráni	...	Paraguay	B.F.B.S.
Yahgán	...	Tierra del Fuego	B.F.B.S.

V. OCEANIA.

A. POLYNESIA.

Tahiti	...	Society I.	B.F.B.S.
Rarotonga	...	Hervey's I.	B.F.B.S.
Marquesas	...	Marquesas I.	A.B.S.
Hawaii	...	Sandwich I.	A.B.S.
Samoa	...	Navigator's I.	B.F.B.S.
Niue	...	Savage I.	B.F.B.S.
Tonga	...	Friendly I.	B.F.B.S.
Maori	...	I. of New Zealand	B.F.B.S.

B. MELANESIA.

Name of Language.	Name of Dialect.	Region.	Source of Translation.
Fiji	...	Fiji I.	B.F.B.S.
Rótuma	...	Rótuma I.	B.F.B.S.
Maré (Nengóne)	...	Loyalty I.	B.F.B.S.
Lifu	...	do.	B.F.B.S.
Uvea	...	do.	B.F.B.S.
Aneityúm	...	New Hebrides	B.F.B.S.
Futuna	...	do.	B.F.B.S.
Aniwa	...	do.	B.F.B.S.
Tanna	...	do.	B.F.B.S.
Erromanga	...	do.	B.F.B.S.
Faté	...	do.	B.F.B.S.
Nguna	...	do.	B.F.B.S.
Mai	...	do.	M.M.
Api (Baki)	...	do.	B.F.B.S.
Mòta	...	Bank's I.	S.P.C.K.
Arag	...	Pentecost I., (Whitsuntide)	MS., M.M.
Oba	...	Leper I.	MS., M.M.
Maewo	...	Aurora I.	MS., M.M.
Espirito Santo	...	New Hebrides	F.C.S.M.
Wano	...	San Christoval I.	MS., M.M.
Florida	...	Solomon I.	S.P.C.K.
Isabel	...	do.	S.P.C.K.
Murray I.	...	Torres Straits	B.F.B.S.
Saibai	...	do.	B.F.B.S.
S. Cape	...	British New Guinea	B.F.B.S.
Motu	...	do.	B.F.B.S.
Mafor	...	Dutch New Guinea	N.B.S.
New Britain	...	Bismark	B.F.B.S.
		Archipelago	
Duke of York's I.	...	do.	W.M.S.

C. MIKRONESIA.

Gilbert I.	...	Gilbert I.	A.B.S.
Mortlock I.	...	Mortlock I.	A.B.S.
Ebon	...	Marshall I.	A.B.S.
Kusaie	...	Marshall I.	A.B.S.
Ponape	...	Caroline I.	A.B.S.

D. AUSTRALIA.

Narrinyéri	...	South Australia	B.F.B.S.
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Notes on Missionary Subjects.

Part III.

ESSAYS ON THE GREAT PROBLEMS OUTSIDE
THE ORBIT OF PURE EVANGELISTIC WORK,
BUT WHICH THE MISSIONARY
HAS TO FACE.

I. POLYGAMY AND POLYANDRY.—II. SLAVERY.—III. ISLAM.—IV. CASTE.
—V. CULTIVATION OF THE POPPY AND MANUFACTURE OF
OPIUM IN BRITISH INDIA.—VI. LIQUOR TRAFFIC IN BRITISH
INDIA.—VII. EDUCATION.

BY

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COMMITTEE OF SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE,
INCORPORATED MEMBER OF SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION
OF THE GOSPEL, AND HONORARY SECRETARY OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

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*TO ALL THE DEAR
CHRISTIAN FRIENDS, WHO ATTENDED
THE INTERNATIONAL MISSIONARY CONFERENCE
IN EXETER HALL, JUNE, 1888,*

*These Pages
ARE DEDICATED
BY ONE, WHO HAS STUDIED THESE GREAT SUBJECTS
FOR A LONG PERIOD OF YEARS,
FROM MANY POINTS OF VIEW, IN MANY
DIFFERENT COUNTRIES AND LANGUAGES, AND
SUBMITS HIS OPINIONS
WITH ALL THE HUMILITY OF ONE, WHO
ONLY LIVES TO LEARN.*

PREFACE TO PART II.

IN putting forth these Essays, I feel the responsibility : the Christian Statesman and Administrator of a non-Christian country takes a wider, and more sympathetic, view of human affairs, than the Missionary. He fears God none the less, because he respects the rights and feelings of a non-Christian population more. He is more tolerant of bad customs, and moral weaknesses, but quite as severe upon crimes. He does not like to hear the population of British India or China described as the Kingdom of Satan : of course it means nothing, and such phrases are only the conventional tags of a Missionary periodical, required to suit the taste of a particular class of not very highly educated readers and subscribers at home. It is wrong, however, to use such phrases, because Christ looked down from the Cross upon the poor Heathen, and died for them also, though for eighteen hundred long years no Prophet or Evangelist has ever come to tell them of His exceeding precious Promises. That was not

their fault, but ours. *We* had the Gospel, but failed in our duty to convey it to the Regions Beyond.

The lessons taught me by my Master, John Lawrence, that Christian men should do Christian things in a Christian way, has been confirmed by a careful survey of the state of all the Races in Asia, Africa, and Oceania, as portrayed in the Reports of Missionaries, Travellers, and Officials. I cannot fail to mark the extreme goodness of the human race, when there is a chance given for that goodness to develop itself, and I recognize as incontestable, that the heart of man turns to God, as the sunflower turns to the Sun, if but one ray of His ineffable light reach it. I compare the proclivities, the frightful crimes, the filthy sins, of the inhabitants of one country with another, when left outside the Gospel-influences. My heart sinks within me, when I read of human flesh sold in the shambles in towns within the circuit of the Missionary: of a man poisoning his own mother on suspicion of witchcraft; of a chief with his harem filled with his own daughters; and the opium-pipe, of which so much is said, seems as nothing in the scale of Morality, when contrasted with such things.

Civilization brings with it a number of concomitant evils. The individual character of the Non-Christian must be fortified to resist them: it is the legitimate work of the Missionary to work a change in Man's heart, and he loses the proper conception of his office, when he brings railing accusations against Governments, and speaks evil of dignities. Such a line of policy only injures a good cause, alienates friends, and makes the enemy to scoff at his ridiculous unwisdom, and unreasonable arguments. St. Paul must have had much to vex his soul, but he

knew nothing but Christ and Him crucified, and asked for no human assistance. He took it to the Lord in prayer.

With my conclusions about Polygamy and Slavery, there is room for a difference of opinion : they are the result of long, wide, and deep reflection. With my third Essay upon Islám all, who have personal knowledge of Mahometans, will agree. On the subject of Caste, and the Cultivation of the Poppy, I can hope for little sympathy with the present generation of Missionaries. A radical misconception with regard to the latter has obtained a deep root, based upon the exaggerated platform-abuse, and an imperfect comprehension of a very difficult problem. I think that the next generation will judge more calmly. At any rate, there is not the remotest chance of the Government of India making any change in its policy. As to Caste, the Missionary, if he is opposed to it, should set the example of allowing his daughter to marry the Native Pastor, and admitting all classes of Natives to his table. Until he does this, the Caste of the White Man will remain but an additional item in the long Catalogue of Indian Castes. As regards the Liquor-Traffic, I am at one with the Missionaries in recognizing the evil, but differing no doubt in the method of counteracting it. I seek what is possible : those, who have never had the conduct of human affairs, dream of what Statesmen know to be impossible. Many will no doubt agree with my remarks about Education, and those, who do not, will perhaps better understand the problems after they have reflected upon them. The occupation of British India by Russia, and the expulsion of the British,

would teach the Missionary certain hard lessons, upon which they will do well to make timely reflection. King Log may have his faults, but what of King Stork? Some of the younger members of our Societies may live to see every Missionary turned out of China, and India, no longer British. Loud will then be their complaints of Intolerance.

O fortunati, sua si bona nôrint !

I read with astonishment the following words, uttered on June 20, 1888, in Exeter Hall, by an ordained American Missionary, and applauded by an assembly of British and American Missionaries: "For what has " been done in India, the British deserved, *far more than* " *the Turks for their atrocities in Bulgaria*, to be turned " out bag and baggage." The Resolution, thus supported, was put to the Meeting by the Chairman, a highly-paid official of the British State, and Cousin, bearing the same name, of the Viceroy of India, under whose orders the alleged atrocities were committed. After this, we can scarcely wonder at the policy of Austria, Russia, and France, as regards Protestant Missionaries, of total exclusion ! I deplore it, but cease to be surprised. Germany will soon follow the example.

JULY 1, 1888.

I.

POLYGAMY IN CHRISTIAN CHURCHES.

A LETTER was read from the Bishop of Zululand in the Upper House of Convocation during the summer of 1886, requesting guidance on the question of baptizing persons living in Polygamy. It was determined that communications should be made to those Churches of the Anglican Communion, in which questions relating to Polygamy had been found of pressing importance, and that the ancient ecclesiastical law relating to the subject should be ascertained. At the annual meeting of the S.P.G., the Primate again alluded to the subject, and notified, that it would be discussed in the Pan-Anglican Synod, which would D.V. meet in 1888 at Lambeth.

It may be deemed not inexpedient to recall what has been written on the subject, and to consider it as God-fearing men, and yet not afraid to look firmly in the face the facts recorded in past history, and the circumstances of the days in which we live. We should show that we are neither slaves to precedents, nor desirous of needless change, nor contemptuous of Holy Writ, wisely and widely interpreted.

In the Table of Literature on the subject, which I place at the close of this paper, ancient memories will be awakened, and the opinions of men now at rest will be cited. There is still room for discussion, when we find that a quarter of a century ago Archbishop Whately, Bishop Colenso, Bishop Cotton, Bishop Milman were on one side, and Bishop Cotterell, Bishop Daniel Wilson, and Mr. Henry Venn were on the other. Different missionaries have acted, and made utterances in different manners. Such of the laity, as have spoken, have as a rule upheld the sanctity of contracts made *bond fide*, the contract of the union of the sexes, which is the most sacred, if not always the most holy, of contracts, and repudiated the idea of a Polygamist purchasing admission into the Church of Christ at the expense of the comfort, the rights, the respectability, and possibly the morals, of his wives. We read in the "Report of the Fifth Annual Meeting of the Panjáb Church Council" (p. 59), that both Bishop Milman and Robinson, of Calcutta,

sanctioned the baptism of Polygamists: we may well hold our breath here; and we read how in South Africa Polygamists were allowed to select one wife and enter the Church, and that the others were sometimes allowed to live not far from him, sometimes allowed to depart, sometimes married off to others: we may well feel a feeling of shame here, for these poor women had souls to be saved also.

What is Polygamy? Its real meaning is the status of a man, who has a plurality of wives, and of a woman, who has a plurality of husbands. The legal test of the word "husband" and "wife" is, that the civil law recognises the status and the rights flowing therefrom, and that the children are legitimate. We have both Polygyny and Polyandry in India, thoroughly recognised in the courts of law. Be it remembered, that we guaranteed to the people of India toleration of their religion, and their own laws, as regards marriage and inheritance, and no wise ruler would venture to meddle with them. And here I at once lay down another principle: whatever theologians or short-sighted missionaries may say, Polygamy is not a crime. The rulers of India put down with a high hand atrocious crime. When we annexed the Panjáb in 1846, I was with Lord Lawrence, and we summoned the landowners, and told them, that they must not burn their widows, or kill their daughters, or bury alive their lepers. We knew very well, that the greater part were idolaters, and all of them possible Polygynists, and some Polyandrists; but that was no affair of ours. Polygyny and Polyandry may be highly objectionable, but their position ranges with profligacy, intoxication, gambling, and other habits condemned by the moralist, yet extensively practised in Christian countries.

According to Sir W. Hunter, Polyandry is found in the Himaláyan valleys and in Travancore, at each end of India; one woman has several husbands, generally brothers. In the great heroic poem, the "Mahábhárata," the heroine, Draupadi, marries five brothers and lives happily. So entirely is Polyandry a feature of the custom of some tribes in Central India, that General Dalton mentions, that, at the request of a father, he directed search to be made for a runaway daughter, who was brought in by the police with her *two* lovers, with whom she had eloped. In the Panjáb, among the Ját families, too poor to bear the expense of the marriage of all the males, the wife of the eldest son has to accept his brothers as joint husbands. One tribe is mentioned by the Mahometan writers in 1008 A.D. as practising Polyandry. In South India the custom has a different and more primitive development, for the sister's son always succeeds to a man's property; and according to Sir W. Hunter, the women of certain tribes live promiscuously without the form of marriage. The successor to the throne is restricted

to the issue of a certain number of princesses, who are kept like queen-bees. Polygyny is lawful throughout India, both to Hindu and Mahometan, but the practice is quite the exception, as it is expensive. Moreover, India is under a rule of law, and has been so for centuries. A marriage is only lawful with certain persons, and must be ratified in a certain way and at a considerable expense. This causes a great restriction of the privilege, and, as a fact, none but the rich avail themselves of it. Very good feeling is often shown. A rich banker came to see me, and told me of his sorrow, that he had no son to perform the funeral rites over him. I suggested to him a second wife, but he would not hear of anything, which would vex his wife. On one occasion I heard in my office, that my head man of business had had two babies born at the same time from different mothers; when alone, I asked him about it, as it appeared to me to be disreputable, and he said, that it was not his fault, that his parents had married him to his two wives; that they were both good women, and he had no power to cast either off. I remember a young Rajpút noble marrying the two daughters of a Rajpút neighbour, who added a niece as well to the bargain. The Mahárája Dulíp Singh, so well known in England, is the issue of a polygamous father, who left a great many widows. Shír Ali, the unfortunate ruler of Afghanistan in the last war, was the issue of a polygamous connection. I remember the Mahárája of Pateála, a Polygamist, in his desire to have a son, ordering a wife to be looked for of his own caste, who belonged to a family, where the women always had large families, and his plan succeeded. Nothing is more mistaken than to suppose that sensuality, in India at least, has anything to do with the matter. We read how the high-priest Jehoiada gave King Joash two wives, when he was quite a child. As a rule, the bridegroom has never seen the bride before the marriage. The marriage vow is preserved faithfully by the woman at least, and by a very great majority of the men. We quite know that Monogamy does not put a stop to gross sensuality. My object is to show, that it is raising a false issue to exaggerate the foulness of Polygamy. It exists, respected by the law; but, if left alone, will gradually die out under the influence of enlightenment, education, and general softening of manners.

Leaving India, let us consider Polygamy in South Africa. Sir Theophilus Shepstone, Hon. Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal, on March 26th, 1861, expressed the following opinions at Pietermaritzburg:

I. Native law recognizes every woman as a wife, whose position as such has been consented to by the two families concerned, and when such consent has been ratified or carried out by a formal marriage ceremony.

II. For a marriage to be valid, there must be a consideration on both sides, the two families being the contracting parties, and this must be measured by the rank and condition of these families.

III. The suitor must make over cattle to the amount settled, and the girl on her marriage must be accompanied by cattle and ornaments, as may be due to her rank. In some cases she brings nearly as much as her husband has paid.

IV. The marriage ceremonies differ with different tribes; but the essence of it is friendship betwixt the families, promise to protect and cherish wife, on part of husband; promise of obedience and good behaviour on part of wife; and a further recognition of the new relations with each other, which can always be pleaded in any subsequent dispute.

V. The cattle are taken beforehand to the girl's family, but the girl can refuse them, and does often refuse them, and send them back; and the meaning of this is known.

VI. Her friends may press and threaten her; but a girl, if determined, is sure of victory. In case of personal violence the British magistrate would interfere and protect her, and maintain her right of free choice, and punish violence.

VII. In every stage of the proceedings before and after marriage will be found the exact counterparts and analogies of the higher form of marriage elsewhere, but in their native form peculiar to the state of culture.

VIII. The wife is not a slave, or sold as such. The parent of the girl never loses his right to protect his child. The cattle given at the marriage is a guarantee for their good treatment.

IX. She has, of course, to work, and help to maintain her family. If idle, she is punished. But public opinion has the same effect among women here as elsewhere.

X. A widow may continue with her children, or leave them and marry again. The husband's heirs may claim something, but they cannot control her free action.

XI. If she runs away from her husband, and her friends refuse to give her up, the matter comes before the magistrate, who settles it as best he can.

XII. When separation takes place before children are born, it often happens that all property is mutually restored. Such cases often come before the magistrate, who, if cruelty and oppression of the woman be proved, would not order the cattle to be given back to the husband.

Sir Theophilus admits the evil of Polygamy, but gross exaggeration of that evil will not help the matter. There are many evils also in monogamic marriages. He states distinctly, that in any case of oppression by father of his daughter, or husband of his wife, the magistrate will interfere.

He considers, that it is wrong to teach a heathen, as a duty enjoined by Christ's religion, that *he must injure others to benefit himself*, that he must commit an unlawful act, involving oppression and injustice, and a reckless sacrifice of the interests of others, to further his own. These women are wives according to their law, or custom having force of law; and their *consciences*, and their self-respect, should not be destroyed by inducing them to believe, that they are something less, in fact, dishonoured prostitutes; their children should not be bastardized, who by the law are legitimate, and have rights as such. These women are admitted to be *faithful* wives, because they consider themselves wives. Why subvert this notion and, in fact, encourage licentiousness? A wife at present has within her reach full means of protection, because she has the legal rights of a wife to plead. If deprived of these, her moral sense and her legal rights disappear. It may be expedient to legislate so as to discourage and extinguish Polygamy eventually, but any other course is neither politic nor just.

In India the wives are all equal; but we gather from Sir T. Shepstone, that one Zulu wife ranks above another. But it rarely happens, that the first wife, according to date, enjoys the highest rank; nor does the issue of the first wife succeed as of right to a chieftainship: this point is of importance, as will appear below. In South Africa no system of concubinage is recognized, nor in India: this fact must also be borne in mind. In South Africa, as in India among Hindus, a man cannot marry any female, with whom he is in the remotest degree connected in blood. In South Africa the suitor has seen the girl, who is apparently an adult, and has a veto on the arrangement; in India the bride is generally a child, and has no voice in the matter. In India, with the Hindu female, divorce or re-marriage as a widow is impossible. With the Mahometan there is no difficulty, as the woman can even divorce her husband, and can, as a widow, re-marry. Change of religion from the Hindu and Mahometan point of view dissolves the contract of marriage; but a Christian does not obtain his liberty to re-marry in that way.

But there is a third class of circumstances, which presents itself. In British India the "law of the person" is enforced by British Courts. In the colonies of Natal and the Cape, law, to a certain extent, prevails, but of a rougher character; but on the West Coast of Africa there exists no law, or custom having the force of law, and there is no Executive to enforce it, if it did exist. Polygamy is made more odious by the existence of slavery and the slave-trade; and it is obvious, that sensuality is the motive here, and that, in fact, marriage scarcely exists.

The connection of the Arab, and the negro chief, with the women of his harem is simply that of wholesale concubinage. If the phenomena presented are more distressing, they are simpler. The male convert in such cases can be dealt with very summarily, as a reformed profligate; the poor women have no conjugal duties to render, but have to be rescued, as best may be, from a life of infamy.

Beyond India and Africa there are other regions, where Polygamy prevails, but it is in these two countries, that the opposing forces of Polygamy and Christianity come into collision.

The environment of the chosen people at Hebron and Shechem, in Egypt, and in Canaan, was so totally different, that it is difficult to imagine anything more unreasonable, than to seek for analogies there, wherewith to solve this problem of the nineteenth century in India and Africa. If Polygamy prevailed in the Old Testament times, it was obviously of a totally different character from the secluded Indian *zanána*, the Zulu *kraal*, and the *Yáriba* harem. In the first case the woman does nothing, absolutely nothing; in the last two she works like a day labourer, and helps to support herself, her children, and her husband, or master, by daily toil. The wives of the Hebrew Polygamist appeared in public, were admitted to the place of worship, were treated with honour and deference; and in the case of Hannah and Bathsheba, an eighth wife, their issue was the recipient of the highest honour from the Almighty. There were harlots in those days, and there were concubines; but these were *wives*, and the priests did not think them unworthy of their notice. They had even a higher status than is conceded by law to the wives of the Indian and African Polygamist; and in some cases, though not all, in the case of the mother of Solomon certainly, Polygamy was the result of sensuality, and yet went unpunished under a system of government controlled by a powerful priesthood, and stimulated and awed by inspired prophets, who were never wearied in describing the sins and backslidings of the nation (Ezekiel iii. 18), but never spake one word against this great domestic weakness. I mention these facts to justify the British Government of India and South Africa in the policy of forbearance, which they have adopted towards Polygamy, as in past years they did to Slavery, until in India the latter died out of itself, and this will be the fate of Polygamy also.

Great stress should be laid upon a consideration of the state of the World, as described by Classic Authors, at the time of the appearance of our Lord. The Greek culture had dominated Western Asia, and North Africa, and was perpetuated by their successors, the Romans. Can we doubt that the heroes of the

Iliad and the Odyssee, Priam, Hector, Menelaus, Ulysses, Agamemnon were Monogamists, not always faithful husbands, but never with two wives lawfully married at the same time? The Gods, and Goddesses, the creatures of the Greek conception, were Monogamists. There is nothing in the Iliad or Odyssee to suggest Polygamy: to the reader of the great Hindu Epics, the Rámáyana and Mahábhárata, Polygamy is the one feature, which cannot be overlooked. Palestine, Syria and Egypt had been thoroughly Hellenized before the advent of our Lord (see Maccabees ii. 4, 10), and the four bad customs, which had prevailed in the elder world, and which are still found to prevail in Heathen countries in a low culture, had disappeared. How could St. Paul have written verse 31 of the fifth chapter of the Ephesians, if the having a plurality of lawful consorts had been a possible conception for the Apostle's mind? He knew very clearly what a harlot was, but an alternative wife did not suggest itself. The same conviction arises from a perusal of verse 2, chapter vii. first of Corinthians, that St. Paul, a Greek scholar, a Roman citizen, and a Hebrew Pharisee, knew nothing about Polygamy any more than of Anthropophagy, and Human Sacrifices.

My own view is that of Michaelis (Law of Moses iii. 5), that subsequent to the Babylonish Captivity, Polygamy did not exist. I challenge any one to produce an instance of the practice, or a passage inferring the practice, in the Apocrypha or any Greek or Roman Author; the only instance on record is that of Herod the Great, mentioned by Josephus. The unlimited power of divorce, and no doubt profligacy, had taken its place. The world had advanced. *Successive* Polygamy had taken the place of *concurrent* Polygamy in the Western world. In Greece and Rome Polygamy was unknown. We only read of one wife of Pilate. Esther is the last Hebrew maiden on record, who fell so low as to be one of the many concubines of a sensual tyrant, a heathen, to whom her law forbade her to be married. Her contemporary, the Roman Virginia, preferred death to shame. If it be conceded, that Polygamy had ceased to exist many centuries before the time of our Lord and His Apostles, we are spared much useless discussion about inapplicable texts, which could not be meant to cover circumstances, which never existed. In the elder world cannibalism, human sacrifices, witchcraft and Polygamy had existed, but as far as regards the nations dwelling within the area of the Roman Empire, they had died out. There is an abundance of abominable crime alluded to by St. Paul, but it was beyond his experience and imagination, that a man should err in these particulars. It seems impossible, that he should have overlooked them in the first chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, had they existed.

I have perused a bundle of letters from Bishops and Missionaries in India, which have arrived at the Church Missionary Society this year in answer to the query: they represent the outcome of solitary minds, which had never discussed the subject in any Indian Conference, and were void of all African and Oceanic experiences: some would baptize a Polygamist off-hand, some would make him put away his extra wives (though a wife in India is a reality, not a mere concubine): some would exclude him from the Lord's Supper, and others from Church-office. The well-known verses of I Timothy iii. 2, 12, are freely quoted, but I Timothy v. 9 is never quoted: and yet, if it is a just inference from the first passages, that a Bishop and a Deacon must be restricted to Monogamy, while their flock might be Polygamists, it follows that it may with equal force be inferred, that, if widows admitted into the number were to be wives of one husband, the rest of the sex might at discretion be Polyandrous. We may just as well argue, that Polyandry existed among the Samaritans at the time of our Lord. Clearly the woman of Samaria at Jacob's well had five husbands, and, as Dean Alford remarks, they were certainly lawful husbands: we are not told whether they were simultaneous husbands, or successive under the operation of Death or of Divorce: but our Lord adds: "he whom thou now hast is not thy husband," showing that the wretched woman had fallen from so-called legal unchastity to something worse, the position of a harlot, and she admits the truth. "He told me all things that ever I did." Of neither custom is there a scintilla of evidence. There are three other alternative explanations: (1) the Bishop, Deacon, and widow, must not have suffered bereavement and had two partners in succession in lawful matrimony, (2) they must not have availed themselves of the lax rules of divorce, and made new alliances, while their former partner was living, (3) they must not be, like Roman Priests, celibates. The morals of the Corinthian Church were evidently very low, and St. Paul speaks out his mind on the duties of the married state very explicitly: he could not have passed over Polygamy without notice, if it had existed.

Since these days the uttermost ends of the world have been reached, and we find traces of these four giants in America, Africa, Asia, and Oceania. We find nearly all the crimes described by the Apostle, and these in addition. Civilization may have trodden down the three former in China, Japan, and India, but the fourth remains. Elsewhere all are rampant. This leads to another reflection. We cannot conceal from ourselves, that all mankind is not on the same level of culture and privileges and responsibilities. Europe and European colonies are far ahead of Asia, Asia is ahead of Africa, and Africa of America and Oceania. It is idle to apply the same methods of govern-

ment, to require the same standard of morals, to enforce the same discipline, upon tribes just emerging from savagery, in the lowest rounds of culture, left out in the cold for long centuries, never visited by prophet or evangelist, never elevated by certain hopes of a future heaven, never awed by certain prospects of everlasting damnation. And yet some missionaries would try to introduce *per saltum* ordinances and standards, which they could scarcely be able to enforce in the British Islands, into the African kraal or the Indian village. Let them set before their flock the highest, the very highest, standard, but be merciful in the application of it for the first or second generations.

All other sins and offences against the law of God and human nature seem to come to an end with the committal and the punishment, the repentance and the pardon. In Oceania we have excellent Christians, who once were cannibals. The sorcerer-priest, the official murderer of the human sacrifice, has been admitted as a communicant; the profligate, the drunkard, the adulterer, the atheist, the blasphemer, the persecutor of martyred Christians, all find that there is pardon; but the curse of the unhappy Polygamist is, by the nature of the case, a continuing one; he cannot get rid of it until his own death, or that of all but one of his unhappy wives. And yet Polygamy, though it clearly existed, is not condemned in the Decalogue. The few words, "Thou shalt have but one wife," would have settled the matter absolutely and for ever. To our nineteenth-century ideas the sin of theft, which is condemned in the Decalogue, is as nothing compared to that of Polygamy. As time went on, and the thoughts of men widened with the progress of the suns, no prophet denounced this canker-worm of domestic purity, causing rivalry among women occupying the same house, hatred among the children of the same father. The misfortunes of the lives of David and Solomon could be so clearly traced to Polygamy, that the conscience of the nation would have accepted the prohibition, as indeed it did after the Captivity. It cannot be said, as regards Israel, as it can truly be said with regard to the people of India, that the position of the ruling power was so delicate and precarious, that it dared not run the risk of intruding into family customs, for Ezra and Nehemiah plainly compelled the people to put away their alien wives. A word from Moses and Joshua would have nipped Polygamy in the bud; and David's conduct would have been as unjustifiable in taking eight wives one thousand years before the Christian era, as Herod's was in taking nine wives at the time of the birth of our Lord. On the contrary, special favour attached itself to Rachel, Hannah, and Bathsheba, and their issue, Joseph, Samuel, and Solomon, all begotten by polygamous fathers. The

missionary must, therefore, maintain some restraint upon himself in his wholesale abuse of Polygamy, or cease to read the Old Testament to his congregation. I have it on the authority of one distinguished traveller, that a woman in West Africa would disdain to marry a man, who had only one wife. I have it on the authority of a missionary, that after becoming pregnant the wife withdraws herself absolutely from the society of her husband for three years, that she may suckle her offspring. Everything assumes a weird and awful form in Africa. A well-known traveller a few years ago tells us of a chief, who, in addition to his well stocked harem, claimed a right to every woman in his kingdom on whom his fancy fell; and among the number of his harem were his sisters, his stepmothers, his cousins, his aunts, and his own children. The Polygamy of India, which excludes every one within the limits of consanguinity and affinity, and limits the number to four at the same time, all of the same Caste as the husband, seems quite a decent and orderly custom, compared to the frightful excesses of the Africans in regions, which have not yet come under European law.

I have no wish to fortify myself by the opinions of others. As stated above, I regard all the cases quoted in the Old Testament as inapplicable to Christianity in the nineteenth century, and the pages of the New Testament as silent; but the words, "Male and female created He them," "In the beginning it was not so," seem to govern the whole matter, and to forbid imperatively the admission of Polygamy in any form into the Christian Church. To this may be added the words from our Lord's lips in the inspired Greek version, "They *twain* shall be one flesh," and in Genesis, "I will make him *an helpmeet* for him;" and one of Adam's ribs was taken, emphatically "one only." The equality of members of the two sexes, that are born, is beyond doubt: the superior fecundity of a monogamous population is a fact capable of proof. Canon Westcott's words, in his "Social Aspects of Christianity," should be reflected upon with regard to those words of our Lord, "the twain shall become one flesh." "Marriage is the divine pattern and ground of human communities, the original sacrament of completed manhood." How can this be, if a Polygamist is admitted to the Church? Marriage is a type of the union of the Redeemer with the Church. How can that be brought home, if seated in the Church is a tolerated Polygamist with his miscellaneous contemporary offspring, differentiated like cattle by the name of their sire and dam? If once Polygamists are admitted into the Church, even for the lifetime of existing Polygamists, a new lease of life will be given to the institution. The Native Churches are rapidly becoming independent, and it may please some lax Christians to assert a right for a Church

to be polygamous. Nor is this fear without foundation, as is evidenced by the letter of a Native Pastor at Abeokúta in Yáríbaland, West Africa, 1883 :

The Polygamists had gained ground, and had trodden down the communicant members of the community : I have since begun to effect separation between the two. The Polygamists dislike this, and complain against me bitterly, that I virtually separate them from my congregation, because they are sinners. They would persecute the communicants, whenever they have an opportunity. They used to be members of my local Church Committee, so as to be consulted before anything is done by me in the Church, and whatever they do not sanction they would not have me to do. What makes it worse is that they are the more enlightened of the congregation. The *young* Polygamists have a company, which meets once a month for feasting, and on this occasion Monogamy is a subject of scandal and reproach. Some young male communicants had joined them before I came to this station ; up till now I have not been able to disconnect them, although they do not seem to join them in heart and mind.

At the Diocesan Conference at Lagos, 1887, the Rev. J. Buckley Wood, a Missionary of great experience, spoke as follows :

Another difficulty in the way of Church progress is the multiplication of women by some Christians. There are some, who are dead to the heinousness of the sin, in which they live, whilst there are others, who are far from being at ease in their sin, and who would (so they say, and I am inclined to believe them) leave it, if they could see how. That there are great difficulties, which cannot be mentioned particularly, in the way of such, is a fact. These persons attend divine service regularly, their every-day life, except as to the sin in question, is above the average ; they use their influence on the side of right, they are ready to subscribe to good objects. Such form a stumbling-block in the Church. People, seeing their general conduct, are drawn to think less of the one deadly sin, and the result is, that the protest of the consciences of the really godly members is apt to be lessened, and there is something like a compromise made with this sin.

At the Diocesan Conference at Sierra Leone, in 1888, Mr. T. J. Sawyer, a most respectable coloured citizen, openly claimed for the Heathen and Mahometan the right of having a plurality of wives, and the drift of his argument was such, as to justify the opinion, entertained by a member of the Conference, that by implication he asserted the right for the members of Christian Churches, not only if the ties had been formed previous to baptism, *but if contracted after baptism.*

We have clearly arrived at the place of the parting of the ways, and must put down our foot now, or be carried away by the stream.

But in avoiding Scylla, do not let us run into Charybdis. The King of Kongo professed lately to the missionaries at San Salvador, that he was in great trouble about his wives, and anxious to know what he should do. The missionaries made the prudent reply, that they could not advise him to put them away, as *this could only be productive of greater evils.* This is the

whole gist of the matter: let us think it out upon the facts recorded, and not on the opinions on those facts.

Some missionaries would receive the Polygamist on the condition of his retaining one wife only: but which wife? the one, who was the first married to him, perhaps old, childless, neglected, and a hopeless heathen; or the mother of the largest number of his children, or the one to whom his fancy turns, or the one who is ready to become a Christian, or the chief wife, where there is a certain gradation of rank among them? In the event of the chosen wife dying, must he choose another from his reserve-wives, or from an entirely new connection? We enter here into a succession of hopeless dilemmas, to which no satisfactory solution can be found. Some bolder spirits would suggest, that all the previous marriages were worthless, and the new Christian should, like a snake, come out of his old skin and abandon all, "wife, children, for His sake," and be united by Christian matrimony to a Christian woman. I should not have ventured to have suggested such a shocking device, if I had not read of it as proposed. But natural affection may be too strong for him, and a missionary from Be-Chuána-land writes, that in ten years he never had a case of a Polygamist being converted, but he had known one instance of a man putting away a second wife, and becoming a Catechumen; but she came back to him, and he received her, and left the faith. We read in Helps' Spanish Conquest of America, that it was settled in a Roman Catholic Synod, that the Polygamist husband might choose the wife, whom he liked best to be his partner in baptism: the reason given was, that he could not know who was his first wife, but he knew very well the one, whom he wished to have. The Priests did not care for the poor rejected Squaws.

I give an instance of the offhand way, in which a young clergyman, who would have been only a curate in England, disposes of the persons, morals, honour and rights of the poor wives of his baptized converts.

An interesting ceremony took place here last Sunday, the marriage by joining of hands in the presence of the Christians, of three of our brethren. We strongly insist, that every one, who is called a brother, shall bring the woman, whom he has chosen as his wife, that they may make a solemn public compact. Of course we hope to encourage Christian men only to marry Christian women; but as the case stands most of the converts have had wives, some three or four, before their conversion. We then insist that one be chosen out and that the rest be given full liberty, if they think well, *to seek other husbands*. We have been deeply thankful, that the Native Christians have seen the *propriety* of this, and have not put difficulties in our way.

A lay Missionary at a Station in North America arrogated the power of divorce and redistribution of wives among his converts, thus causing a confusion in one of the fundamental bases of Society, and indicating the necessity of the Heads

of the Church speaking very distinctly on such subjects. It is hardly necessary to say that he has been got rid of.

But we must lift up this subject to a higher level. The missionary sometimes argues, that the African woman is a mere beast of burden and a slave, and at another time an object of sensual lust. She can scarcely be both at the same time. It is sometimes urged, that she is not a wife at all, but only a concubine. The Be-Chuána missionary above quoted goes so far as to say, that the women, who were put away, would not consider themselves injured, and that it was quite a common thing for a woman to have been united to five or six men in succession. Such a state of things could not happen in India, and, if the last statement be true, the reply is, that the man with such connections *is not a Polygamist* any more than any profligate European deserves that name. But such is not the case ever in India, and only exceptionally in Africa. We must treat these women as *wives* and mothers of legitimate children, and as faithful wives. It scarcely seems consistent with the tenets of our holy religion to try and save the soul of a man at the expense of the feelings, and morals, and comforts, and rights of his rejected, or perhaps worn-out, wives. They in honour gave all, that hard fortune had endowed them with, their person and their youth, to this man, called him husband, bore to him children, who inherit his tribal position, his name, and such portions of his goods as fall to them. It is a prodigious breach of faith to make a clean sweep, or partial sweep, of all his responsibilities: if they are old and childless, it is a bad beginning of a higher life, that they should be cast out for no offence of their own, deprived of all solace and protection; if they are young, it is terrible to read such words as these from the pen of a living Bishop, "She will easily get another husband from her father's home." It would have been better to discontinue the use of the words "husband and wife" altogether, and talk of the Africans in the same terms, as a cattle breeder or shepherd talks of the brute beasts in his charge. We all know what an illicit connection is, and what a natural child is in Europe and in India: if by a process of inquiry it is found, that any or all of these women were the divorced wives of other men, or were unfaithful wives, or within the lawful limitations of kindred and affinity, or actually married to some other man, let their names be struck off the list of his wives; perhaps some of them may run away, or disappear, or die, or it may be proved, that they were the wives of his brother, or the servants of the house, and thus by a judicial process it may come out that, the man is a Monogamist, or a bachelor, after all. But, if we are to trust Sir Theophilus Shepstone, and the common report of the country, these women are wives in South Africa, and they most

assuredly are so in India. Whether Hindu or Mahometan, or Pagan, let the missionaries recollect, that they contracted to each other in good faith, and that no wrong ought to be done to the wives, for all have a claim on their husband, not only for maintenance and protection, but what St. Paul describes (as rendered in the Revised Version) as "her due." If condemned to live apart, they may wax wanton, and be tempted; and it is their husband then, who causes them to commit adultery, by casting them off.

Forbidding then on the one hand the admission of the Polygamist into the Church by Baptism, and resisting to the utmost on the other hand any attempt to get rid of the burden of Polygamy at the expense of his wives and children, what course do I recommend for the present necessity? I take the following narrative from *Central Africa*, the organ of the Universities Mission, March, 1886, p. 42 :

On the last Sunday of 1885 Matola, a powerful chief, was solemnly admitted by Bishop Smithies to the rank of *Catechumen*. He knelt down in the full congregation, and received a cross, as a token of his admission. One stumbling-block he has in his way before he can be admitted to *Baptism*: he had in former years become a Polygamist, and it can only be hoped, that God will open a way for him without injury to those who have borne him children, to come out of the state, which the law of the Church in all ages seems to have determined to be a barrier to admission to the Christian Covenant.

This seems to be the happy *via media*, if extended to the wives, whose wombs have been barren. The man must accept, as his cross, the status, which his own conduct has induced. He is not excluded from Christian teaching, or Christian worship; but it is distinctly understood by the Church, that such as he cannot be admitted to either of the Sacraments. His children come at once under tuition and baptism; and for his wives the door is also open, to such as prove that she being a virgin or widow of a deceased husband honestly and in good faith became the wife of one man, and truly not in any way excluded from Christian privileges, living after the manner of Rachel and Hannah.

Such is the opinion which I have arrived at :

1. Polygamist men are not to be admitted to Baptism, but their wives may be.

2. Polyandrists, men and women, are totally excluded; here both men and women are sinning, for the woman in cohabiting with her husband's brother during his lifetime commits incest.

3. No man should be encouraged to put away his *lawful wives*; he should be reminded, that his union with them is for the term of their natural lives.

4. Polygamists may be admitted as Catechumens.

I now add some opinions of others :

In the fifth Report of the Annual Meeting of Native Church

Council of the Panjáb a letter was read from the Rev. T. P. Hughes, C.M.S. Missionary at Pesháwar, in which this passage occurs :

In the case of polygamous marriages, the blessings of the Church could hardly be expected ; but both the late (Metropolitan) Bishop Milman, and the Bishop of the Lahore Diocese (Bishop French), have sanctioned the baptism of Polygamists.

In 1834 the Conference of Missionaries of various denominations in Calcutta, including those of the Baptist, the London, the Church Missionary Society, the Church of Scotland, and the American Presbyterian Board, after having had the whole subject frequently under discussion, and after much and serious deliberation, *unanimously* agreed on the following propositions, though there had been previously much diversity of sentiment among them on various points :

I. It is in accordance with the spirit of the Bible and the practice of the Protestant Church to consider the State as the proper fountain of legislation in all civil questions affecting Marriage and Divorce.

II. The Bible being the true standard of morals, ought to be consulted in everything which it contains on the subjects of Marriage and Divorce, and nothing determined evidently contrary to its general principles.

V. If a convert before becoming a Christian has married more wives than one, in accordance with the practice of Jewish and primitive Christian Churches, *he shall be permitted to keep all* ; but such a person is not eligible to any office in the Church. In no other cases is Polygamy to be tolerated amongst Christians.

There were twenty or more who adopted the propositions without any exemption.—*Calcutta Christian Observer*, vol. iv. p. 22.

The Calcutta missionaries a few years afterwards reviewed these propositions, and established them in a form more specifically applicable to India. With regard to Polygamy, the deliverance which they gave was even more decided than in the original propositions :

The meeting were unanimously of opinion, that, although Polygamy is one of the greatest evils, and is never to be tolerated in a Christian community, when it can be regulated by the law of the Gospel, yet in the case of Polygamy antecedently to conversion, the husband is bound to retain and provide for all his wives, as such, unless *they choose to take advantage of their own law*. This last clause refers to the renunciation of Hinduism and Mahometanism by either of the married parties being regarded by both Hindus and Mahometans as entailing divorce.—*Calcutta Christian Observer*, vol. xi. p. 401.

A writer in the *Calcutta Christian Observer*, vol. iv. pp. 91, 371, 400, commenting upon the resolutions of the missionaries, remarks : “ The missionaries are of opinion, that the very “ allowances which God, through Moses, made for the Jews in “ their infant state as a people, is by parity of reason to be “ made now for Polygamists, who from heathens become “ Christians.” I have already alluded above to the fact, that nations are at different levels of progress, and this argument may fairly be urged in favour of the Africans, the South Sea Islanders, and North American Indians, but scarcely in favour

of the Hindus, who are not in an infant state, but the heirs of an old and advanced civilization, and still less in favour of Mahometans, many of whose ancestors were Christians, and therefore Monogamists, and who appeal as their authority not to time-honoured custom, but the comparatively modern law of Mahomet. I protest against the assertion, that Polygamy was ever sanctioned in any primitive Christian church. Let us have the proofs.

It may be true that owing to the contact of weak Christians with the Persian, Teuton, Arabian, and African Idolaters in the early centuries after Christ, terrible errors of dogma and practice crept into the Church, and the custom of Polygamy may have made some way; but it was sternly resisted by the authorities of the Church, and by the grace of God has survived in none; for, however much the Oriental Churches may have fallen, still at this day, in the midst of Mahometan Polygamists, *though on the same level of culture*, they are Monogamists. But it is sufficient for my argument, that in the Church, as left by St. Paul, it did not exist as a fact, and its possibility was not contemplated.

Bishop Milman's opinion referred to was as follows:

The very exceptional case of married life among natives of India justified him in allowing a man, lawfully married to more than one wife, to be baptized and retain his wives, and give them their conjugal due. He must not marry another, or, if one die, take another in her place; he must not hold any ecclesiastical office. — *Mission Life*, 1880, p. 227.

Bishop Douglas, of Bombay, decided against the baptism of Hindus with two wives, unless he put one away. The present Bishop of Bombay rather leans to the baptism of such a man without that requirement. Similar leanings are ascribed to the Bishop of Colombo.

It was stated that Bishop Caldwell would baptize a Polygamist *in articulo mortis* ("Mission Life," 1880, p. 185). The Bishop of Melanesia (Selwyn) seemed to think, that the putting away of the supernumerary wives should be the rule, but he had difficulty in facing it. The late Primate of New Zealand (Selwyn the elder) was of the same opinion. We read in his "Life" the following: "Are you thinking of becoming a Christian?" said the Bishop to a native chief. "Yes," said the chief. I saw the Bishop hold up two fingers, and then bend one down. The chief nodded assent. The Bishop meant, that the chief must get rid of one of his wives. I do not find that he indicated which wife should be unjustly deprived of her home, and the society of her husband.

There is a dark side, as illustrated by the following anecdote, given in the Island Voyage of the Melanesian Mission in 1885:

In the Island of Florida, of the Solomon Group, a man was held back from baptism, as having two wives: one died, and he was baptized, and his surviving wife placed under instruction: it seemed sad that the poor dead wife by living

had kept back her husband, and her fellow-wife, from baptism, and had died unbaptized. Bishop Pattison felt the difficulty, but the argument against baptizing a Polygamist was too weighty; but there seemed no reason for keeping back the poor wives from baptism, as they were not Polygamists.

The missionaries of the Basle Society in Switzerland would receive Polygamists in case of extreme necessity, as, when a man had children by both his wives, and all parties agreed in the impossibility of separation; yet there is not one Polygamist in any of their missionary congregations in the West Coast of Africa. The Missionaries of this Society recognize a heathen marriage as a binding one, and declare that a Christian cannot put away his wife, though a heathen.

The Wesleyan missionaries positively refuse all Polygamists, recognizing only a Christian marriage, that is to say, one performed in a Christian Church. If a heathen become a Christian, he may keep (or rather marry) his heathen wife, or he may send her away, if she remarries a heathen. They direct their converts to dismiss all their wives, and marry a Christian: in fact, under this rule, if a man wishes to get rid of his wives, *he has only to become a Christian.*

The Moravian missionaries had to deal with negro slaves in America. Their original rules were: (1) They would not oblige a man who, previous to his conversion, had taken more than one wife to put the others away without their consent; (2) they would not appoint such a one to be helper in the congregation; (3) they would allow no Christian to take more than one wife, and he is bound to her for life. In 1880 they modified these rules, and their present rule is, that in general an applicant for baptism is to dismiss all his wives but one, but that, when this may lead to greater sin, an exception may be made under the authority of the District Mission Conference.

I wrote to my friend Dr. Schrader, of the Rhenish Missionary Society, at Barmen, in Germany, to ask for a statement of their present practice, and in his reply, July, 1886, he says:

We do not think it right, nor indicated by any clear word of God, that any one, who has taken two or more legal wives, as a heathen, should be compelled to dismiss them all except one, before he can be admitted to baptism. It seems to me to be a bad beginning of his Christian life to break legal promises, which he has given formerly. Of course every Polygamist must be told, that this state of affairs is not in accordance with the Gospel, and, as soon as there is an opportunity to get rid of it in a legal way, he ought to do it; but I do not know if it is advisable to postpone baptism until that can be done.

The great difficulty, which has been felt several times, is this, that very often in churches, where Polygamists have been admitted, persons, who for special reasons wish to take a second wife, cannot easily understand, why something, *that is allowed to others, should be denied them.* But to avoid this, all persons entering the Church should be clearly made to understand, that they will never be allowed to take a second wife, as long as the first is still living, and the Polygamist can hold no church office. We have had amongst our missionaries

a few who have protested against this liberal praxis, as it is called ; but after much renewed discussion (for instance in our Borneo Mission lately) we have always come back upon this one opinion, which has been in use in the **Rhenish Mission** for a long time.

This Society labours in the Indian Colonies of Holland and Borneo, as well as in South Africa.

With regard to Africa, let me quote the opinion of Mr. Buckley Wood, an experienced missionary of the C.M.S. in Yáriba-land, in Western Africa: "No one who knows Africa
" and Polygamy in Africa can ever doubt, that the C.M.S. is
" perfectly right in not for an hour allowing such an abominable
" custom to exist. The Diocesan Conference, convened by
" the Bishop, in Lagos, in April 1888, and to which several lay
" delegates from our Abeokúta Church were invited, was regarded
" by our people with much interest. After the return of the
" delegates from Lagos a meeting was called, and was largely
" attended, to which they gave an account of what had taken
" place at the Conference. The sounder portion of our people
" were greatly pleased on learning, that the feeling at the Con-
" ference had been so decidedly in favour of going forward on
" the old lines, and of giving no recognized place in the Church
" to Polygamy in any form. This feeling was not shared by
" all. Some of those, who have become entangled in the sin
" of keeping a plurality of women, would have welcomed some
" relaxation of the rules, that have hitherto been followed."

Thus we have the direct contrary practice in force in different portions of the mission-field.

I have already stated that the status of "wife" should be defined, and in each case ascertained ; and that the concubine, the wife of another man, the divorced wife, the slave-girl, the person within the limits of blood or affinity, cannot be deemed *wives*, and that the man is in such cases a profligate, but *not* a Polygamist. It seems so simple ; but I read in a missionary periodical, June, 1886, the following :

A convert proved the sincerity of his faith by making quite a sacrifice. An uncle died leaving two wives ; these, according to native custom, fell by law of inheritance to the nephew. He was betrothed to another girl, whom he has since married. He was told that if he continued to commit Polygamy, he could not be admitted to the Church ; to put away his two wives, *his aunts by marriage*, was a great sacrifice ; but this convert was not long in deciding, and the two *wives* were put away.

Can anything reflect more on the common sense of a missionary than this ? Can he not see that, under no law, human or divine, could it have been right for a man to take as his wife the widow of the brother of his father or his mother ? It is rank incest. Every Hindu and Mahometan would protest against such a thing. The wife of an uncle is to a man as his own mother. They were not *wives*, and the man was not a Polygamist, but guilty of incest.

There will be no difficulty in asking each candidate for Baptism to give the history of his family, and the circumstances, under which he began to cohabit with each female: there will be the slave-girl, the chance concubine, the divorced wife of some one else, the runaway wife of some one else, the female relations, whom he has inherited, the captive (like poor Hecuba, and Andromaché), and perhaps the real wife, or possibly the *real wives*: it is too true, that many real wives in Africa did not always enter marriage in a state of virginity, and this is a fact to be weighed: we are opening out a question not of human but of Divine Law, and the virgin-spouse may in the sight of God be the only lawful wife, and in the sight of man the one, which deserves the most consideration.

We must remember that to live with two women after the way of the flesh is a sin: it is too late in the history of the Christian Church to argue about this. How can the Preacher from the Pulpit inveigh against this and cognate sins, if under his eyes sits a baptized Polygamist with a wife on each side of him, and a third on the opposite seat, with babies in their arms of nearly the same age? As mentioned above, such events cause a laugh even among Hindus, but something like a blush of shame or a tear among Christians. If we return to Old Testament practice, how can we reject the prayer of the barren wife, good soul! who wishes to see offspring begotten by her husband from her maidservant, that, like Rachel, she may also have children on her knees by her: how can we resist the practice of the law of levirate marriage?

This is no allusion to an obsolete practice. I have as a judge in the Panjáb decided scores of cases turning upon this right, claimed by the male, resisted by the female, for the sake of the property of the deceased, not the person of his widow. If we allow Polygyny, how can we resist Polyandry? They hang upon the same thread.

One other event is linked with this season, the attendance at Holy Communion of one who had for many months absented herself, viz. Rachel, a Christian from Giriáma. She had run away from her country about June, 1886, rather than marry her brother-in-law, who was a heathen, on the death of her husband. She has since come regularly, and I doubt not found help and strength thereby.—*Mombása*, 1888.

There are many things here to hinder the progress of our work, but amongst them all there is not one, that gives rise to half the difficulties, that in one way or another originate from Polygamy. There are many of these who, though they have renounced heathenism, cannot be baptized because of their addictedness to Polygamy and other sensual habits. I might have perhaps reported larger results, had we to contend against simple idolatry. Because there are many, whose confidence in idolatry has been shaken, but who yet stick to it because they cannot rise up to the high and holy living which Christianity demands. Ondo idolatry is consorted on one hand to Polygamy and Polyandry, and on the other hand to the revolting custom of human sacrifices.—*Rev. C. Phillips, Native Pastor of Ondo, W. Africa.*

I have decided cases turning upon this latter custom, and found the women with a plurality of husbands quite as jealous as to the suspicious conduct of one of her husbands, as the man with a plurality of wives is as to the conduct of his wives.

Finally we must think not of the sufferings, or the deprivations, of a single individual, but of the Holiness of the Church of Christ. No one can read the paper read by Mr. Sawyer, a pure Negro, at the Diocesan Conference at Sierra Leone, this very year, 1888, without being satisfied, that the African Church would willingly tolerate Polygamy, if they were free from European influences. His paper is most timely, as it discloses the thoughts of a respectable African Christian gentleman, that Monogamy cannot be enforced anywhere without the aid of human law, that the precepts of Morality, the common law of Europe since the time of Homer, the words of our Lord, "Male and Female created He them," go for nothing: and finally that the hope of raising a woman to a place of honour by the side of her husband, as the sole partner of his joys and sorrows, the sole mother of his children, is vain.

These lines are written by one, who knows Polygamy, having lived many years amidst a polygamous people, and become familiar with the domestic history of Nations where that practice has prevailed. In an analysis of the magnificent Sanskrit Epic Poem, "The Ramáyana," I wrote as follows thirty-five years ago:

"All was joy and exultation, when a dire calamity fell on the
"head of the King, and the people, and the faultless hero. It
"was the curse of that hated Polygamy, that licensed concu-
"binage, that chartered libertinism, which is still tolerated in
"the Indian Empire, that brought on the catastrophe. When
"shall we cease to talk about the ladies of the Zanána, the
"wives of the Rája, in allusion to the poor victims of family
"custom, who are still immured in palaces? When shall we learn
"to call things by their right names, and at least not countenance
"the abuse? It was the curse, which has toppled dynasties, and
"ruined families, from the day that Abraham banished Ishmael
"to clear the prospects of Isaac, from the day that the feasting
"of Adonijah at En-rogel, beneath Mount Moriah, was inter-
"rupted by the cries of 'God save King Solomon!' from the
"valley of Gihon under the heights of Mount Zion. The old
"King had three consorts: to the eldest was born Rama, the
"hero of the story: to the second, a young and beautiful woman,
"was born Bharata, his unwilling and yet fatal rival" (Linguistic
and Oriental Essays, 1880, p. 75).

A great responsibility falls upon the Episcopal Synod assembled at Lambeth this year 1888. If the Bishops yield to a pretended present necessity, it will be like the letting out of a stream, which cannot be controlled. The late revelations at Sierra Leone, to which the Bishop of Sierra Leone can in person testify,

show clearly, that it is not the baptism of an occasional Polygamist, which is sought for, but the toleration of Polygamy in the Christian Church. No line can be drawn. The converts are not necessarily old men, whose family arrangements are complete, but young men with a possible plurality of young wives, and for twenty years the scandal would be manifested of children being brought to the baptismal Font, born by different women to the same father. What will be the feeling of other young men in the congregation, who have been unhappy in their marriages, but a desire to share the privileges of their contemporary? Moreover, if the cohabitation of a man with two women is wrong, hopelessly wrong, fundamentally wrong, and contrary to Christian morals, how can the accident of such a practice having commenced *before such a date* satisfy the Christian moralist? Consideration for the poor innocent woman forbids the cruel policy of putting her away and driving her into sin: consideration for the Church of Christ forbids the admission of a man encumbered with such ties to be admitted to Baptism on account of the bad example which would be set to others? As to the man's own Salvation, we can leave it without anxiety to the unfailing and unlimited mercies of our Saviour and his Saviour. The whole hope of the purity of Oriental Churches depends upon the elevation of women to their proper dignity, purity, and respect from the other sex. It matters not, whether a woman is of noble origin, and respectable parentage, or sprung of infamous parents and a slave: to the Christian man she is surrounded with the halo of being a "woman." In no Christian country is corporal punishment inflicted by law upon a woman, however much she may deserve it. The sight of a woman being struck or ill-used justifies any man to interfere in her behalf against her parent, against her husband. The relations, which she fills towards men of daughter, sister, wife and mother are so delicate, that they should be guarded from any possible contamination, confusion, weakening, or pollution. To render it possible that any woman, herself a Christian, should share the bed of a Christian man with others of her own sex, would be a disgrace to any Church, and a sure herald of the decadence of that Church.

At the time of the introduction of a new Religion into a race or tribe, the mode, in which the mystery of the union of the two sexes is dealt with, is the highest test of the Religious evolution. Marriage is at once the gratification of a legitimate and holy wish, the machinery of a holy life, and the divinely ordained method of perpetuating a holy people. Whatever may be the practice of worldlings, the Church must regard it with the profoundest anxiety, as the laxer the marriage tie, the lower the form of Religion developed.

The Churchman, 1886 (with additions, 1888).

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32. The Proper Mode of dealing with Cases of Polygamy in Candidates for Baptism, by Dean Green, of Maritzburg, South Africa. *English Church Union*, 1888.
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34. Bishop of Melanesia's Letter to the Lambeth Conference, 1888.

II.

SLAVERY IN CHRISTIAN CHURCHES.

A.—BRITISH PROTESTANT MISSIONS IN MADAGASCAR.

THE Lord Chief Justice a few years ago remarked in the House of Lords, that there was a subject, in which even a Judge might be forgiven, if he spoke with warmth. That subject was Slavery. My devotion to Missions is only exceeded by my abhorrence of Slavery, and when the name of a Missionary is mixed up with that of Slavery, I feel in a dilemma, and I wish to discuss this subject with more than judicial coldness. A Missionary is obliged to *tolerate* Slavery, and he is obliged to tolerate many other evil customs, such as Polygamy, divorce, exaggerated Caste, drunkenness, and profligacy; but he should cut off his right hand rather than directly or indirectly *countenance* it. There are many fancy grievances, and many ephemeral Societies are started to paint the evil, which they denounce, in exaggerated colours, and suggest remedies, which would often be worse than the disease. On the question of Slavery, however, no two men can be found, righteous or unrighteous, who will defend the status, and there is no true Briton, who in this Nineteenth Century would not lend his aid to any measure, which might sweep from the world the abominable practice of involuntary labour.

We are too apt to imagine, that Slavery in Asia and Africa is of the same character as the Slavery of the Planters in North America, and the West Indian Islands. Such is not the case. In Mahometan countries the slave is often treated as a member of the family, and some slaves possess slaves. Still a large percentage of the women have to submit to involuntary concubinage with their owners, and a certain percentage of the males are turned into eunuchs to serve as guards to their polluted sisters. The lash, and the poison, the private sale, and the auction mart are always possibilities. The right of husband, the right of parent, education, religion, power of locomotion, of amassing a competence for old age, are, as regards the

slave portion of a population, suspended, whilst, as regards the free portion, honourable labour cannot exist, where everything menial is done by a slave. No true social state can be founded on Slavery, and no real Christianity.

In British India forty years ago Slavery existed in its mildest form, and it was not deemed prudent, considering the vast population of that country, and the small number of the British, to abolish it in so many words. But a law was passed, that the so-called slave possessed the same rights in a court of justice, civil and criminal, as the freeman. The lash and the prison ceased thus to be operative, and the bad custom has gently died out. But it did most unmistakably exist. I have often had petitions filed in my court by women, fugitives from the house of some rich man, praying for leave to go where they wished; and in spite of the angry protests of their owner, the brief order has been endorsed on the petition, "that the parties are at liberty to do as they liked."

Now supposing some energetic young magistrate had conceived the idea of a training college in any district of British India, and had sent up his plans of buildings providing for a room for each student, and a *room above for his slave*, I can answer as to the nature of the reply, which he would have received from any commissioner or any governor. I know the order, that I should have endorsed myself on such an application, and I think that my great master, John Lawrence, would have done the same only in stronger language: "Send back the scheme, and remind the writer, that he is a Gentleman and a Christian, and that any more proposals of this kind will lead to his removal from a post of which he is unworthy." If it had transpired that the public officer had slaves among his domestics, knowing that they were such, knowing that a portion of the wages paid by him to his attendant went to the slave-owner, it would have been intimated to him, very unmistakably, that such things must not be, that he must rather submit to the inconvenience of a bad cook than have a slave cook, in a word, that the servants of the Queen-Empress must not, directly or indirectly, *countenance* Slavery, though out of wise far-seeing policy they *tolerated* it for one generation.

And yet the Missionaries of the Church of England in Madagascar find it right to act in the manner, in which I have only, by a stretch of fancy, imagined a civil officer of Government acting, for I feel sure that no civil or military officer would ever have so done. Let me quote the words used in the *Mission Field* of 1878, pp. 580, 581:

The most important and hopeful step is the opening of a College to educate native Catechists and Clergy. The students are all married; each has a house, consisting of sitting-room, bed-room, and kitchen, *with an upstairs room for his slaves*.

It has transpired, and has not been denied, that the domestics of the Missionary and the Mission are slaves, receiving indeed adequate wages, and, no doubt, leading comfortable and happy lives, yet still paying over a portion of their wages to their slave-owner, who had the power to chastise them, imprison them, sell them by private contract, and break up the relation of husband and wife, parent and child. In such a home, as that of the Missionary, the female slave, and the wife of the slave, would enjoy an honoured status; but that, which a Missionary allows himself to do, a layman, and a bad layman, can do also, and without the purity and self-restraint of a Missionary household. We make no charges against the European residents of the island, but somehow or other mixed races do come into existence, and the history of the Southern States of the great American Republic is before us, as a beacon and a warning, that the status of Slavery is incompatible with a moral and religious life.

These students are to be trained to be Catechists and Pastors. It is amazing to read that the stoutest champions of Slavery in the island are the Native Pastors themselves of the Nonconformist Churches. British Missionaries of all denominations have everywhere steadily denounced the practice, but have not found themselves strong enough to pass that order in Madagascar, which their brethren in Asia and Africa have passed, that no office-holder of the Church should hold or employ slaves. A grotesque feature is disclosed in the fact, that some of the Pastors are slaves themselves, and that a portion of their stipend, collected under the influence of prayer, in their churches and chapels, finds its way through the funnel of these consecrated Pastors to the accursed stores of the slave-owners. For these slaves are the sweepings in of raided villages, the captives made in unjustifiable wars, in which the men were all killed, and the women and children made slaves, the purchases made by private sale in the weekly slave market at the capital of the kingdom, for the public market has only been interdicted within the last five or six years.

It is of no use arguing, that the Government of the island cannot abolish the practice, or render it innocuous, by giving full power to redeem slaves, or enact a similar law as the one enacted in British India, which will lead to the same results. Under pressure from the British Government the Queen of Madagascar has prohibited the import of slaves from Africa, set free by a stroke of the pen, without compensation, one hundred and fifty thousand¹ imported Africans, forbade the export of

¹ Admiral Gore Jones says in his Report, published in a Parliamentary Paper, 1883, that the Queen had liberated one hundred and fifty thousand Mozambiques at an enormous loss to herself and the principal slave-owners.

Malagási slaves to other islands, and prohibited the weekly slave market. This shows, that the Queen is an arbitrary sovereign, who can deal at pleasure with the property of her subjects. Great sympathy has been felt with the Queen of Madagascar in the peril, in which she stands in face of the Government of France, and much of this sympathy has arisen, because it is credibly believed, that the real object of the French is to secure slaves from Madagascar for their own colonies; but the sympathy in question will greatly diminish, when it transpires, that so locally deep-rooted is the system, so necessary a feature is it of domestic, and even of Missionary life, that a Church of England Missionary constructs a college, presumably as a permanent institution, with rooms for slaves. There is no euphemism to cover the objectionable phrase, and there is no half-feeling possible as to the religious public of England objecting to have "Missions" and "Slavery" brought into such juxtaposition. It is said that at Rome you should do as at Rome, and in Madagascar as at Madagascar, and thus male and female slaves become part of the daily life of a theological student.

I will not stop to argue with those, who would drag the wisest and most tender-hearted of men, St. Paul, into this controversy. The heart of Great Britain and of the great American Republic have beaten in unison, and it is a settled rule, that in no state of society, or culture, or political government, is Slavery to be *countenanced* by any one of the great Anglo-Saxon Race. A short time ago I received a letter from a Missionary Society in the United States, expressing astonishment at the state of things in Madagascar. It was Slavery, that brought on the terrible civil war in North America, and it would seem as if the French Invasion were so timed as to bring matters to an issue. In Tunisia the Bey had a few years before the French Invasion abolished Slavery, following the example of Algeria, and setting the example to Egypt.

How does it happen that in Madagascar alone of all the Mission Fields in Asia and Africa is it found necessary to countenance slavery? Surely Bishop Steere, at Zanzibár, found

These Mozambiques are members of the very tribes, Yao, Makua, and Niassa, among whom the Universities Mission and the Scotch Missions labour. Surely out of so many thousands a sufficiency of freedmen could be found to supply domestics in the families and colleges of Missionaries, and the class from whom the servants of the Mission on the continent are drawn are good enough for the Missionaries of the island. The Native Malagási Pastor can hold slaves, but no subject of the Queen of England, in any part of the world, can purchase a slave without being liable to an indictment for felony in the Courts of London. The Missionaries in the Island of the Mauritius do not employ slave-labour. It is true that the law of England forbids it there, but it has always been understood that in moral questions the Missionary obeys a Higher Law than that of the Civil Government.

circumstances very analogous, and yet, from the first, he and his colleagues have set their face against it. How do the Missionaries at Masási and Magila provide themselves with domestics? And how do the students of the Training College at Zanzibár do without the upstairs room for the slaves? How do the Missionaries of the Church Missionary Society manage at Mombása on the East Coast, at Sierra Leone, Lagos, and on the Niger, on the West Coast, in regions, where the very air is impregnated with Slavery, where the Mission agents are themselves redeemed slaves, or the offspring of redeemed slaves? Among the founders of that Society were Wilberforce and Thornton, and the Committee has steadily opposed any compromise, any departure from the simple rule, that no officeholder must countenance Slavery. It is not the business of a Missionary to start a crusade against Slavery, but he should say, "As to my home and family, we will not be contaminated by Slavery." Great inconvenience is no doubt felt, and life might be made easier by sitting looser to principle, and it is not pretended, that the rule referred to is not sometimes broken. I read of a negro pastor in the Yáriba country, for instance, who, to save his dying wife, bought a slave-girl to act as wet-nurse to his baby, educated her, converted her, set her free, and had her married, and then humbly apologised for having so far broken the rules of the Society in an exceptional case, to the manifest advantage of the slave. So if one or two slaves had found their way to the Training College at Madagascar, been redeemed, and converted, there would be nothing to object to; but in this case there is a permanence given to the institution, and a determined standing up for the practice in a building permanently dedicated to the Church of England.

I read that in the Brazils the manufacturing companies are urged not to employ slaves, whose wages are paid to the slave-owner. Are the ordained Ministers of our Church to occupy a lower moral position than a manufacturing company? The Missionary, in my opinion, is the jewel and glory of the Nineteenth Century. He is the honest, unselfish, simple-minded man, who is found in every part of the world, generally in the darkest, as a witness of the Truth, and a living protest against the abominable customs of the heathen. I write this advisedly, for I have lived a quarter of a century in the midst of the heathen, and have learnt to love the heathen people and conciliate their love; yet I have always recognized their failings, and the blessing conferred on a heathen country by the Missionary, simply because he adopts the highest standard of morality, the highest possible, and most chivalrous standard, which keeps up to the mark the well-intentioned but feeble Christian laymen, and impresses the heathen around. The pastor from the pulpit denounces Polygamy,

Divorce, and Slavery, as bad customs ; but how can he do so with any consistency, if he returns to a polygamous household to eat a dinner cooked by slaves ? The Madagascar code of laws tolerates *all* these customs : why does the Missionary find strength to put his foot down against the first two, and weakly yield to the third, which is, in fact, the cause of the other two ? Where there are female slaves, there will be concubinage, Polygamy, and divorce, the last to an extent frightful to contemplate.

In Madagascar-Slavery there is a peculiar feature, unknown in ancient Rome, unknown in modern America. Not only are the so-called servile and inferior races made slaves, but also the ruling race of the Hova. If anything could be imagined as worse than a Briton possessing a negro slave, it would be his possessing a British one. We may anticipate servile wars, assassination, and a total disruption of society, if it be true, that the number of slaves exceeds the number of freedmen, and if, as the Missionaries say, the moral force is already wakening. A foreign invasion will bring matters to an end, and the slaves will achieve their freedom in the midst of confusion arising from a subversion of the existing constitution.

The Foreign Office is fully informed of the state of affairs, and of the relation, which British subjects, the Missionaries, bear to Slavery, within their churches, their colleges, and their homes. Moreover, the French Government is fully aware also, and, if we object to their unjust and iniquitous invasion of Madagascar, on the ground of their alleged intention of supplying their colonies with slave-labour, they may fairly retort, that the English Missionary employs slaves, on the plea of necessity, treats them kindly, and pays them full wages, and the French planter intends to do the same, and give them the opportunity of becoming good Roman Catholics. The Roman Catholic Missionary is always logical and consistent ; he goes a step further, and purchases slave boys and girls, who are kidnapped from their parents, with a view of forming so-called orphanages all over Africa.

Mr. Peill, a Missionary fresh from Madagascar, in a lecture delivered in 1883 at the Society of Arts, tells us that cases of cruel oppression to slaves are not uncommon ; the slaves are at the mercy of their masters, and have no recognized rights. In 1881 a law was passed, that slaves may no longer be traded in as merchandise, but if a man wants a slave for his own, male or female, he may buy and the master may sell, but the transaction must be between the two parties, and not through slave-dealers, and must be duly registered. The young child must not be sold away from its mother, but there is no protection thrown round the young girl of maturer age. In a late number of a Missionary journal a story is told of a girl, who was mistress in a

Missionary school, being sold by *her mistress*, possibly a Christian, to an Arab to be his concubine, and who was only saved from this disgraceful career by flight, concealment, and then a large sum collected in England to redeem her. Mrs. Peill, in her letter to the Anti-Slavery Reporter, makes the important admission, that slaves and non-slaves are often employed together as fellow-servants in a European family, receive the same wages, and are treated in the same way, and we have no doubt a kind way, and with such equality, that the outside observer would not be able to say whether they were slaves or not. This convincingly shows, that free labour is available, that the plea of necessity cannot be advanced, and that the scandal may cease at once, if the Missionary so decide. This good lady makes the further admission, that the slave-owner derives benefit from the educated faculties of his slave in the Missionary household. It is shocking to think of the lad, who rises to the position of teacher and pastor in a Mission paying more and more on each rise in the world to his owner, and, if married to a Christian girl, begetting children to the profit of the same possibly Christian owner, possibly a native Pastor himself.

The suffering of the African slave in America or the Mid Passage has ceased; but only those, who have for years read every book relating to Africa, and who have, as it were, Africa on the brain, can realize the abomination of the custom as it still exists in Africa itself. We may laugh at the account given by the Missionaries of the little children of the better classes in Madagascar going to Church with a little slave behind them carrying their Bible and hymn-book. The Pastors can have small influence on their flocks, when such marks of pride and Caste are tolerated. One Quaker Missionary had the grace vouchsafed to him to denounce the practice of Slavery in an assembly of the different Native Churches in Madagascar, and a *vote of censure was passed upon him by the other Missionaries*. He, however, published his address in England, with the text, "Touch not the unclean thing."

If a vigorous attempt be made, the end is near in Madagascar. Let the Queen only agree to the following rules urged upon her by the British Nonconformist Missionaries, who have striven nobly to mitigate the evil:

I. A Registration of redeemed slaves.

II. A Fixation of a reasonable price for a slave, which must be accepted, if tendered.

When the subject was discussed on my motion at a meeting of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, a Statesman, who has studied the whole subject, Sir Bartle Frere, told the meeting, that some day the Missionaries would thank the mover of the motion for calling attention to this blemish; for it is a sore

blemish in a rising Church. Regard the matter from whatever point of view you like, Madagascar is the only Mission of the Church of England in any part of the world that *countenances* slavery, and has *slaves* on its premises, other than those who come for educational, medical, or spiritual advantages, which the Church of England extends to all, whether Bond or Free.

Taking the lowest level the Missionary should recollect, that the Spanish Priest, though he cannot put a stop to the cruel custom of Bull-Baiting, never is present on such occasions. A right-minded English Clergyman cannot put a stop to the evils of an English Race-Course, but, if he has any respect for his cloth, he never is seen at a Race. The Missionary cannot stop Slavery, but he and his office-holders should keep clear of the contamination.

Mission-Life, 1883.

B.—THE FRENCH ROMAN CATHOLICS IN AFRICA.

One of the great curses of Slavery and the Slave Trade is that it dislocates the labour market, and leaves, even when abolished, a trail of evil consequences and fallacies; and it is necessary from time to time to appeal to first principles, and expose weak and evil practices into which good men fall.

The evils arising from an ill-regulated traffic in Cooleys, or Free Labourers, have often been exposed. The movement of ignorant labourers is always a dangerous process. Even in British India the supply of labourers from the districts of Bengal, where there is a surfeit, to Assam, where there is a demand, is not accomplished without risk. The export of Cooleys from India beyond the seas is a most complicated operation. The planter in his selfishness calls out for labour, and cares not by how great a sacrifice of human life his wants are supplied. Too often the Cooley becomes little better off than a slave. The great Island of Madagascar is now destined to be exposed to ruin and loss of life, with a view of supplying labour to French planters. The Latin races never can be persuaded to look upon involuntary labour of subject races with the aversion, with which the Anglo-Saxon regards it.

The French Roman Catholic Missionary openly conducts his Missionary operations under the Black Flag, and it is well that this should be thoroughly understood. I will not quote any other authority but their own recognized Reporter, the *Missions*

Catholiques, and I select the volumes of 1881-2 to show that the practice is not an old and abandoned one, but one actually in force :

ABEOKÚTA, WESTERN AFRICA, *Feb.* 1881.

Qu'il nous serait facile de *racheter* des esclaves, si nous avons des ressources. Après chaque expedition guerrier il suffrait de se rendre sur quelque'une des grandes places ou sont exposées des familles entières de captifs.

EMBOMMA, ON THE CONGO, *Nov.* 1880.

Le *Rachat* des enfants devenant de jour en jour ici plus difficile, je resolut d'aller voir, si dans le haut de Congo, il ne presentait pas plus de facilité.

LANDÁNA, ON THE WEST COAST, *Oct.* 1880.

Il profité en même temps de ce voyage pour renouer et activer l'œuvre si importante du *Rachat* des enfants, car Helas ! au Congo comme partout ailleurs cette œuvre devient de plus en plus difficile.

A cette époque la Mission élevait environ cent enfants dont les uns avaient été confiés par les chefs de l'intérieur, et les autres avaient été *rachetés*.

At the close of the year 1881 three French Missionaries lost their lives on the Eastern shore of Lake Tanganyika, in the country of U-Rundi, in consequence of their complicity in the purchase of, and forcible retention of, purchased slaves ; for the Wa-Bikári, having solicited in vain the return of children kidnapped from them, in some way or other recovered the person of one of them. The French Priests threatened the use of force to retake their slave, but were anticipated by an attack of the Natives, who made a sudden onslaught upon and killed the French Missionaries, one of whom had arms in his hands. It is obvious that children must belong to some one. No tribe, however savage, will sell its own offspring. The slaves sold must be the booty of war, or the result of kidnapping.

Undeterred by this catastrophe, the French Roman Catholic Missionaries recommenced their purchases on a larger scale, and at Tabora, in U-Nya-Nwembe, on the high road from Zanzibár to both Lake Victoria and Tanganyika :

Quand nous exposames à lui (the brother of the Arab Governor of U-Nya-Nwembe) notre intention de *racheter* des enfants esclaves pour en faire des hommes libres et leur apprendre a bien vivre, il nous dit : " Bien. Des enfans vous en trouverez ici beaucoup. Vous venez pour les enfans ; c'est bon. Je suis votre homme."

The pious priest then remarks :

O Providence de dieu, qui daignez employer à votre causes les vices mêmes de vos ennemies ! Puissiez vous tirer de l'avarice de ce vieux fils de Mahomet la deliverance et le salut de beaucoup d'âmes autour de nous !

Déjà nous avons commencé à former notre petite famille negre, en *rachetant* plusieurs enfants, que l'on promenait dans la ville comme des animaux en vente. Nous aurons frequemment l'occasion d'en *racheter* d'autres sans sortir de chez nous : ce sera la petite pêche a l'hameçon en attendant que l'autorisation de

Said Bargache soit arrivée de Zanzibar. Alors nous pourrons faire la grande pêche en haute mer; pêche que n'aura d'autres limites que celles de nos ressources. 150 ou 200 francs suffisent pour le *rachat* et l'entretien d'un enfant pendant une année. Avec 15,000 ou 20,000 francs nous pourrait fonder ici un orphelinat d'une *Centaine de beaux Négrillons*.

The Arabs, themselves not very scrupulous, held back from taking part in this tremendous scheme, and begged leave to apply to the Sultan, their Master, at Zanzibár. The Priest wrote off to M. Ledoux, the Consul of France, begging of him to use his influence in the aid of this slave-purchasing enterprise. Publicity may possibly have checked this detestable enterprise, and it has been reported to the British Foreign Office. That on the peaceful high road from the Sea to the Equatorial Lakes, there should be established a House of Kidnapped Children, purchased by a European, appears to be a public misfortune.

In Tanganyika the French Roman Catholic Missionaries, in spite of the warning received by the slaughter of three of their body, report, September 25th, 1881, another advance along the dangerous and shameful path.

Nous avons vu déjà mourir plusieurs de ces enfants au Masanjé. Aussi avons nous du *racheter* des *jeunes filles* esclaves. Ce moyen offre de nombreuses difficultés, comme vous le comprenez facilement vous mêmes.

If the kidnapping of boys was not enough to rouse a tribe to wrath against the white strangers, surely the kidnapping of girls will do so. The problem is a tremendous one, but at Zanzibár we read :

· A l'hôpital est annexée une école pour les petites Nègresses, que l'on *rachète*, ou qu'on enlève aux marchands des esclaves.

Such is the practice of the French Roman Catholic Missionaries in the East and West of Equatorial Africa. They cannot see, that the words, *rachat* and redemption, were applicable, when sums were sent to Barbary to rescue French and Spanish sailors, who had been captured by the Corsairs: that it would be perfectly legitimate to a native of the country to purchase his own freedom, or redeem from slavery members of his family or his friends. The wholesale purchase of male and female children encourages kidnapping, raids, and tribal wars, and perpetuates a state of affairs, which we would gladly see entirely changed. An orphanage, filled with children ravished from their parents, is only so in name.

Now if the benevolent Missionary can do this with impunity, and start a school, and a factory, and industrial operations, and distil liqueurs, as the Monks do in Algeria, why should not the benevolent planter do the same? If he is not allowed to do so, he will be undersold in his business by his Missionary rival, who conducts the adjoining factory. If children, male and

female, may be purchased, why not lads and lasses, and adults generally? The male children, when they come to the age of puberty in the Missionary schools, will want wives, and the Priest must ask his friends the Arab slave-dealers to send in a supply of marriageable Negresses. When neighbouring tribes demand in a voice of anger the restitution of their ravished children, what reply is to be given to them? The transaction becomes more horrible, when the Arab is found to be the go-between, and the panderer to the Missionary lust to get possession of Negro bodies for the sake of their souls. How the Mahometan must scoff at the Christian for his inconsistency!

When the Roman Catholic Mission temporarily quitted Rubága, the capital of King Mtesa, on Lake Victoria, they took with them several boat-loads of Negro boys, whom they had purchased, and who were their property. In the pages of the *Missions Catholiques* of Lyons, appear each week notices of subscriptions made in France for the purpose of purchasing children, and the name, which the pious donor attaches to the gift as the name designed for the purchased child, is generally that of a little girl, showing that the perilous policy of purchasing female slaves is persisted in. To the Arab slave-dealer it matters not, whether a little girl is supplied to a harem or a Mission-school; or a little boy sold to be converted into a eunuch or into an acolyte. It is a matter of so much money. And, when these children grow up to maturity, they will abscond, and there will be claims for restitution. It is fortunate that a Protestant power like Germany has appeared on the scene of East Africa, which is not likely to tolerate the purchase of slaves for any purpose in its jurisdiction.

Cardinal Lavigerie, in his late address to Pope Leo XIII. at Rome, May, 1888, took credit for buying slaves in Equatorial Africa in the name of the Church, and saving them from Slavery, and the Pope in reply begged him to buy, or redeem, as many as he could: so it must be considered as part of the authorized method of Romish Missions; and indeed, in the life of Friar John de Monte Corvino, the Romish Missionary in China in 1298 A.D., he mentions in a letter, which has come down to us, that he bought one hundred and fifty boys of from seven to thirteen years of age, and these he taught Latin and Greek, to copy Manuscripts, and chant the Services of the Church. It is clear that the Romish system of evangelization is built upon slave-purchasing, whenever they find it possible.

It is a comfort to think that every Protestant Missionary Society in Africa is free from even the imputation of this blot. The Missionaries of the Universities' Mission to East Africa write, that they have difficulty in providing for the children who flock to their schools. The alleged difficulty of getting children

to come to the Mission schools is a mere snare; if regular attendance at school of little Negroes, who know not what time is, is to be secured by their purchase, their bondage, their incarceration, their personal chastisement, we say boldly that we had rather let them remain free heathens than become Slave-Christians repeating their "Ave-Maria."

Another form of snare, which tempts the Missionary to swerve from the high beaten road, is the institution called "pawning." It was explained at a Missionary Board to mean this. A heathen family spend a large sum on the funeral of their head: the money is borrowed from a money-lender on the security of the mortgage to him of the involuntary services of one member of the family. A younger son is made over, pawned, pledged, to become the slave for life of the money-lender. It was suggested by an amiable Missionary, on whose health, countenance and judgment, a long residence in Africa had had a deleterious effect, that the Christian should adopt a modified form of this practice, that the pawning should be registered, an account kept of the capital and interest, and a power of redemption reserved. It is scarcely necessary to say, that a great Missionary Society, among the founders of which was Wilberforce, could have nothing to do directly or indirectly, openly or in disguise, now or in future, with any practice, which implied the dominion of one man over the person of another, and the right of one man to use the involuntary labour of another. The power of a Missionary Society is limited, but it can prohibit its office-holders absolutely from contact with such transactions, can admonish and affectionately urge its adherents to abstain from them, and can stand forth before the heathen a living protest, that the purchase of slaves, the employment of slaves, the mortgaging of the labour of one man to another, is an abomination before God and man.

It is necessary to speak out clearly, and call upon Missionary Societies to take heed, lest mud stick to the skirts of their clothing. Now that Africa is so thoroughly thrown open, and associations, religious and secular, are springing up like mushrooms, care must be taken, lest the enemy should sow tares. All that we can do is to publish to the Christian world a *bond fide* and authentic account of every such transaction, and thus bring it to the notice of the Attorney-General, who is empowered to prosecute the purchaser, if a British subject, in the High Court of Justice; for it is distinctly an offence against the Act of George IV. and punishable as a felony in any Court of Her Majesty, without reference to the venue of the transaction.

Mission-Life, 1886.

C.—INDEPENDENT NATIVE CONGREGATIONS IN YARIBA-LAND.

Slavery, or Involuntary Labour, is one of the disgraces of the human race, and yet it is one of the oldest of institutions, and one, which is only entirely eradicated by the influences of the Christian religion upon modern civilization, which is itself the outcome of Christian influences, however much Atheists and Anti-Christians may think or say to the contrary. It is true, as will be shown below, that there are some races which will not submit to Slavery, preferring death, just as there are some races of men and beasts, and birds, which cannot be tamed, and prefer extinction; but the domination of stronger over weaker races has been the law of human life, whether developing into Slavery, Helotry, or Serfage. The subject to be discussed is:

I. With whom alone rests the power of suppressing this abomination.

II. How is it to be done with the least disturbance of the social system.

We dare not say that Slavery is inconsistent *in itself* with Christian life without ignoring the direct teaching of the Old and New Testament. Smarting with the sense of the bondage in Egypt, Moses in the twenty-second chapter of his third book of the Law, verse 11, repeating words spoken to him by Jehovah Himself, writes:

If the priest buy any soul with his money, he shall eat of the holy things; but the hired servant shall not eat of it.

And again in the twenty-fifth chapter, verse 44:

Of them (the heathen) ye shall buy bondmen and bondmaids.

And again verse 46:

Ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you to inherit as a possession: they shall be your bondmen for ever.

Down the whole of the chequered history of the chosen people to the date of the Epistle of St. Paul to Philemon, the status is recognized by the religious law of the nation. The distinction betwixt δούλος and μισθώτης, the slave and the hired labourer, is very marked, and St. Paul is not ashamed to call himself "the slave of Christ," and to write, that he has been "bought with a price." In writing about Polygamy in the previous essay, I argued that that institution had died out under the influence of Greek civilization, for no one can read Homer and the story of Hector and Andromaché, Ulysses and Penelope, and all the immortal legends of the great Græco-Latin races, even their

mythology, without recognizing that Monogamy, accompanied by Concubinage and Divorce, were deeply engrained in the common law of the people. In no passage of the New Testament is Polygamy even hinted at, while the existence of Slavery is obvious in the history of the period. We cannot, therefore, brush it aside, and say that God's written law forbids it. St. Paul, when he enumerated in the first chapter of the Romans all the frightful iniquities of the Gentiles, makes no allusion to Polygamy, because it did not exist, or to Slavery, because he did not with his knowledge of the Old Testament recognize it as a sin, though no doubt a status deeply to be deplored. St. Paul was a wise man, neither an enthusiast, nor a fanatic: he inculcated obedience to a tyrant like Nero, and founded no Total Abstinence, or Abolitionist Societies; he forbade no meats or drinks, and laid down no laws of celibacy.

Nor does the history of modern time since the introduction of Christianity help us. It is only within the memory of the living generations, that Slavery has ceased to be tolerated by any Christian nation, or Christian State; its cloven foot still presses the soil of Europe in Turkey; Europeans and Americans are reported to hold slaves in countries where that institution still flourishes. Even in countries like Egypt under the temporary protectorate of Great Britain, it still exists. In countries like the Transvaal Republic, if the name is not pronounced, the essence of the evil exists. It appears to be taking a new life in the shape of "Men Stealing" in the South Seas by the British Colonists in Queensland and Fiji, and of "fictitious service-contracts" according to the practice of the French planter in the Komóro Islands, and the Reunion.

More than this, the skirts of the garments of the Ministers of the Episcopal Church of England, and the Congregational Church of England, and (Heaven help the mark!) the Society of Friends, are not free from this unhappy stain. In *Mission-Life*, 1883, I published the whole story.

It transpired that the domestics of the ordained missionary were slaves, being hired from a slave-owner, who had the power to chastise them, and separate husband from wife, and parent from child. It transpired also that the native pastors of all denominations were the stoutest champions of this evil institution. I, and the late Sir Bartle Frere, in 1882 (it was almost his last appearance in public), tried to persuade the S.P.C.K. to withhold a grant to this college, but in vain. I tried in vain (August 14, 1883) to persuade the S.P.G. to forbid the practice in its missions. I was met by the argument of the Epistle of St. Paul to Philemon. Soon after came the French invasion of Madagascar, and it was hoped that the Hova natives, struggling for their own liberty, would give freedom to their

slaves: but it is not the case. Mr. Cousins, of the London Missionary Society, appeared in 1887 in the Committee of the Bible Society, and I asked him categorically in an assembly composed of men of every Protestant denomination, whether the scandal still continued, and he replied that it did. One member of the Society of Friends, Mr. Joseph Sewell, had the hardihood in a pamphlet published in London, 1876 (Elliot Stock, Paternoster Row), to denounce the custom, but he stood alone. I fear much that even to this day ordained ministers of the Church of England give their countenance to Slavery, in their own families. I shall be glad to be contradicted.

The Roman Catholic Missionaries go a step further. In *Mission-Life*, 1886, I showed, by quotations from the printed reports of the African missionaries, published in the *Missions Catholiques*, how they deliberately purchased children, boys and girls; how sums were subscribed by devout children in France to purchase a little boy, to be named "Pierre," or a little girl, to be named "Marie." They call it "Redemption." I know what redemption of a slave means by the sums collected to rescue poor Christians from the Barbary pirates; I can imagine now an African paying a sum to redeem his wife, or brother, or relative. I read in the third Book of Moses, chapter twenty-five, verse 48:

After that he have been sold, he may be redeemed again: one of his brethren may redeem him.

But the word "redeem" cannot apply to the deliberate purchase by a Frenchman of an African child. Livingstone tells us in his "Missionary Travels," p. 92:

I have never known an instance in Africa of a parent selling his own offspring. The children are first kidnapped, and then sold to the priests.

In the *Missions Catholiques*, 1883, p. 54, I read:

A l'hôpital de Zanzibar est annexée une école pour les petites négresses, que l'on rachète, ou que l'on enlève des marchands des esclaves.

And again, 1880, p. 220:

Les esclaves achetés à bas prix.

I think that I can say safely, that no Protestant missionary of any Society would lend himself to such transactions. But there is a tendency to error on the other side. A missionary can have no right to convert his station into a refuge for runaway slaves, or to preach abolitionist doctrines. This practice has been expressly forbidden to the missionaries of the Church Missionary Society. I regret to read in the report of the Anti-Slavery Society (of the Committee of which I am a member) a letter by a young

Missionary of very slight experience and extreme abolitionist views, which cannot but be very injurious to the quiet and peaceful work of the evangelist. St. Paul's example is distinctly opposed to such conduct. It must indeed be a painful sight to a missionary to witness the horror of the Slave trade, and of Slavery, and to be unable to protect runaway slaves; but a little reflection will convince him, that it is not his duty to interfere, and that he has not the lawful authority or requisite power to do it efficiently, and that he is forbidden by those, who send him out, to interfere, and that the Consuls of Her Majesty are as unable as himself, and are as peremptorily forbidden as himself, to meddle in matters beyond their jurisdiction.

I now proceed to notice the good side of Slavery in certain social conditions of the human race. The great dictionary of the Latin language tells us that the word "Servus" is thus derived. "Servus dictus a *servando*, quia Imperatores captivos " vendere, et per hoc servare, nec occidere solent."

A chief in Central Africa (Valdez, vol. ii. p. 201) remarked that it was customary for him to sell as slaves those who commit murder or robbery, or other crimes, and that, if slavery were put a stop to, what could he do with them, but put them to death? Another chief (*ibid.* vol. ii. p. 177) remarked, that he was sorry that the Portuguese were not inclined to countenance the slave trade, as he thought it better to sell than to put them to death.

Another writer (Monteiro, vol. ii. p. 20), while expressing himself strongly against slavery, remarks that

Despite the declamations of sensitive minds, as long as the barbarity of Africa remains, the barter of slaves will always be considered by philanthropists, as the only palliation to the ferocity of the laws that govern these nations.

It has occurred to some minds, that the premature abolition of slavery by force may lead to the merciless slaughter of prisoners, or cannibalism; the captives, being useless as an article of trade, must be got rid of. A New Guinea chief, hearing of the vast slaughter in the Franco-German campaign, remarked that the conquerors must have had an abundant supply of meat with so many bodies. On being informed, that they were not used for that purpose, his reply was, "Why kill them then? They would be valuable if sold."

We know how in India there were formerly slave-markets, and history tells us how slaves, like Joseph, have received the highest offices of the State; but Africa is full of surprises, and I read (Wilson, "West Africa," p. 179) how slaves, who conducted themselves well, *became themselves owners of slaves*. The writer knew several cases, where slaves owned *a larger number of bondmen than their own masters*.

Livingstone ("Zambesi," p. 49) tells a most extraordinary story:

A man, who was a pilot, told me, that he had voluntarily sold himself into

slavery ; he was all alone in the world and sold himself to a kind master. He got three thirty-yard pieces of cotton for himself, and immediately bought a man, woman, and child for two of the pieces, and had one left. He afterwards bought more slaves, and had at last enough to make up a large caravan with his own slaves.

In the third book of Moses, chap. xxv. verse 47, I read :

If thy brother wax poor, and sell himself unto the stranger or sojourner by thee.

One thing is clear, that Slavery was deemed only a misfortune, and that the holding of a slave was a privilege of wealth ; and it is only in later ages, and more enlightened communities, that it has been discovered to be a frightful moral delinquency, to be gradually stamped out.

For it leads to frightful evils, and has a dark side. Slaves were slaughtered to share the graves of their masters, they were tortured, cruelly chastised, starved, buried alive, carved into eunuchs, polluted into concubines ; all the social relations violated, wives torn away from their husbands, children from their parents : the status was frightful among the heathen, still more frightful among the Mahometans, and most frightful among the Christians in America. Livingstone remarks (" Last Journals," vol. i. p. 9) :

The lot of the slave does not improve with the general progress of civilization. While no great disparity of rank exists, his energies are little tasked ; but when society advances, the slave's lot grows harder ; the distance betwixt master and slave increases, as the lust of gain is developed ; hence one can have no hope for improvement in a slave's condition, unless the master returns to or remains in barbarism.

This shows, that the very existence of Slavery is incompatible with civilization, and therefore with Christianity.

Livingstone foresaw that the improvement of Africa by the introduction of agricultural plantations will make the lot of the poor slave worse ; but it is a comfort to reflect that escape is always possible in Africa. Already the rumour of plantations in Eastern Equatorial Africa is talked of by German speculators ; and it is even asserted, that a black man was only created to work, and must be made to work, and that the Missionaries should have industrial schools to teach them how to work. The French "Engagée" system is merely Slavery in disguise, and by treachery ; the practice of the planters in Queensland and Fiji to employ men to kidnap labourers, is Slavery by violence.

One of the saddest consequences of Slavery is, that it hardens the heart of the slave-owner, and the slave-holding community. They forget that the body of man is in the image of God, and may possibly become the temple of the Holy Ghost. They talk of it as black ivory or cattle ; they treat the slave

not as a fellow-creature but a beast. Livingstone remarked ("Zambesi," p. 103):

That custom has made the heart of a certain Spanish priest so callous, that he coldly told a poor man, that his kidnapped daughter could not be restored to him.

Consul Macleod of Mozambik in East Africa, in his book, 1860, vol. i. p. 276, mentions the peculiar aggravation of the form of Slavery tolerated in those territories, which are claimed now by Portugal, as being within her sphere of influence:

To keep the slave in subjection every opportunity is taken to destroy all natural affection. The son is made to flog the mother: the brother the sister: the father has to flog his own daughter and his wife. Women are made to flog, and under circumstances too revolting to be told: if two parties fall in love with each other, they are made to flog each other.

It is this callous state of mind, which leads some of our own nation to quote Scripture in support of Slavery. In past ages I read how Roman ladies used to flog their female slaves with iron whips. Travellers to Rome are shown the small tank on the Palatine Hill, full of fish, into which slaves of the Emperors were thrown as a punishment. I read how slaves were left to die on the march, or be devoured by wild beasts, or were killed by the slave-owner in a moment of anger. Unfortunately the African has got the idea in his head of property being possible in a man. A chief offered Livingstone a slave to look after his goats, but was unwilling to give him a goat. I read how a man sold his young and good-looking wife, because she was unfaithful; this inspired all the other wives with fear. I must remark that King Mtesa, the friend of Christian Missions, sent his favourite wife to be killed. Colonel Grant saw her following the executioner to the place of execution; so perhaps it is better to be a slave than killed.

So frightfully complicated is the subject, that I ask the thorough-going abolitionist, how he is going to dispose of the slaves, to whom he gives liberty. Mr. Felkin, in his "U-Ganda," (vol. ii. p. 299), tells us how the Mudír of Kordofán took credit for depriving a Greek Christian merchant of all the slaves, which he was conveying to the Nile, and ordered the boys to be turned into soldiers, and *the women to be then and there married*, as the only way of disposing of them. We read in the Letters of General Gordon, by Dr. Hill, that he distributed the female slaves, whom he released, among his Egyptian soldiery as wives on the march. The poor creatures were already wives and mothers torn from their homes. The release seems worse than the captivity.

It is a comfort to think that even in Africa some races are made of stuff that will not bend to Slavery. Livingstone tells us ("Zambesi," p. 597):

That no Kruman or Zulu, or in fact any of the Kafir tribes, can be converted into slaves. Neither in Kafir-land nor Be-Chuána-land has Slavery ever existed. And it is false that Slavery is only looked upon by the African as an ordinary incident of life.

Livingstone, in his "Last Journals" (vol. ii. p. 19), tells us

How he saw relatives bring three goats to redeem a sick boy who was emaciated. The boy shed tears, when he saw his grandmother, and his father shed tears also, when the goats were rejected. "So I returned, and considered "all the oppression, that was done under the sun, and behold the tears of the "oppressed, and they had no comforter" (Eccl. iv. 1).

Beltrame, a Roman Catholic Missionary in the Galla country ("Senaar and Shan Galla," vol. ii. p. 131), tells us

That a poor woman came down from the hills to claim justice for the murder of her husband, and the Turkish ruler ordered her at once to be sold as a slave.

He was an officer of the Khedive. A Missionary, on the authority of Sir John Kirk, reported, in 1879, how the Abbé de Baize, a French scientific traveller, who died soon after, sold two women into captivity, who had joined his camp for the sake of the protection of a European.

I have given some of these cases (always quoting my authority) that those, who attempt to rush into the subject and issue general orders of a vague kind, may reflect upon the vastness of the problem, and may not suppose, that I minimise the evil or am indifferent to it.

I now inquire how the evil is to be dealt with in a country, where the governors are Christians, or where the slave-owners are (nominally) Christian. Let us consider what was done in British India. Sir Bartle Frere, in an article in the *Fortnightly Review*, described how during his period of service the institution of Slavery, which had been the common law of British India, died away, and is now extinct. I was myself witness of the proceeding. In 1843 a law was passed of a very few clauses. By one any offence was equally an offence, where the sufferer was alleged to be a slave; by the other every right was equally a right, where the person claiming it was alleged to be a slave. Under the first provision incarceration or assault became punishable by a magistrate; by the second a so-called slave could always demand his freedom, and it was granted. In the course of a generation the domestic institution has died out. Had the abolitionists had their way, and a proclamation been issued abolishing Slavery under penalties, the streets would have been filled with aged and starving slaves turned out of their owners' homes, and there would have been a commotion all over India. When it is asserted, that Mahometanism cannot exist without Slavery, and that it would create a religious war to abolish the institution in Turkey, it is replied, that in British India there are fifty million Mahometans, and not one possesses a slave. In Tunisia the Bey abolished Slavery, and in Algeria the French stamped it out.

A warning voice has come from the Niger: some of the neo-Christian congregations, such as Bonny, consist chiefly of Slaves: to spread among them prematurely abolitionist doctrines, *before the Civil law of the country has abolished the status*, is to bring on a servile war, a terrible loss of life and outrages on the part of the slave-owner, and slaves. The self-willed abolitionist-fanatic, who has but one idea, cares nought for this. Christian Statesmen await the opportunity to do permanent good: the Church should use moral weapons only, following the example of St. Paul.

But how should a Missionary Society act when it is represented that members of the Church founded by the Society held slaves? The Archbishop of Canterbury stated in the House of Lords on April 12, 1883, and stated correctly, that in 1879 the Church Missionary Society laid down a rule, that any of the agents of the Society who held slaves should *ipso facto* cease to be such agents, and this rule was enforced. I have above stated how I failed to induce the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to pass the same rule for their Mission in Madagascar. The question has now arisen whether Missionary Societies ought not to go further, and adopt the policy of the extreme Abolitionist Party, "Fiat justitia, ruat cœlum."

In a newspaper published on the West Coast of Africa appeared the following lines in 1883:

Was this another instance of slave-holding practices by Sierra Leone men, therefore British subjects, professing Christianity? We fear it was, because we have too much reason to know that not a few Sierra Leone men, educated in mission schools, do not hesitate, when in heathen trading towns, to buy and hold slaves.

Now, if these men were British subjects, we may safely leave the matter to the Attorney-General of the Colony, as it is a felony for a British subject to sell or buy slaves anywhere, and punishable in the High Court of Justice in London.

In a letter written by "a native" to the *Lagos Times*, dated April 9, 1883, I find the following startling information as to the existence of slave-holding, slave-buying, slave-breeding, and ill-usage by members of the native Churches in independent Yáriba-land, both Episcopal and Wesleyan, and there is good reason to know, that the assertions are true:

This evil thing did not exist in the Yáriba Church in the very early days of the missions planted in the country; it seems to have been then tabooed, and faithful native Christian teachers assisted them to hold their people up to it. But after a time and with the acquisition of money, a desire was conceived by members to own, as of old in heathenism, property in their fellow-man, and gradually obeyed until it has become a general practice from which only the want of money to make purchases keeps converts. Liberated African Christians from Sierra Leone and elsewhere shared in the desire and practice. To the credit of the members of the Wesleyan Church at Abeokúta it is to be said, that

they were the last of the Christians there to adopt the practice. An influential party in their community, led by an able native agent, for a long time stood bravely and firmly against its introduction, till overborne by the weight and persistence of the opposition they encountered, when a concession was made to members of the Church to buy slaves, but not to sell them. But, as was said then by one of those who had stood against it, the concession to buy was equal to a concession to sell. He also remarked that this would prove, as it has proved, the ruin of Christianity in the country. Eventually, those who were opposed to the introduction of the practice, fell into it themselves, with those who were originally in favour of it ; and now there, as in other parts of the Yáriba Mission, in places not under British rule, slave-holding is a general practice ; an exception is not known. Christians buy slaves, breed slaves, sell slaves, own fellow-believers as slaves, and sometimes sell baptized fellow-Christians, their slaves, to heathens and Mahometans, a thing that may not be found in Mahometanism ; separate slave children from slave parents for the market ; are often harder upon their slaves than heathen slave-owners are, heathens themselves being witnesses ; are sometimes most unwilling to allow their slaves to buy their freedom, even though they be Christians like themselves, and these may, if they be women, have been made concubines or secondary wives of and have borne their masters children ; and would place most exorbitant prices upon them, where heathens would be content with an almost nominal sum ; would often demand from their slaves, even from poor women working for the support of themselves and their children, the payment annually of four or five bags of cowries, which value from about forty to fifty shillings, as interest on purchase money, where a heathen master is content to have only one bag ; are most unwilling to part with the system and have persecuted for it and been found ready and willing to invite the aid of heathens to the work of persecution. There is a mania everywhere in the Christian community for slave acquisition, which had seized pastors, catechists, and other agents also. A man's importance is measured by the number of slaves he possesses. And as amongst heathens, so among professed Christians, Slavery feeds Polygamy, and Christians may be found, to whom much respect is conceded by the Church, whose harems are more numerous than those of many a heathen on account of the larger number of wives. Slavery in the Churches has destroyed the brotherhood of Christians, since it prevents an equality of standing in the Church ; and this in a community where class distinction should not be known ! The cruelty of some Christian slave-owners, even of women, has been known to end in the lives of their slaves. Is this Christianity ? Is this the Christianity that we look forward to for the conversion of Africa from heathenism ? And where, beyond British territory, is it higher or better ?

Now the question which arises, and which I submit for consideration, is, What can a Missionary Society do to check such evils ? The state of things described is not within British territory, and therefore the State cannot interfere. A Lay Committee of a Society cannot interfere with the ecclesiastical discipline of a native Church : that is the prerogative of the Bishop. Nor could, under any circumstances, conditions be attached to baptism, which are not supported by the authority of the New Testament. Polygamists may be refused baptism, because they are notoriously living in a sin against the words of our Lord, "Male and female created He them," and the universal custom of the Church from the earliest ages ; but Slavery has never been placed under the ban of Christianity. In some Churches total abstinence from spirituous liquors has been made the condition

of Church membership. Against all such narrowing of the great invitation, "Repent and be baptized," I must protest.

All that a Society can do is to address a letter to **these Churches**, reminding them of the great example set to **them** by the British nation, to whom they owe the suppression of **the** foreign Slave trade and their knowledge of the Gospel, **and** exhorting them to adopt the four following principles:

I. Never to sell or buy a slave.

II. If their circumstances permit them, at once to free **their** slaves.

III. If their circumstances do not permit them, they are urged to treat their slaves as brothers, never to raise the hand against them, and respect the chastity of the female slaves.

IV. Let all children born henceforth be born free. Let **them** do this for Christ's sake, who bought them.

It appears to me that anything beyond this will stultify itself. The conscience of individuals should be appealed to; the pastors should enforce the Christian duty from the pulpit. We must recollect, that the West African Church is a weak native Church in the midst of a strong heathendom: it would be tantamount to breaking up the Church to excommunicate all slave-holders. And this was not the way, in which St. Paul dealt with the early Church. He was very gentle with their errors and backslidings. These Churches are independent; support their own pastors; hold their own synods, and are not to be dictated to by foreigners, however well intentioned. If they transferred their slaves to their heathen relations by real or fictitious contracts, it is not clear what would be the gain to the slaves. They might go through the form of manumission, and the slaves might next day be seized by the heathen chiefs and appropriated. The problem is one difficult to solve.

The Churchman, 1887 (with additions, 1888).

SUGGESTED LETTER FROM A MISSIONARY SOCIETY TO THE INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS OF THE AFRICAN CHURCHES.

DEAR BROTHER IN CHRIST.—We approach you individually in a spirit of Christian love upon a subject which lies very near our hearts. We claim no authority, but we ask you to suffer the word of exhortation. In all humility we remind you, that to our nation you owe your freedom from the terrible cruelty of the Foreign Slave Trade, that to British Government you owe your independence and your prosperity, and more than all things, to Missionary Societies you owe your knowledge of Christ, which surpasses in value all other possessions. If any one had a claim upon you, it is the Society, which has been, as it were, a Nursing Mother to your Infant Church.

Nor do we blame you for the past ; if you have erred, it is in ignorance, and from the proneness to particular errors, to which your nation is exposed. We allude to Slavery and Polygamy.

The first principle of our common religions, of yours and of ours, is the Brotherhood of Mankind, and their descent from one Man and one Woman, both created in the image of God. Can it be right therefore to hold your brother of the same race, colour, and language, in bondage, to sell and buy him like the beasts that have no soul, and perish, to abuse your powers by ill-usage of the men, and unlawful intercourse with the women ? In the day of Judgment what answer will you have to give, for you were indeed your brother's keeper ? Can you be said in any way to have known Christ, when you do such things ? Can you kneel at the Lord's table, when you have such grievous sins unrepented of, and unabandoned ?

In the spirit of love we exhort thee, as a dear and beloved brother :

I. Never to sell or buy a slave.

II. If your circumstances permit you, at once set free your slaves. Do it for the love of the Lord who bought you, and He will repay you. For your sakes he assumed the form of a servant, and died for you. He set you free from the bondage of sin.

III. If your circumstances are such, that you are unable to do so, treat your slave as a brother ; lift not your hand against him ; use no threatenings ; respect the chastity of your female slaves, and be to them as a father, and the Lord will reward you according to the measure of your good will.

IV. Let all children born of your slaves be free. Remember that children are an heritage of the Lord. It is He that fashioned and formed them in the womb, and gave them the blessing of life in this world, and hope of eternal life in the next ! Can you as a Christian withhold from these little ones the blessing of liberty ? Let the thought of your own children soften your heart !

For your own soul's sake let your bondsmen be set free, for remember, that it was the Lord your God who through the agency of the British nation brought you and your family and your nation out of the house of bondage. Take heed lest you abuse the kindness of the Lord, and worse things come upon you.

The second principle of the new Christian life, which is, indeed, equal to the first, is the equality of woman to man, the sharer of the same covenant, the inheritor of the same blessings, subject to the same infirmities, and through the blood of Christ, who died for all, the humble claimant for the same Salvation. And can a Christian man, who has indeed accepted Christ, and understood his precious promises, convert the woman, who was created to be the honoured companion, adviser, and the sustainer of man, into a mere object for debased sensual passions ? We have the words of our blessed Lord : "Male and female created He them." "They twain shall be one flesh." It was of a woman, without the agency of Man, that our Lord himself was born, being conceived by the Holy Spirit. Women were His holy companions in His earthly Pilgrimage, the last at the Cross and the first at the Sepulchre. No nation has ever risen to power and greatness, where women have been undervalued. Over the great Kingdom, which protects your nation, there reigns in the love of her subjects a woman.

We beseech you, brother, in the name of the Lord who bought you, be content with one wife, and free yourself from the deadly sin of Polygamy, in whatever form it appears among you. We only ask you to do what we do ourselves.

III.

ISLAM.

A.

IF the reader expects to find in this review a blind and wholesale abuse of Mahomet and his doctrines, and an uncritical disregard of the great fact, that one hundred and seventy-five millions at this moment adhere to this persuasion, he is mistaken. The subject is a very solemn one, and should be treated with solemnity. The writer has lived a quarter of a century in intimate acquaintance with Mahometans. The servants, who cooked his dinner, and waited at his table; the coachman, who drove his carriage; the horsemen, who were his companions in his rides; many of the clerks and officials, who engrossed his orders and transacted his business; the judges of first instance, who presided in the Civil Courts; the Collectors of the State-Revenue; and the superintendents of the police-stations were, in a very large number, followers of Islam, intermixed with an equal number of Hindus; and yet they were upright, trustworthy, and esteemed, full of affectionate interest, and entirely devoid of fanaticism. The Mahometan nobleman, or prince, is a born gentleman, stately in his bearing, courteous in his expressions, and yet dignified and reserved.

The great leading error, disfigurement, and misfortune of a Mahometan is simply this, *that he is not a Christian*. He has no idols to get rid of; no abominable customs, such as widow-burning, female infanticide, human sacrifices, or cannibalism, to be trodden down; his laws, his ceremonies, his customs, are reduced to writing, and in these latter days are printed. He is not ashamed of his past history, for his creed has filled a large page in the world's chronicles, overrunning large portions of Asia, Europe, and Africa. If the political influence of that creed is now on the wane, the propagandist power is by no means diminished. We must consider the phenomena of its existence with judicial calmness. It cannot be supposed, that such a mighty factor in the world's history came into play without the special sanction of the Almighty. The promulgation

of the doctrines of Mahomet is one of the greatest landmarks in history. Human sacrifices, idolatry, and sorcery fell before the approach of Islam; for there is found in its texts an expression of an everlasting truth, a rude shadow of the great spiritual fact, and beginning of all facts, "the infinite nature of Duty"; that man's actions never die, or end at all; that man in his little life reaches up to heaven or down to hell, and in his brief span holds an eternity fearfully and wonderfully shrouded from his sight and conception. The doctrine promulgated was so simple, that it could be understood at once, never forgotten, and never disproved; so consonant to reason, unassisted by revelation, that it seemed an axiom; so comprehensive that it reached every human state, and embraced all the kindreds and races of mankind. "There is no God but one God." Simple as was the conception, none of the earlier religions, fashioned by human intellect, had arrived at it. There were no longer to be temples, altars, or sacrifices, or anthropomorphic conceptions, but a God incapable of sin and defilement, merciful, pitying; King of the day of judgment; one that heareth prayers, and will forgive, so long as the sun rises from the east; a God not peculiar to any nation or language, not the God of the hill-country, or the plain country, of the Hebrew, the Egyptian, the Assyrian, the Hittite, the Moabite, the Greek, or the Roman, but the God of all, alone, omniscient, omnipresent, and omnipotent.

Much, if not all, of this grand conception had been borrowed from the Jews and the Christians, but it had been purged from the follies and degradations, with which it had been overlaid in the sixth century after Christ, and it had never been so distinctly enforced, nor so extensively and enduringly promulgated in such gleaming phraseology. It was, indeed, an indignant protest against the degradation, to which the Syrian, the Nestorian, the Greek, and the Koptic Churches had fallen in their insane discussions about Homousion and Homoiousion, and the awful mysteries of the Trinity, and the Divine Person of our Saviour. Until these latter days, when the germs of pure and healthy Christian belief are planted in every part of the world, where soil can be found ready to receive them, it had been given to no propagandist religion to find such immediate and vast expansion. It not only trod out the decaying and corrupted Christianities, but it passed beyond the bounds of the Roman Empire, the Euphrates, into regions, to which the Christian religion had never reached, and extinguished for ever the ancient ritual of the Fire-worshipper, and pushed on beyond the Indus, to hold its own against the great Brahmanical legends of India. The Arab merchant carried it backward and forward, and still to this day carries it, over the deserts of Africa, giving it to black races as the first germs of civilization; the Malay

pirate carried it to the cannibals and head-hunters of the Indian Archipelago, telling them of the natural equality of man before God, the abolition of priestcraft, and the certainty of a day of judgment, and everlasting happiness or torment. These doctrines may have lost their youthful vitality, but not their truth. Over vast regions they have propagated themselves, and are still propagating, by the force of their own superiority, for there is nothing in the simple formula to stagger reason, or make large demands on intelligence and faith. A neo-Mahometan does not undergo a conversion in the sense of the Christian Protestant Church, but merely a social transformation.

But much of the Paganism, which it tried to supersede, clung to its skirts; being but a human conception, it had not the power to sound the depths of the human heart. And the heathen, when he accepts Islam, is not a changed man, a converted man, born again, but the same man with a new formula, and a new creed; and a new law of commission and omission, but the same unrenewed heart. Then it was essentially an Oriental conception; it was crystallized into a civil and criminal code, which may have suited the Arab or the Oriental neighbours of the Arab, but was not susceptible of expansion to meet other wants, and other intellectual and social environments, of which its human framer in his limited knowledge had no conception. Herein is the Divine marvel of the Christian conception, fashioned, indeed, in an Oriental model, but capable of being adapted to every possible circumstance and state of culture of the human race. Thus it has happened, that Slavery and Polygamy are rightly or wrongly deemed to be part and parcel of the Mahometan faith, though among the fifty millions of Mahometans in India Slavery is absolutely extinct, and Polygamy on the wane. Thus also customs such as circumcision, abstention from certain foods, formal prayer in a language totally unintelligible to the worshipper, prolonged fastings, and lengthy pilgrimages, have survived into an age, which has outgrown such ceremonious observances, which laughs at so large a husk round so small a kernel of doctrine, not likely to survive under the scorching heat of public opinion, and the unsympathetic contact of a nineteenth-century Occidental civilization.

Still the very existence of Mahometanism unreformed seems incompatible with Occidental ideas. I read in the pages of the *Times* that the Sultan of Turkey presented the Grand Wazir with £1000 to defray the expenses of the ceremony of circumcision of his children, as a mark of Imperial favour. I wonder, whether any other Sovereign in Europe, or any Prime Minister of an European State, read this without a smile. The *Times* records also, that the Ex-Khedive Ismail was honoured at the

ceremony of the Selamlık with an invitation to take part in prayer with His Majesty, a marked favour and attention on the part of his Sovereign. General Gordon of Khartūm repaired a Mahometan Mosque, and had a great ceremonial on the re-opening: in a letter to his sister, published by Dr. Birkbeck Hill, he remarks, "This was a great coup: to me it appears that the Mahometan worships God as well as I do, and is acceptable, if sincere, as any Christian." Further on I read that he paid for the expenses attending the circumcision of a boy: it is not stated what the boy was: I trust that he was a Negro and not a Kopt. Such anecdotes as these produce an unpleasant sensation, and engender a doubt, whether Mahometanism is really a Religion, and not a mere Political Cultus. While I am writing, my eye falls upon the pages of the *Times*, which reports that when the first train ran from Belgrade to Salonica, at the Turkish frontiers, where the trains were changed, some Mahometans were in attendance, who slaughtered three sheep as a sacrifice. This foolish rite having been accomplished, the passengers got into the Turkish train and steamed off. Nothing can justify this. The Mahometan Religion was promulgated at a period in the history of the World, when the ancient practice of the sacrifice of animals had become obsolete: in all probability the forefathers of these Mahometan sacrificers had been Greek Christians, as there is little Arab or Turkish blood in Europe. I have lived a quarter of a century in happy intimacy with Hindu and Mahometan, but no such anachronous absurdity would have happened in British India. I am in full sympathy with men of other race, language, religion, and state of culture, but I cannot but condemn the acts recorded above.

It would be a bad time for the Christian Missionaries, if any large section of a Mahometan nation were to wake up to the fact, that men's minds grow wider with the progress of the suns, and were to add Monogamy to their existing dogma, though by no means universal practice, of total abstinence from all spirituous liquors, were to substitute a careful study in the vernacular of the really grand and beautiful portions of the Koran for the vain repetition of incomprehensible Arabic formulæ; were to add purity of morals to their existing purity of dogma, and to live the lives of decent Asiatics, adding a hatred of Slavery to their present hatred of idolatry and worship of images, whether by Pagan or Roman Catholic; if to this they add a careful study of the Old and New Testaments, which are in fact and in theory as sacred to them as to us, though they are totally ignorant of them, and still failed to be converted, and, setting their faces like flint against Christian interpretations of the Bible, were themselves to send out missionaries of a Reformed Islam, they would indeed

become a factor in the mission-field of a most formidable import. We may congratulate ourselves that they are as we find them. Many a Hindu is better than the religion, which he nominally professes, and his religion is incompatible with education and civilization. But every Mahometan is far worse than the religion, which he nominally professes; he never really understands it, for it is never taught in its integrity. If uneducated, he knows nothing beyond the dogma, the rite of circumcision, the daily prayers, and the annual fastings; if he is educated, he is either a debauchee, breaking the very laws of the faith which he professes, or he is notorious for his fierce prejudices, his intolerant notions, his entire deficiency of philosophical and historical acumen, and is despicable as an antagonist. The Mahometans in Turkey or Persia will talk wildly about the impossibility of a follower of Islam submitting to any law but that of the Koran and its accompanying traditions; but we in India know that fifty millions live very happily under Anglo-Indian codes of law without a particle of Mahometan law, except what relates to marriage and inheritance, and that a very large section of converted Hindus, or Neo-Mahometans, reject even that fragment, and prefer to retain the Hindu laws in these particulars.

Comparing the Hindu and Mahometan peasantry, the Hindu Pandit, and Mahometan Moulavi, the Hindu Rájá and Mahometan Nawáb, with each other, I do not think that the latter have truer notions of the Godhead, or purer notions of morality, than the former. If modern Hinduism has degenerated, so also has modern Mahometanism.

The book before us is one of great importance; the very best authorities admit, that it is an accurate representation of Mahometan doctrine and practice, and a most complete one. It errs on the side of exceeding rather than falling short of the requirements of the case, and there is a want of relative proportion of the length of some of the notices to the importance of the thing noticed; and the book would have been handier, if it had been of less bulk, and more available to students in being cheaper. Still it is a noble and important work, but it is the work of an able and experienced Protestant missionary, whose knowledge of living Mahometans, as distinguished from knowledge acquired from books, is confined to the Afghans of Pesháwar, thorough ruffians, and totally uneducated. The vision of a Missionary, in itself of necessity narrow, by the requirements of his holy calling, is, in this case, further contracted by the limited contact with the professors of the religion which he describes.

He states in his preface that his "intention is to give, in a tabulated form, a concise account of the doctrines, rites, cere-

monies, and customs, together with the technical and theological terms, of the Mahometan religion." I must admit that his task has been fully accomplished, and that no Missionary would be justified in entering upon the Mahometan field of labour who has not studied this volume. It cannot be too thoroughly understood that the epoch for the Missionary, pious yet ignorant, self-consecrated but untrained, is past. The brave savage does not inquire into the strength of his antagonist, but the skilful general takes no forward step, until he has obtained every possible information of the enemy's strength, resources and tactics. It is fair to state that the author's statements are remarkably sober, fair, and impartial.

His method of treating the subject appears to be very judicious. A dictionary is not pleasant for continuous reading, and is by its alphabetical necessity disjointed; yet for any *pro re nata* reference, commend me to a dictionary. We all know what time is lost hunting through tables of contents, or running the eye down an unscientific index. Having selected his topics, the author usually begins his notice by a quotation from the Koran, supplementing it by quotations from the traditions and esteemed Mahometan commentators; to this he has added quotations from European scholars. Now this is very conscientious and exhaustive treatment. A kind of doubt must, however, seize the mind of the reader, whether the author is acquainted with the Arabic language beyond spelling out the Koran, and whether he is acquainted with any of the European languages; for the subject of Mahometanism has been so elaborately discussed by French, German, and other Continental scholars, none of whom he quotes.

This opens out another question. Mahometanism extends from the Western Provinces of China, right through the Continent of Asia, as far north as Kazán on the Volga, to the Mediterranean and Black Sea, over some portion of Europe, over a considerable portion of Africa, as far as the Straits of Gibraltar eastwards, and southwards as far as Zanzibár on the East Coast, and the Basin of the Niger on the West. The author's personal knowledge of the practice of Mahometans is restricted to a small Province in Afghanistan across the Indus, and to the people of the Panjáb. The area is enormous, but the circumstances are extraordinarily different of portions of these religionists. There are millions under the rule of Great Britain, France, Holland, and Russia, strong Christian Governments, which know how to make themselves obeyed. There are millions under the rule of the Sultan of Turkey, the Khedive of Egypt, the Shah of Persia, Mahometan sovereigns, yet still exercising a reality of substantial rule. There are millions under barbarous systems of government, such as the Chinese Local Governors in

Chinese Tartary and the Province of Sechuen, the Amír of Afghanistan, the Amír of Khiva and Bokhára, the Sultan of Morocco, the Sultan of Zanzibár, and the Imam of Muscát; and there are millions without any semblance of Government at all, such as the inhabitants of the islands of the Indian Archipelago, the nomads of Arabia, and of the great African Sudán, which extends from the Nile to the Niger, and beyond to the Atlantic. There is great diversity in their practice and their tenets. The Indian and African would naturally be deemed very bad Mahometans from the contact of the corruption of their Pagan neighbours; the Egyptians are notoriously bad Mahometans, the Malays are only skin-deep converts.

The author, in his preface, hopes that the book will be useful (1) to the Government official called to administer justice to a Mahometan people; (2) to the Christian Missionary engaged in a controversy with Mahometan scholars; (3) to the student of comparative religions; (4) to all who care to know the leading principles of thought of 175 millions of the human family, who have adopted the tenets of Mahomet.

To the fourth class a consecutive treatise would have been more agreeable. It is difficult to conceive any one, who had not some direct duty to, or relation with, Mahometans deliberately reading a dictionary such as this. The third class would certainly consult the original documents, which are readily and amply available. The second and the first class will furnish the readers of this book. There are Christian Missionaries at this moment in Turkey, Egypt, Algiers, Morocco, at Zanzibár and on the Niger, in Persia, Afghanistan, and India; and they will have to use caution in reading this book, or they may be misled. Much of it is applicable to Mahometanism in its early period, but totally inapplicable now. Some of the precepts of the Koran are about of as much practical value as the Book of Leviticus. The convert accepts circumcision, repeats the Fatihah, abjures swine-flesh, and indulges in Polygamy up to four, and that is pretty well all that he knows of his new faith. Even the Maulawi themselves are found to be grossly and ridiculously ignorant. The Missionary, who has mastered the Koran, either in its original or a translation, and who studies Mr. Hughes' book, will be as much above the level of the knowledge of the people among whom he dwells, as one of the Old Testament Revision Company would be among the nominal Christians of towns in England.

There remains the first class, the Government official. This can apply only to the official in British India. The wildest enthusiast can hardly imagine a Mahometan Kadi, or Wali, or Kaimmakám, or the petty local tyrants of Morocco, Persia, and Afghanistan, or the Sheikhs of the independent nomads, or the

French *préfet* or *juge*, or the Russian military commandant, studying Mr. Hughes' book. But the official in British India is just the very person, to whom the book would be useless ; at least such is the opinion of one, who was judge and magistrate over Mahometans for more than twenty years. The Code of Positive Criminal Law and Procedure, and the Code of Civil Procedure, have made a clean sweep of Mahometan laws, and, as already stated, with the exception of the two reserved subjects of marriage and inheritance, civil decisions follow the precedents either of English or Roman law. When I consider the topics of Slavery, eunuchs, evidence, oaths, and land, they are only of antiquarian interest, as the Mahometans of India have no special law, or position on these subjects. Nor would the article as to the position of women in Arabia have any possible bearings on the circumstances of women in India, which are so totally different.

Two long articles have been introduced into the book from the pens of two distinct authors, which it would have been better to have omitted, as they have added to the bulk of a work with which they have nothing in common. One is an essay on Arabic writing, by Dr. Steingass, an interesting subject no doubt, but not in the least connected with the Mahometan tenets and customs. As a fact it existed in Arabia before the time of Mahomet, and is by rules of strict induction derived from the old Phenician alphabet, of which the earliest monument is found in the Moabite Stone. This character is used by all the literary classes of Hindus in Northern India, and by the Christians in Syria and Egypt. It is by no means a sacred alphabet, nor is it one restricted to religious uses. Still more unnecessary and improper was the introduction of a long article on Sikhism, by Mr. Pincott. The Sikhs are only Hindu sectarians, and it might as well be said, that a Baptist was not a Christian as that a Sikh was not a Hindu. It has no practical value at all, and has not even the merit of being a correct representation of existing facts. The Sikhs hated the Mahometans with a deadly hate, and, while they were in power in the Panjáb, desecrated their sacred buildings, confiscated their religious grants, and oppressed them in every possible way. Whatever fusion Nanak may have dreamt of, disappeared when Guru Govind commenced his career of vengeance upon his Mahometan oppressors, whose dominion in India he helped to annihilate.

The articles upon Jesus Christ, the Jews, Jerusalem, the Koran, Tradition, Mahomet, and Mahometanism, are of permanent value. So also are the notices of Scripture personages, such as Moses, Joseph, and others, from the Mahometan point of view. The account of the great festivals, the Id-ul-Azhá, Id-ul-Fitr, and the Muharram, is satisfactory. There is nothing

in the Koran to connect the first-named festival with Ishmael, but it is held by Mahometans to have been instituted in commemoration of Abraham's willingness to offer up his son as a sacrifice, and the son thus offered was Ishmael, NOT ISAAC. The writer of this paper once ventured to remark to an excellent and worthy native judge, that Abraham was ready to offer up Isaac, NOT ISHMAEL. With a kind and pitying smile he corrected me, remarking that a Mahometan only could know the truth of what Abraham, *who was himself a Mahometan*, did. An entire absence of historical and geographical knowledge is an important factor in an inflexible faith in a false religion.

No one, who has travelled in India and Turkey, can have failed to remark how totally different the mosques of the two countries are. The mosque of Sultan Sulimán at Constantinople has no resemblance whatever to the Jama Masjid of Dehli, and still less to the famous mosque of Cordova in Spain. Mr. Hughes, in his article on Masjid, "the place of prostration in prayer," points out the necessary feature of a mosque, the Mihráb, which indicates the direction of Mekka, and therefore the direction pointed in Cordova is precisely the reverse of the one pointed at Dehli, and the Mimbah, or pulpit, from which the Khutbah, or Friday oration, is recited. In the Court there are conveniences for water for purposes of ceremonial ablution. The Imam leads the devotions, the Muazzin calls to prayers from the lofty gallery of a Minaret; there is great dignity and solemnity and lifting up of heart in the whole ceremony. The writer of this notice has stood by the side of the Muazzin in an oasis of the great Sahára, and in the centre of crowded cities such as Constantinople, Damascus, Cairo, Banáras, and Dehli, as he sounded out over the houses far below, above the city's din, the cry that "God is great, and that there is no God but "one God. Come to salvation." The long rows of kneeling figures in the interior is an imposing sight. The worshippers are terribly in earnest, and the object of their worship is the Supreme Creator of the Universe, and the prayers, which are uttered in Arabic, though utterly unintelligible to the person praying, convey the noblest form of adoration clothed in the most majestic and sonorous phraseology.

Two more articles deserve notice, as they touch upon the relation of the religion of the Mahometans to the Civil Governor. From the Mimbah in the Masjid the Khutbah, or Friday oration, is delivered. Tradition hands down that Mahomet used frequently to deliver a Khutbah, fresh and new, and not the studied and formal oration which has now become the practice. It is the old story. In the beginning there were men gifted with the power of speech, and they spoke the living thoughts, that coined themselves into golden words, as they rose from the heart to the

lips. 'A generation followed, less spiritual and less vivid, who read their own written sermons. To them succeeded a generation still more lazy and stolid, who read the stereotyped words of others, but not necessarily the same formula. Mr. Hughes gives two or three selected Khutbah, and if only the hearers could understand them, they would be profitable for instruction and reproof; but it is doubtful, whether they are intelligible in countries, where Arabic is still the vernacular in a somewhat modernized dialect and pronunciation, and are totally useless in other countries. Besides, the great sin of ritual accompanies them, in that they are chanted in non-natural and sing-song tones, and the best Khátib was he who whined and intoned the best. The Prophet himself, with an astuteness which marks that superior intellect which he no doubt possessed, has left on record that "the length of a man's prayer and the shortness " of his sermons are the signs of a man's common-sense."

According to the best traditions, the name of the reigning Khalífah ought to be recited in the Khutbah, and this gives an interest to the article on that word. As the Pope of Rome and the Lama of Tibet, so also the Khalífah claims to be vicegerent of God by spiritual succession; but the question arises, "Who is the Khalífah?" The lineal descendants of the Prophet and the line of the Koreish were soon exhausted, and the fact that in Mahometan countries the name of the Sultan, or Amír, or Shah, is substituted for the Khalífah, has a deep significance. In British India the expression "Ruler of the Age" has been substituted by loyal Mahometans. The claims put forth by the Sultan of Turkey to the spiritual headship of Islam, beyond his own dominions, is shadowy in the extreme, and may be puffed away. The Sultan is by the male line a Turk from the regions north of the Oxus; by the female line he is a Circassian of the regions of the Caucasus. His ancestor, Bajazet, was defeated at the battle of Angóra, and carried captive in an iron cage by Timúr the Lame, the ancestor of the great dynasty of the Great Mogul of Delhi, which came to an end only in the year 1857 in the furnace of the Indian mutinies. The mighty monarchs, who ruled over India, would have laughed at the idea of any Imam in the Masjids of their kingdoms praying for anybody but themselves. Mr. Hughes sets out the absurdity of the claim of the Sultan of Turkey very clearly and very accurately. The assumption of the title by any one not of the Arab Koreish tribe is undoubtedly illegal and heretical, and is a mere gasconade of the irrepressible Turk.

One incidental advantage of the publication of such books as this, and the valuable works of Sir W. Muir, and the German and French authors, is that the attention of the champions of the Christian faith should be called to the phenomena presented by

this great Antichrist. It is not judicious to paint Mahometanism and its followers with colours that are not true. They are by precept, though not by universal practice, total abstainers, and so far on a higher platform than the average Christians. Polygamy is the exception. The present Sultan of Turkey and the Khedive of Egypt present an example of monogamy in high places. Slavery was the disgrace of Christians in the time of many of us still alive, and it will die out in Mahometan countries before the present generation has passed away. Toleration of other religions was ever the rule of Islam, whatever may be said to the contrary, as is evidenced by the existence of the fallen Churches in Western Asia, and North Africa, and by the great Hindu nation in India. The present century will possibly see the extinction of the last Mahometan independent kingdom; at any rate their claws have been cut, and they supply good subjects, and excellent public servants, and respectable members of society in India. The important point is that just as Paganism, and Nature worship, and the Brahmanical religion, and the Buddhist, must and do fade away under the scorching light of education and contact with other nations, Mahometanism, on the contrary, becomes stronger and more refined. It has nothing to fear in its essentials from science; it never claimed miracles; it appeals to a book, the most wonderful uninspired literary monograph, that the world ever saw, and the everlasting truths which, intermixed with much irrelevant and incoherent matter, that book contains. As the Christian writers, inspired by God, drew freely upon the contents of the Jewish books, so Mahomet was audacious enough to pervert both Christian and Jewish books to his own false purposes, giving a new colour and interpretation to the composite amalgam. A "Comforter" was promised (John xiv. 16) under the term *παρακλητος*. The Mahometan would read *παρακλυτος*, which being interpreted is "Mahomet," "the one that is praised." The names of Abraham, the Friend of God; Moses, the Word of God; Jesus, the Spirit God, are coupled with terms of deep respect with the name of Mahomet, the Prophet of God. In Isaiah xxi. 7, the Prophet sees in his vision "a troop of asses and of camels." The Mahometan interprets this as a prediction of Jesus, who came riding on an ass, and Mahomet on a camel. The name of our Lord is never uttered or written without expressions of respect. Once purged of the dross of ignorance and spiritual deadness, and set free from the defilement of Paganism, which clings to the skirt of its clothing, refined by such men as the Wahábi revivalists, who, as Mr. Hughes justly says in his article on that subject, are the Protestants of Islam, it will stand out as the religion of a pure and elevated Monotheism, with a code of the strictest morality, not ignoring but overshadowing the tenets

and books of the Jews and the Christians; and in the next generation men of the stamp of Sayyid Ahmad, of Aligarh, will be sent out as Missionaries of Islam all over the world. It is well, therefore, that the leaders of the Christian world should understand with what a power they may have to cope in the twentieth century, one more dangerous than Agnosticism, Atheism, and Indifferentism, because it simulates the truth, and is severely Propagandist.

The good Mahometan so many times a day prostrates himself, and coldly and proudly bandies words with his Creator, with a perfect belief of a future state. He feels no sense of his own sinfulness, or any need of a mediator, because, as far as he understands the law of his Prophet, he has fulfilled it. He has abstained from liquor and swine's flesh; he has not violated the sanctity of his neighbour's family; he has repeated the prescribed prayers and kept the prescribed fasts; he has cursed the infidels and idolaters, and is satisfied. In India he is on excellent terms with the Hindu idolater, and in Turkey on equally good terms with the Jews and the Christian idolaters, for he justly considers that the worship of images and pictures in the Roman and Greek Churches is in fact the *εἰδωλολατρεία* which is forbidden by the Torah, and the Anjil, and the Koran; by Moses, Jesus, and Mahomet. It might be thought by sincere Christians, that such a bending or broken staff of faith and hope would fail him miserably at the last moment of his life, but it is not so. He goes to his death with an assurance of Paradise, whether that death is peaceful or violent, for he is quite sure of his inheritance, having taken his Prophet at his word. Innumerable instances have occurred of this grand and dignified submission to fate. The disgraced Pasha accepts the bow-string without a murmur; the mutinous soldier proudly looks his last unquailing look as he stands under the gallows; the Cadi, detected by his Sovereign in the practice of the very vices which he was commissioned to prevent in others, and condemned to death, made no palliation, and asked for no mercy, but told the bystanders to throw open the shutters and tell him from what quarter of the heaven the sun was rising, and bowing his head to the sabre, he said, "The Prophet has said that so long as the sun rises from the east, so long God will have mercy on His creatures." It is the same in ordinary private life. The writer of this notice one day missed in his audience-chamber a much-respected Mahometan official, wise and gentle, well-informed and faithful. At evening his son came, and reported the death of his father; and described simply how, when he felt his end near (and it came suddenly), he asked to have a copy of the Koran placed in his hands, and then, covering his head with a sheet, he calmly awaited the coming of the angel of death, Azrail. Now, if all

Mahometans were of this type, their conversion would be impossible. Under any circumstances, the progress must be slow, and so it has proved. Whole islands of degraded Nature-worshippers may be gathered in, while one Mahometan is being converted. The study of the sacred books of the Book-Religions of the world, which are now revealed to us, may convince us how serious the task is that lies before us, but none the less is it our duty to grapple with it. Poor weak men must sow the seed ; it is the Lord alone that gives the increase. We accept His great commission. We believe in His promise that accompanied it.

A Dictionary of Islam. A Cyclopædia of the Doctrines, Rites, Customs, and Theological Terms of the Mahometan Religion. By THOMAS PATRICK HUGHES, B.D. (1885).—REVIEW, *Record*, 1886.

B.

Mr. Joseph Thomson, the African traveller, wrote an article in a Monthly Periodical, in 1886, on Mahometanism in Africa. The gist of it is that to Islam is to be attributed the transformation of savage tribes into semi-civilized Nations, and that there is something terribly wrong in our method of teaching Christianity in Africa. According to him a good Mahometan is better than a skin-deep Christian, and Mahometanism is good enough for the Negro brain to assimilate. He is so well known as a brave, gentle, and sympathetic leader of explorations into Equatorial Africa, although a very young man, that I regret that he should have erected such a wide theory on such narrow premises, and expressed an opinion on one of the gravest subjects of human interest with such little experience. About the evils of the Liquor Traffic, and the importation into Africa of firearms, and gunpowder, which cling to the skirts of Christianity, I can express as deep a condemnation as he does ; but I must remind him, that such things are no more essential parts of the Christian Faith than Polygamy and Slavery are of the Mahometan Dogma. It is true, that the Mahometan doctrines of the Unity of the Godhead, the certainty of the Day of Judgment, the Equality of all men before God, and the great law of Duty, are truths, which the Mahometan Religion presents to the Pagan world in their simplest form ; but these truths were avowedly borrowed by Mahomet from the Bible. And on the other hand, if Mr. Thomson in his last journey up the Niger had fallen into the company of Bishop Samuel Crowther, Archdeacon Crowther, Archdeacon Johnson of Lukója, or the Rev. James Johnston, Pastor of a Native Church in Lagos, all pure Negroes, he would have learnt from their lips, that Repentance, Faith, Justification by the

merits of a Saviour, Sanctification by the Holy Spirit, leading to the birth of a new man and a consistent walk in life, are truths quite as blessed, quite as simple, quite as intelligible to the meanest intellect, with the additional advantage of transforming the whole nature of the believer, as evidenced by the character and life of the four Negro clergymen, whose names I have quoted.

Mr. Thomson dilates with all the zest of a new discoverer on the phenomena of Oriental life, so familiar to all, who have spent their lives in India: the call of the Muazzin to prayer from the minaret, and the stereotyped prostrations, repetitions and ablutions of the Faithful, delight him: he even alludes to the Mahometan schools for teaching the Koran with praise, and notices with satisfaction, that some students from the Region which he visited, had found their way to that great Entrepot of Ignorance, the Mosque of El Azhar at Cairo, which the writer of these lines has lately visited. He does not mention, that these calls to prayer, these prayers, and that Sacred Book, are in a language totally unintelligible to the people, and even the leaders of the Congregation, who intoned them, and that these schools positively teach nothing worth knowing, because the teachers know nothing. This is no idle assertion, as the nature of the teaching in the Mahometan Schools of India amidst a proud, wealthy and powerful population has been tested, and compared to them the Fulah States of Central Africa, visited by Mr. Thomson, are mere savages. The Vernacular of these tribes, Hausa, Surhai, and Fulah, are beautiful forms of speech; but all prayer, praise and instruction is restricted to Arabic, as totally unknown to the Negro worshipper as Latin to the English Sunday Scholar. I need scarcely add, that the Christian prayer, praise, and instruction are in the Vernacular known to the men, women and children of the tribe, who are able to hear the story of the wonderful work of God, and the great Plan of Salvation, each in his own vulgar tongue, in a form and manner calculated to arouse the Conscience, or as they call it "Heart-voice," which has slumbered so long, and which under Mahometan teaching is never awakened, for it is not part of the Mahometan conception to convince a man of Sin, and lead him to repentance.

Mr. Thomson's experience of men and countries is very limited. Had he visited India, Ceylon, China, and Japan, he would have been aware, how little any Religion at all, even Christianity, has to do with human culture. The history of the Greek and Roman races, before the Christian era, taught to him at school, should have taught him this. The sight of the grand cities, the noble monuments, the mighty empires, built up by Idolaters, and maintained in splendour for centuries,

would have enlightened him, and he would have learnt another lesson, that the great monotheistic Mahometan Dogma palpably injured, relaxed, and even destroyed this civilization, and that Christianity has often done the same. Had he conducted his first expeditions among the Nation of Oceania, who sit in the lowest steps of human culture, and then found his way to Eastern Central Africa, South of the Equator, the great Bantu race, amidst whom he travelled so happily and successfully, he would have remarked the gradual rise and improvement in the strata of barbarous, miscalled savage, races, arising from causes independent of any supernatural conceptions, which we call "Religion." When in his last expedition he penetrated into Western Central Africa North of the Equator, he found himself unexpectedly in the midst of the great Negro race in its finest type and development, dwelling in towns and villages, cultivating the soil, grouped into powerful States, able to protect themselves from the Slave-dealer, and the Liquor Traffic, ruled over by Chiefs of a race superior to their own, the Fulah, with a veneer of Mahometan culture and dogma. Mr. Thomson too hastily attributes this prosperity, and advancement, to Mahometanism. If ever he had visited Rajpútána, or South India, or China or Japan, he would witness a much higher development of culture without the possible insinuation of Mahometan influence. The Negro race is susceptible of the highest culture, if it only has the chance of developing it. It had that chance in the Oriental phase in the Kingdoms of Sokoto and Gando, which Mr. Thomson visited. It is still having it in the Occidental phase in Sierra Leone, Lagos, and other portions of the West Coast of Africa. It never had a chance in the Egyptian Sudán, although that unhappy region had plenty of opportunities of acquiring Mahometan dogma, and Egyptian culture, from the Pasha and his rabble troops, from the Arab nomads of the great desert, grand specimens of humanity, from the Mahdi and his holy Dervishes, and that pink of Mahometan Chivalry, the Slave-dealer, who will pray five times a day, keep all the fasts, be a model Mahometan, and yet sack villages, ravish women, kill infants, and carry helpless Negroes into captivity, and sell them as slaves.

The Christian Religion properly taught has a divine power to reach and change the heart. The Mahometan dogma rests on the surface, and shows itself by the mode of tying the turban, trimming the moustache or whisker, the ordinary salutations of Society, the particular things not to be eaten, the mode of killing animals for food, the language and form of prayer, the modes of genuflexion, and nothing more. He that is filthy is still filthy: he that is licentious is still licentious: he that is not held back by his own sense of human pity from committing murder, or violent crime, will not be held back by the tenets of Islam.

The heart is not changed, nor pretended to be changed. A Pagan by becoming a Mahometan recedes from rather than approaches the possibility of being a Christian. I freely recognize, that the dogma of Mahometanism has been in many countries a factor for the abolition of abominable customs, because Mahometanism is the outcome of the culture of mankind in a civilized country in the sixth century of the Christian era, and operated upon races far behind the great Arian and Semitic Families, who were the advance-guard of Civilization. I freely admit that, when contrasted with the conceptions of such backward races, it represents a great advance of the Religious conception, because it is based upon the Bible. The word "Islam" itself is a grand and beautiful idea. But there I draw my line. In its hatred for idolatry the Mahometan Religion deserves our gratitude, and respect, as a protest against the lamentable errors of the fallen Christian Churches of Western Asia, Northern Africa, the Greek, and the Roman. I can go no further, and but for the respect, which I bear for Mr. Thomson's character, as a blameless leader of African expeditions, I should scarcely have troubled myself to reply to statements so palpably wrong. His errors must be imputed to the novelty of the phenomena presented to his notice, and to his imperfect study of the people, as he was innocent of any language but his own: not to any perverse desire to dishonour the Religion, which he professes, or to give occasion to the enemy to blaspheme.

The Record, DEC. 24, 1886.

C.

The Mahometans of British India according to the last Census amount to fifty Millions, and their number is increasing by the peaceful absorption of Non-Arian Pagans. Of the whole number not much less than half are found in the Province of Bangál, who are lax Mahometans, nominally converted. In the Panjáb are ten Millions, some of whom are of the stock of the original invaders, but in the time of the Great Moguls many great tribes were, by force or bribes, converted, and are Mahometans without giving up their proud Caste-title of Rajpút, and preserving their own Hindu customs, having the force of law with regard to Marriage and Inheritance. One of the Chieftains of a great Rajpút clan is a Mahometan, and rules without prejudice over his Hindu clansmen. Many of the Indian Mahometans would be considered very lax professors of their faith, for they sacrifice to local Deities, and let their wives sacrifice to Sítala, the Goddess of Small-pox: they keep a Hindu family-priest, are very remiss in their prayers, not one word of which they understand, and totally neglect their fasts: to some

extent Hindus and Mahometans go to the same shrines: in two districts I discovered that they intermarried. There is a great deal of opportunity for a Wahábi Reformer, but it is as well for the peace of the British Empire, that they should be as we find them. They are quite as much observers of Caste-Rules as the Hindus, and it is with a feeling of surprise, that the Englishman finds himself allowed to eat and drink with a Mahometan in Kashmír, as he is in Western Asia, and North Africa. One thing is obvious. Under the scorching light of Education, and the electric contact with other nations, Buddhism, Hinduism, Fire-worship, Nature-worship wither away, and become despised: but this is not the case with the Mahometan: he has nothing to be ashamed of in his tenets, if he can once understand them, and of his Koran, if he can read it in the original, or a Translation, and act up to it. He may yet be a powerful factor in the History of India, and a fierce antagonist to the spread of Christianity.—*Essays on Races, and Religions, and Languages of India, Linguistic and Oriental Essays, 1887, Second Series, p. 68.*

D.

I had twenty-five years experience of the Mahometans of Northern India, being in their midst, employing them as my servants, public and private, transacting public business with them, and enjoying their society, as well as valuing their friendship. I have since travelled in Turkey, Trans-Caucasia, Syria, Egypt, Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco, observing the Mohometan population with a critical eye, and I am at a loss to know why they have been described by some in such black colours. My acquaintance with the inhabitants of the entire littoral of the Mediterranean Sea enables me to state, that the lower classes of the South and North Coasts, as regards the religious conception, and religious practice, are very much at a par: the one prostrates himself in a Mosque, and repeats unintelligible words to the great Creator in Arabic, the other prostrates himself before a hideous idol of the Virgin Mary, or a local Saint, and repeats unintelligible words in Latin or Greek. Their sobriety and chastity are very much at a par. The ignorance of the ordinary Oriental Christian, the Spaniard, Italian, and Greek may be equalled, but scarcely surpassed by the Mahometans of Egypt, Syria, and Algeria.

At any rate our duty is clear to carry the Gospel in the very best way, that opportunity offers, to every nation under the sun, and to leave the result to God. It is a matter of Duty, not of Choice. Woe unto us if we preach not the Gospel!

The Record, DEC. 30, 1887 (with additions, 1888).

IV.

CASTE.

A.—CASTE IN THE WORLD.

I CONSIDER myself fortunate in having the opportunity to bring this subject forward in an assembly presided over by you, Sir Arthur Hobhouse, for the following reasons. Those who, like myself, have spent their lives in India, have the reputation of being prejudiced in favour of the people; those who stay at home, sometimes from incorrect reports, conceive a feeling against them. You, Sir, who had the privilege of taking mature English experience to India, and of bringing back Indian experience to England, are able to hold the scales fairly betwixt those, who know the people too well, and those, who do not know them personally at all.

The subject of Caste is one of considerable importance. There exists unquestionably a social institution in British India, which is found nowhere else in such compact rigidity: it lays claim to considerable antiquity, and is a social phenomenon, which cannot be overlooked: it is proposed to examine the features of this institution.

It is of no practical advantage to discuss the origin of Caste. Of one thing there is no doubt, that it is not alluded to in the Rig-Veda, as a social feature of the early Arian population. The Post-Vedic Laws of Manu lay great stress upon Caste, but it is not clear, when these laws were compiled, by whose authority, and in what part of India. The idea has been hazarded, that they were compiled at a comparatively late date, with a view of upholding Caste against the levelling tenets of the Buddhists. At any rate, they have no more binding force upon the people of India generally than the Book of Leviticus has upon Europe. We shall see further on that eighty-six per cent. of the population of British India does not belong to either of the Priest, Warrior, or Merchant Castes of the Books of Manu, but are members of the Sudra Caste, or of a mixed Caste, or absolutely without any Caste properly so called. The subdivision of a nation into Priest, Warrior, and Merchant

classes, with a fourth for the common herd, is not unusual in Oriental nations. It is notorious that the difficulty, where it exists at all, is found among the lower Castes, the great majority of whom cannot be included under any pretence in the lowest of the Castes of Manu, and this ought to be convincing, that the question is not one practically of religion, but of deep-rooted social custom and tribal etiquette, among a people, who really have no religious conception in the sense, in which that word is known by Christian and Mahometan. The Sanskrit term for Caste is "Varna," or "colour," clearly alluding to ethnical features. The ordinary term is "Jati," or "birth," an elastic expression, like the "good family" of England. The people themselves call it "Bhaibundi," or "brotherhood," as the essence of the matter lies in the fact, that it is a close link uniting sections of the community by unwritten laws of their own devising.

Caste has certainly a good side, and its sudden destruction, or collapse, would entail considerable evils by the complete disorganization of society, which would ensue. I would ask the question, whether those provinces of South-Eastern Asia, where Caste does not prevail, such as Afghanistan, Barma, Ceylon, the Settlement of the Straits of Malacca, and Hong Kong, are more easily governed; whether the people are more moral, or advancing more steadily in the paths of civilization and education, than the people of British India, who are absurdly described, as enslaved by Caste? One of the most time-honoured maxims in the science of government is that famous phrase "Divide et impera," and in Caste we have ready-made fissures in the community, which render the institution of secret societies, so common and so dangerous among the Chinese and Malays, almost impossible in India.

The striking features of Caste may be described as (1) matrimonial; (2) religious, or rather quasi-religious; (3) social. We must consider each separately.

The rules of Caste are of course theoretically bad in preventing the free intermarriage of tribe with tribe, just as it was bad in Rebecca not wishing her son Jacob to marry one of the daughters of Heth; as it was bad in Nehemiah compelling the Jews, after the return from the captivity, to put away their wives of the country; as it would be bad in a quiet British family shuddering at the idea of one of their younger members forming an alliance with a Negress, a Gipsy, a Chinese, or a Malay. Many speak of the vast country of India, as if it were occupied by people of one race, one religion, one rank in life, instead of being the habitat of infinite varieties of the human race. Moreover, ever since the world began, and as long as it lasts, there will be a restriction, based upon

unwritten and most capricious law, upon promiscuous alliances in marriage, and the fault of the natives of India is, that it has been made so rigid. The better class of Mahometans are, however, in this respect quite as strict, and among native converts to Christianity of undoubted excellence we find, that this difficulty cannot be got over, and that a man of good family will seek for a wife among people of his own Caste, and no equitable person could find fault with him for doing so.

Caste is thoroughly bad, and worthy of all condemnation, if it encourages the notion, that all mankind are not equal in the face of God and of their fellow-creatures, just as it was bad in the Greeks looking upon all the world as barbarians; as it was bad in the Jew asserting a superiority over the rest of mankind; as it is bad in the Anglo-Saxon asserting a superiority over the uncivilized weaker races and the aboriginal tribes, with whom he comes into contact. But the question may fairly be stated, does Caste do so? Individual fatuous Brahmins may in their shrine, or their seclusion, say so or think so; but we are dealing with the millions, and I lay down broadly, that the members of the thousand respectable Castes, which make up the population of India, do not assert, that their particular Caste is something *better than, or superior to*, the Caste of another, but that it is *different from* that of another, and they would object to eat or intermarry with the members of a Caste notoriously *superior* just as much as with a Caste notoriously *inferior*, or even with particular subdivisions of their own Caste, separated from them by some imperceptible shade of difference.

Caste may lastly be called bad in placing restriction upon promiscuous commensality, and thus limiting the form of hospitality and good-fellowship, which is common in Europe, just as it was bad in the Egyptians considering it an abomination to eat with the Hebrews, and in the Hebrews a thousand years later objecting to eat with the Gentiles. I could quote numerous other cases of tribes and classes refusing to eat together from notions of ceremonial purity both in ancient and modern times. The habits of Oriental life must be considered: insensibly certain kinds of food are objected to by one class and indulged in by others. Some classes are exceedingly nice and clean; others are very much the contrary. The hand is the only instrument used in feeding: the state, in which that hand is kept, is therefore a consideration. Besides, we know as a fact in Europe, that one of the main tests of the division of the social strata is that of taking food together or separately. It would be repulsive in the extreme to be compelled to eat and drink with those, whose vocations are nauseous, and habits uncleanly, or whose tastes in the choice and mode of preparation of food differed materially. As the social ladder is

mounted, there arises an assimilation in culture and personal niceties, yet still by an unwritten law the table of persons is kept separate, who are intimate in other relations of life. We find, therefore, the groundwork of a common law of humanity even in the exaggerated law of Caste with regard to the modes of eating. It is an error, however, to suppose that any restriction is thereby placed upon hospitality. I have myself accepted the hospitality of the highest Castes of Hindus, and dined by the side of the host, who excused himself courteously of partaking of the food for reasons, which I quite understood; and I have, on the other hand, entertained scores, both Hindu and Mahometan, by entrusting to others the details of the banquet, and this is the practice of good-fellowship all over India. The Mahometan in Turkey shares the food of the Christian, but it does not follow, that he is on that account more intimate with Europeans than his fellow-religionist in India is with the Hindu and Christian, whose food he would not touch.

I have dwelt upon these features of Caste to show, that it is one of the Old World customs, which has unluckily survived in India in a hard and crystallized form to the present day, while other nations under the influence of progress have toned it down, or abandoned it altogether. Among such customs may be reckoned domestic Slavery of the gentle and patriarchal type, child marriage, Polygamy, restriction on re-marriage of widows, belief in magic and divination, cremation of the dead, painting or seaming of the features and limbs, swathing of the feet, circumcision, and even blood feuds and duelling. It is difficult for Europeans in the nineteenth century to understand, how any one of such customs can be defended in theory, far less practised by intelligent and educated men; and yet no wise ruler of an Oriental people would venture, except in an indirect and cautious way, to interfere with such customs, which must rather be left to the slow but certain discipline of intellectual, moral, and religious progress. As regards abominable customs, offending against laws Human and Divine, such as human sacrifices, burying alive of lepers, female infanticide, traffic in slaves, mutilation of the human body, and threats of immolation, the Government of India has not been wanting in measures of stern repression.

When I said above, that Caste is not noticed as existing in Vedic periods, I did not forget the famous stanza in the Rig-Veda, of which such liberal use is made by the antagonists of the custom. It runs thus :

The Brahmin is his mouth ; the Kshatriya was made his arms ;

What the Vaisya was that was his hips ; from his feet sprung the Sudra.

Now it is worthy of remark, that this stanza is not written in Vedic or Archaic Sanskrit, but in the modern form of that

language. What should we think of lines of Ciceronian Latin found in the Laws of the Ten Tables? Again, the word "sudra" is of unknown origin, and not grammatically connected with any Vedic word. But even if the lines be genuine, they imply nothing beyond what is expressed in other countries in poetic diction; in other words, that the Priest is the mouthpiece, the Warrior the arm of defence, the Merchant the sinew, and the Working Man the groundwork, of the body politic.

In this argument, however, I set aside the Hindu Scriptures, as having no direct relation to the issue, and turn to the reports of the last official Census of British India, as I have to deal with Caste, not as it was three thousand years ago, but as it is now, after seven hundred years of Mahometan, and one hundred of Christian domination.

The striking results are that there are: Brahmin, ten millions; Kshatriya, five millions; other Castes, one hundred and five millions; without recorded Caste, ten millions; Mahometan, fifty millions; Non-Arian, eighteen millions; making a total of one hundred and ninety-eight millions.

Now, taking the Province under the Lieutenant-Governor of Bangál as a fair sample for analysis, I find out of a total of sixty-four millions, sixty-nine specified Castes, although the number of separate tribes and Castes is calculated at little less than one thousand; and if the minor subdivisions, such as gotra, sept, and clan, are taken into consideration, the number will swell to many thousands. There are four superior and three intermediate Castes, and then come the following: trading, pastoral, preparers of cooked food, agricultural, general servants, artizans, weavers, labourers, sellers of fish and vegetables, boatmen and fishermen, dancers, musicians, and beggars. In the North-west Provinces there are two hundred and ninety-one specified Castes; in Oudh, seventy-seven; in the Panjáb, nineteen; in the Central Provinces, forty-eight; in Bombay, one hundred and forty; in Madras, seventeen. Clearly the takers of the Census have not followed out the same principle of enumeration, and upon the data thus supplied it is not possible to arrive at an accurate detail of the Castes of British India, but it is evident, that their number far exceeds what was contemplated by the ancient men, who codified the Laws of Manu.

It must not be supposed for a moment, that the members of any Caste are restricted to any one particular trade, profession, or calling. This is one of the greatest of the inaccuracies, into which writers on this subject have fallen, and the assertion, that the institution of Caste confines a man and his family for ever to the grade, in which he is born, prevents his rising to a higher class of society, whatever may be his character and merits, will not stand the test of inquiry. The history of the Marátha and

Sikh nations tells the story of the upheaving of the lower Castes ; and what is there in the present social state of British India to prevent a duly qualified man rising to the highest walks of life without reference to his origin or Caste ? Successful adventurers are known to improve their Castes as they get richer. Fictitious Castes are a device as common as fictitious pedigrees. The ten millions of Brahmins have no doubt been recruited from several inferior Castes and from the issue of mixed marriages, for their ranks contain specimens of the most opposite physical types. If any one supposes that Brahmins, as a general rule, are engaged in priestly duties, or that any proportion of them lay claim to any arrogant superiority over their fellows, he is greatly mistaken. A gentleman is always a gentleman, and the long hereditary culture of the Brahmins has told upon their appearance and manners. Their ranks supply many of the ablest public servants of the State, though by no means a majority of the official ranks, and they are themselves subdivided into so many numerous tribes, that a kingdom, composed solely of the ten million Brahmins, would still be indelibly streaked by Caste, for there are as many subdivisions of Brahmins as there are great Castes of Hindus, and as completely separated in the matters of matrimony, commensality, and social intercourse. The Gour Brahmins would shudder at the possibility of any communion, beyond that of general acquaintance, with the Kashmíri Brahmins, who represent the ablest class in Upper India, but are eaters of flesh (excepting beef) and drinkers of spirits, which are abomination to the Gour Brahmins. The Sáraswat Brahmins, who abound in the Panjáb, eat and drink with the Khatri Caste, and are employed in servile duties. Nor have the Brahmins even the monopoly of priestly duties or of sanctity ; at many shrines other Castes officiate. With the great Sikh nation the Khatri Caste has quite superseded the Brahmin. In the Anglo-Indian army there is an abundance of Brahmin soldiers under the orders of low-Caste men and of Mahometans. Brahmins are always sought after by Hindus as cooks, a useful but not honourable or sacred position.

The Kshatriya Caste, if existing at all, is represented by the Rajpút and Khatri. In considering the Rajpúts, the new anomaly presents itself, that thousands of these have become Mahometans, but still claim to be Rajpúts, keep up their own family customs and law of inheritance, attend the weddings of their own Hindu tribal brethren, have their particular bard and family priest. No intermarriage and actual commensality is possible ; but still it is a wonderful instance of the elasticity of the Caste system, when the breakers of Caste have power and numbers on their side. The Rája of one of the Mountain Rajpút States in the Himaláya is a Mahometan Rajpút, ruling

over his Hindu brethren. Rajpúts take every kind of service requiring fidelity or strength ; but the arm has to wield the pen as well as the sword, and at a period probably subsequent to the Laws of Manu the art of writing was imported from the West into India, and a powerful group of Castes, un contemplated in the original division of mankind, came into existence, viz. the "men of the pen," or the Writer-Castes, who are not likely to be overlooked or crushed in any part of the world. They are known by different names in many parts of India, such as the Khatri, the Káyat, the Parbhu, but it must not be supposed that these classes monopolize the right of using the pen. It would be impossible to follow in detail the other hundreds of Castes, but, imperfect as confessedly our knowledge is as to the ramification of Castes, we can see clearly, that religion is the smallest factor in the system. For the sake of exhausting the subject, it may be stated, that Caste has arisen from the operation of three causes : (1) religious or quasi-religious, (2) professional, (3) ethnical. We can hardly suppose that any person would argue, that the origin of any of the Castes, bearing obvious trade and professional names, was religious, as such are clearly hereditary guilds. Still less could it be urged, that the Caste of dancing-girls, jugglers, musicians, beggars, thieves, and other baser occupations, had the sanction of religion ; and yet the great mass of the population is divided into such kinds of Caste, and so entirely do the people mix up the questions of Caste and profession, that a watchman is generally spoken of by the Caste to which he belongs, as the men of that Caste are all watchmen, and the great backbone of the population of the Panjáb is described indiscriminately as "Ját," which is their Caste, or Zemindár, which is their calling, as agriculturists.

Those, who have not studied the mode, in which the motley population of India has been built up, hardly appreciate at its full value the effect of the ethnical fissures in the lower strata. The Chamárs of the North-west Provinces amount to three millions and a half, scattered in every part of the Province, employed in hereditary servile duties, or in trades of an offensive character, allowing themselves the licence of eating carrion or the flesh of unclean animals, worshipping other gods than those of the Hindus, who avoid even their touch. In every village, moreover, there is a Helot class, engaged in servile duties as watchmen, sweepers, scavengers, removers of the dead, contact with whom is shunned, as that of the Cagots in the South of France, where the same feeling has survived the European culture of many centuries. It is clear, that the Shanárs of South India are ethnically distinct from the rest of the population. There is no question, that all such races or tribes are of non-Arian origin, which have not accepted the thin veneer of Hindu

culture, and are therefore hated and shunned as out of the pale of Hindu society, and at the same time not strong enough, like the Mahometan and Christian, to establish a rival and independent social organization of their own. It is an absurdity to quote the famous Vedic "Foot and Mouth" stanza, or the Laws of Manu, with regard to such classes, as those Laws bear no relation to any, who are not Arian in origin, or who have not introduced themselves into the Arian system. The Shanárs worship devils, have peculiar customs, and it is no matter of surprise, that the real Hindu of Arian origin, and those of the non-Arian, who have advanced to a certain extent up the ladder of Arian culture, look upon them with abhorrence, and that the antipathetic feeling of a superior race operates here as strongly as it does on the part of the Anglo-Saxon in America against the Negro. Men must be more than men, if in one generation such antipathies could be softened down. The lower the Caste, to which the Semi-Hindu has climbed, the greater the jealousy felt towards those outside the line. Among the very low classes in India this feeling must show itself by such outward signs as shunning contact, intermarriage and commensality, as their life is spent in the streets and marketplace, without the sanctity and privacy of a home, by which the richer classes keep out the unclean and the common herd.

Under a native Hindu rule it is more than probable, that the yoke of Caste pressed very heavily on the lower classes, but the sting is very much taken out under Mahometan and Christian rule. Moreover, I call attention to the following remarkable facts, as indicating that a Caste feeling is, as it were, part of the common law of the Indian people. All the Hindu sectarians, who have disturbed the peace of the Brahmanical system in a long succession for several centuries, have, like the Protestant Missionaries, selected the Brahmins as the object of their idle abuse, and attempted the destruction of Caste under the alleged vaunt of the equality of mankind. Slowly and surely Caste has forced itself back again. Buddhism, which was based upon the abolition of Caste, was fairly driven out of India. The more plastic Jáin accepted Caste and a transitional position. In Ceylon the Buddhists even exhibit traces of Caste. The Sikhs of the Panjáb, after a long tilt against Caste, have relaxed their rules and relapsed into Caste. A band of celibate ascetics, or vagrant beggars, may shake off Caste, but no body of religionists has ever settled down in India to decent family life without throwing round a fence of Caste more or less rigid. The non-Arian races of the Hills, as they settle down to be agriculturists and adopt a semi-Hinduism, of their own free will assert their claim to a Caste; and, wonder of wonders! the Mahometan, who in Turkey, Arabia, Egypt, and Afghanistan, marries any one, on whom his

fancy falls, and eats and drinks with the European, in India is particular as to commensality, and, if he is a member of a respectable tribe, is very restricted in the choice of a wife. The Census-report shows, that Caste is almost as prevalent among them as among Hindus, for the descendants of the conquering races, who immigrated from Western Asia, the Arab, the Persian, the Mogul, the Turk, and the Pathán, generally marry each among his own kith and kin. The Mahometan Rajpút and other of the good Hindu Castes, who became Mahometan in the time of the Empire, keep close to their tribal rules, which differ from Caste only in name. The lower Mahometans, converts from the non-Arian races, are in practice less rigid; but even among them increase of wealth is sometimes accompanied by a fictitious improvement of Caste-designation. The successful corn-factor has been known in a time of dearth to have sprung from the ranks of the Shaikh, or New Mahometan, to that of Sayyid, or descendant of the Prophet, and the self-asserting pride of a Sayyid is only equalled by that of a Brahmin.

I proceed now to show, how the strong and impartial Government of British India has acted with a view of disarming and controlling the bad and exaggerated features of Caste. In the State-Schools and Hospitals the difference of Caste is totally ignored. All, who enter there, are known as scholars and patients. In the railway-trains the community is reduced to the common denomination of passengers. We have heard of Anglo-Saxon colonies, where black and white will not mix on such occasions. In the Courts of Justice, civil and criminal, all subjects of the Queen are absolutely equal in theory and practice. A Brahmin murderer would be hanged at Banáras without benefit of clergy, and the rights of the lowest Chamár would be vindicated. In the State-Prisons all are associated together; but a prisoner of good Caste is selected as cook, as it would be obviously unjust to enhance the penalty fixed by law for a particular offence by adding a feature, which would affect some prejudicially, but not all. It is insisted, that the wells of a village are available to all, and an attempt to exclude native Christian converts was distinctly put a stop to. Any attempt to exclude men of lower Caste from the use of the streets, or to prevent males and females from wearing such dress as they chose, would not be tolerated for an instant. The service of State, civil and military, is open to all, and men of the highest Caste are constantly subordinated to men of lower, according to their position in the service. On the other hand, any positive injury caused by one person to another, entailing injury to Caste, is the ground of an action for Tort; thus a valuable property is recognized as existing. Moreover, the native Laws of Marriage and Inheritance are accepted by the Civil Courts, and con-

sequently the issue of a marriage, contracted contrary to the rules of Caste, is declared illegitimate.

How has society dealt with Caste? I can only give an opinion based upon experience acquired in a solitary life among the people of Upper India, where Caste is at its highest pressure, for weeks and months together, without any European companion. I never found Caste an obstacle to social intercourse, nor did the subject ever press itself forward, and yet the population of the villages and towns visited each day differed considerably. Few villages were absolutely without Mahometans, none without men of the lowest Caste, and in the thronging of an Indian crowd there must be indiscriminate contact. In my establishment there were Brahmins, with whom I transacted ordinary business, Rajpúts, who carried my messages, Khatri and Káyat, who engrossed my orders. Mahometan and Hindu sat upon the floor working side by side; and, if the half-Caste Christian sat at a table to write English letters, it was only because the method of English correspondence requires this distinction. My own tent was daily thronged by men of all Castes and position in life, and my visits to the male apartments of the notables was considered an honour, and yet of all outcastes the European is the worst, as he asserts his right to eat both beef and pork. Thus professors of different religions mingle in social life without any unpleasant friction: each man respects his neighbour; he has no wish, indeed, to intermarry with the family of his neighbour, or share the cup and platter of his neighbour, but he does not consider himself in the least superior or inferior.

In one sense, and one sense only, Caste may be said to be religious. All that remains to the non-Mahometan population of India, the religious idea and instinct, has centuries ago shrunk into the notion of Caste, just as in Europe in the Middle Ages all that to many men remained of religion was a keen sense of personal honour. Now both Caste and Honour restrain a man's actions from what is contrary to the rules of the brotherhood, and is dishonourable, and often from crime, in a way, in which nothing else will restrain them, and in that sense Caste and Honour may be said to be religious sanctions, but in no other; and no wise legislator would venture to do aught to weaken such sanctions, the existence of which mark a certain progress in civilization.

I cannot see that Caste is an evil of the kind and degree, which it is imagined to be. In an exaggerated and self-asserting form it would certainly be an evil under a Hindu system of Government of the stiff and intolerant form of modern religious creeds; but tolerance has ever been of the essence of the Hindu system, and in British India the claws of Caste have been cut by a strong and impartial Government, and the social pressure of

a population, made up of various elements which would not submit to oppression. I submit, that in Europe classes lie in strata *horizontally*, and that in India the separation is by *vertical* fissures. I have known men of good Caste and social position as gentlemen, who were not ashamed to have in their families near relations in the grade of menial or cook. Now such a state of affairs would be impossible in Europe, and marks the enormous divergence of social customs.

Viewing the matter, therefore, from the point of view of a statesman, a moralist, an advocate for civil and religious liberty, education, and progress, I can see nothing in the National custom of Caste, that requires any interference from the Legislature. I recognize the existence in different nations of an infinite variety of family customs, habits and tendencies, and, where they are prejudicial to the better interests of the human race, the work of amelioration may be left to time, education, intercourse with other nations, and general intellectual progress.

LECTURE AT THE NATIONAL INDIAN ASSOCIATION, LONDON, 1879.

B.—CASTE IN THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

There exists an ancient Custom in British India among the whole of the Arian and a portion of the Dravidian population, known by the name of Caste in English, Jati in the Vernacular, and Varna in the sacred languages. This Custom does not extend to British Barma, or to the Buddhist portion of Ceylon to an appreciable extent, nor is it rigorously adopted by the non-Arian Races of India, the Dravidian, Kolarian, and Tibeto-Barman Races, which have remained uninfluenced by the Brahmanical Religion. On the other hand, those Hindus, who have adopted the Mahometan Faith, and the vast number of non-Arians, who have attached themselves to the lower strata of the great Brahmanical Polity, and, strange to say, the descendants of the Afghan, Tartar, Persian, and Arab immigrants, who during the last eight hundred years have floated into India upon each Mahometan wave of invasion, have sensibly, and unmistakably, adopted the Custom, as a mark of respectability, and though they talk only of Tribes, and not of Castes, yet are under the same yoke, as regards Matrimony and Commensality.

In a Lecture which I read in 1879 before the National Indian Association, I discussed the nature of this Custom, and the infinite variety of its primary and secondary divisions. I showed how the claws of a Custom, which might possibly be intolerant, had been cut by the long domination of the Mahometan, and

the uncompromising system of the British Administration, based on absolute equality of man with man in the Courts of Criminal and Civil Justice, the Public Service, the Railways, the Schools, and Hospitals. I pointed out how mistaken was the idea, that a man was in any way compelled to follow the profession of his Father, or was in any way debarred from his rights as a Free Agent. My conclusion was, that there was nothing in this ancient Custom, as limited by British practice rather than Law, that prevented any of Her Majesty's subjects discharging his duty to the State; that the Custom was so far guaranteed by the State, that an action lay in the Civil Courts for Tort on the ground of wilful breach of Caste, and that the issue of children born of Hindu unions, entered into contrary to the rules of Caste, were illegitimate, and did not inherit. The Custom therefore did not deserve the wholesale abuse showered down upon it by certain persons. I reprinted in 1881 my Lecture in my "Pictures of Indian Life," and I believe that my sentiments on this subject are shared by all Statesmen, who are acquainted with, and interested in, the People of India. On this subject therefore I, and many other ardent supporters of Missions, are at direct issue with a great body of Missionaries. I believe them to be thoroughly mistaken.

In the course of discussion, which ensued after my Lecture had been read, a gentleman of great experience in India, formerly an Editor of one of the best English Newspapers, remarked, that I had not touched upon the relation of Caste to the Christian Church. My reply was, that the National Indian Association was not the proper arena for such a discussion. I had already brought it prominently forward in a Missionary Society, with which I am more particularly connected, and now I proceed to ventilate the subject in the pages of a Religious Periodical.

I honour the Christian Missionaries, who devote their talents, and their lives, to the benefit of Asiatic, African and Oceanic races. But it must needs be, that they go out early in life, and the necessity of the language ties them to one field. Their views thus become narrowed to their own environment. The Missionary from China writes and speaks, as if the world could be converted, but for the sale of opium and the hostile action of the Chinese educated classes. The Missionary from India is overpowered by the opposition caused by Caste and Secular Education. The Missionary in Africa tells sad stories of human sacrifice, witchcraft, cannibalism, and Polygamy. And so on in the other fields. The Missionary in China or Barma does not feel any sensible advantage from the absence of Caste. The Missionary in Africa looks rather longingly for Secular Education, and repression of monstrous crimes. The experienced

and enlightened Missionary in each field is generally silent on **such** topics, for he feels, that it is the same depravity of the **human** heart, which opposes him in a different development in **different** parts of the world.

In that portion of the so-called *Kingdom of Satan*, which is known to Geographers as British India, I have spent a quarter of a century, and loved the people very dearly, because I became aware of their excellences by familiar contact. No doubt the scum of the Bazaar of a great town is no more a fair representation of a great nation, than the roughs of London are of the British people. The strong and impartial British Government has paved the way for the Missionary by putting down, with a high hand, all abominable customs, which are contrary to laws Human and Divine, such as human sacrifices, burning of widows, burying of lepers alive, female infanticide, traffic in slaves, mutilation of the body, and so forth. An enlightened Government of the Nineteenth Century does not interfere with morals, and leaves drunkenness, profligacy, and the use of bad language, to be counteracted by the moral and religious influences of the people, and by their spiritual guides, restricting itself to the punishment of offences, scheduled in the Criminal Code. But besides these things in Oriental Countries, there exists a group of customs, objectionable *per se*, yet not such as to warrant the interference of an enlightened Ruler. These are domestic Slavery of the gentle and patriarchal type, child marriage, Polygamy, cremation of the dead, painting or searing of the face and limbs, circumcision and Caste. These are Old-World customs. We hear of them in the infancy of other nations, who have outgrown them; but unluckily customs in India survive in a hard and crystallized form, and the people are very conservative. I can quite imagine an enthusiastic young Missionary being shocked at any, or all, of these customs, and wondering, why they are not at once suppressed. But those, who have had experience in ruling Oriental Nations, know, that the attempt to do so would fail, might cause the loss of Empire, would certainly entail loss of life in rebellion, and do more harm than good. The work of amelioration must be left to time, education, intercourse with other nations, and general intellectual progress.

So speaks the Statesman. But the Evangelist seeks to gather into his nascent Church souls to be saved, and he appeals to a higher than human Law. He admits, that offences against morals occur quite as much among Christians as among Heathen, and must be left to the discipline of the Church, and the influence of the Pastor, for they are recurring evils, from which none are safe until death. But he at once puts his foot down upon some of the Old-World customs, above described, and insists that

Polygamy, cremation of the dead, circumcision, Caste-marks on the face, must cease, as a condition precedent to Baptism. He declares the right of the widow to re-marry, and, if any remnant of domestic Slavery remained, he would denounce it, and do his best to get rid of it. But if he be wise (and Missionaries do not always possess the wisdom of this world), he will analyze the ancient custom of Caste, and make the abandonment of certain portions an essential, reserve certain portions for pastoral admonition, and leave other portions alone, for the simple reason, that to oppose them is to war against the common feeling of Human Nature :

Naturam expelles furcâ, tamen usque recurret.

In analyzing the Census of British India, I find that the great Indian Nation is made up of most conflicting elements as regards Race, Religion, Language and State of Culture. Under the pressure of a strong foreign Government, a certain amount of fusion has taken place, and this process is slowly advancing year by year. But the Nation has never yet learnt to forget, that it is only an amalgam of very discordant materials, which discordancy is intensified by segregation from the rest of the world, religious dogma, fashioned in the interest of a dominant class, and the universal practice of what is known in Europe as Trade-Unions, and ancestral occupations and possessions. Insensibly rigid rules have surrounded Marriage and Commensality ; this leads on to the feeling, that one stratum, or rather vertical slice of society, is different from another, and the whole culminates in pride, overbearing conduct, and, if opportunity offered, social ostracizing. But if an educated man of an ordinary Caste is asked, he will at once admit, that his Caste is not *superior to*, but only *different from*, that of his neighbour.

For a moment let me turn aside from India, and, looking round us, let me consider the phenomenon of Caste, as developed from ethnical and social causes, in the United States, a land of strict equality of man with man, as regards the Negro ; as regards the Bantu tribes in the Cape Colony ; and in Great Britain.

Sir George Campbell made a tour in the United States in 1878, and carefully considered the relation of the antagonist races to each other. His conclusions are that :

The separation of the two castes is becoming more pronounced than ever ; that since the admission of the Blacks to political equality, the movement has been rather against social equality than otherwise ; that there are entirely separate Black churches ; that the difficulty about public conveyance had been got over, and all travel together, which is a great step in advance ; that, as is the case with the Hindu, no Intermarriage or Commensality is possible ; that there is universal separation in the public schools, at the wish of the Blacks, though good feeling and good temper are exhibited in daily relations ; that half-castes, even when quite fair in complexion, go to the Black

schools ; that the Caste system must be accepted as a fact ; that the most pronounced philo-negro in the States would recoil from the idea of intermarriage, *which is positively prohibited by law in most of the States* ; that Christianity might effect much to bring the races together, but not for the present.

I quote his concluding words :

To one accustomed to see great communities in India, where varieties of Caste do not interfere with union in a common social system ; where, on the contrary, Caste but represents a variety of occupations and functions in the same system, the existence of two Castes in America does not seem to present an insuperable obstacle to well-being. In India all the Castes live very well together, and support one another, by each contributing their functions to the village existence. It is hard, then, that in the United States two Castes cannot co-exist, supposing that means of amalgamating them are not found.

In South Africa I have an unexceptional witness in Mr. Anthony Trollope. At the great Lovedale Missionary Institution of the Free Church of Scotland, the boys and girls, black and white, are described as intermixed. But the European boys would not come to the school, if compelled to eat with the Kafirs. Any idea of intermarriage with the two races would not be thought of.

Lastly, in Great Britain, where all are of the Anglo-Saxon or kindred races, and no differences exist of Customs, or Colour, can we truthfully say, that there are not restrictions upon Intermarriage and Commensality, which have the essence, though not the name of Caste ? The law, indeed, does not hold the penalty of illegitimacy over unequal marriages, but would the most devoted servant of God, lay or clerical, in a better class of life, relish the marriage of his son or daughter to the pious pew-opener ? Or would he admit to his table the upright, though unsavoury, scavenger ? Has any of our European Missionaries as yet admitted a native of India to the honour of being his son-in-law ? Is it not the fact, that the white Missionary forms a Caste with superior position and superior emoluments to the native and half-caste ? And I do not deny that it is right, that it should be so. The Englishman landed in India considers himself, however low in the strata of English society, to be superior to the highest Indian. But to the eye of the Ethnologist the position of the superior native Caste is as much removed above the lower (and they feel it as much to be so), as the Englishman, rightly or wrongly, thinks himself above the Indian referred to. Even in Africa we find traces of Caste among some, if not among all tribes. In fact, self-respect and dawning civilization first evidence themselves in tribes becoming particular about Marriage and Commensality. I do not for one moment deny, that the custom is developed in India in a more rigid and unpleasant form than elsewhere. But what I do maintain is, that it is but a tree grown up to an extravagant height and bulk from the same germ, which is found, more or less, in every community of men.

In the *Mission Field* I read the remarks of Sir Frederick Goldsmid :

It is easy to say to a Native of India that Caste is not acknowledged in Europe, but the natives would see that the very fact, that it is not acknowledged makes the shapeless sentiment so difficult to deal with, that it becomes a barrier of actual separation. We have Castes in Europe, and Castes totally opposed to the spirit of Christianity, as regards colour, birth, education, wealth, and fashion.

To myself, with all my recollections of valued friends left behind me in India, whose features and voices live in my memory, and some of whose portraits still decorate my walls, it is matter of no small surprise to hear these good easy people, amiable and ignorant, tolerant and affectionate, described in a Missionary periodical, March, 1879, as practising

A custom fraught with destruction to their souls, utterly divorced from morality, a custom which eats out human sympathy, annihilates fellow-feeling, renders the heart cruel and callous, and dams up the stream of affection.

I can scarcely believe, that my Brahmin and Khatri friends, who still send me letters, though they can never hope for any advantage at my hands, and tell me about their children and our mutual friends, Christian, Mahometan, and Hindu, without distinction of race or religion, are

Slaves of a system which tends, more than anything else the Devil has invented, to destroy the feelings of general benevolence, and make three-fourths of mankind the hopeless slaves of the other ; that it was an invention of the author of evil, the father of lies, by which he enthralls millions of souls ; that it is Satan's masterpiece, Satan's chief institution, the monster evil of India, obstructive to all efforts for the improvement of the *temporal* condition of the people, as well as a soul-destroying influence.

It is sad to read such a foolish tirade as this, for the spirit of it is foreign to the precepts of Christ. It may be called *tall* talk, and indeed *foolish* talk ; or it may only be a flowery, oratorical way of implying, that the writer disapproved of Caste. And, no doubt, with a *tabula rasa*, Caste, as well as many other time-honoured customs, might be dispensed with. But we have to deal with a Nation as we find it, and it is idle to say, that the Indians with Caste are not as prosperous, as advanced in Culture, Arts, and Sciences, as benevolent, law-abiding, temperate, moral, and, in their own way, as religious as the Chinese, with whom Caste has never prevailed. Nor do we find in Ceylon, Barma, China, and Japan, though the people are entirely free from this snare of Satan, that the Gospel makes greater progress on account of its absence. In truth, people, who are free from Caste, or opium-eating, or cannibalism, are still far from God, and the educated classes of China, the Brahmins of India, and the Medicine-men of Africa, are but the Pharisees of the Scriptures, or the good old Conservatives of modern time, who stand on their old ways, and, right or

wrong, will not listen to new doctrines. A learned and devoted Bishop has wisely remarked, that the

Christian Church has no commission to bring all Nations to any other uniformity than that of the Faith. She must leave National habits and customs (not amounting to deliberate sins, or crimes by law) alone. The Spirit of Jesus will, in its own good time, by the influence of Preaching, Teaching, and Example, work out the special type of Culture, Civilization, and Social Habit, which is good, or at least possible, under the political and physical circumstances of the country.

The evils of Caste have been intensified to the Christian Missionary by the policy adopted of working from the lower strata of Society up to the higher. Unquestionably the souls of the meanest have the same value as those of the highest, and the Gospel was specially meant for the poor. St. Paul, however, clearly addressed the better classes. St. Augustine went to the King, and the Church of England was not based upon the scavengers, and lowest herdsmen of the Nation. The Pagans were the last to become Christians. However, we must grapple with the phenomenon as it exists, viz. a Church, consisting mainly of non-Arians, members of the lowest ranks of Society, of inferior Castes, so low that the Sudra Caste, which in general estimation is the lowest round of the ladder, becomes, by the discovery of lower outcaste depths, one of dignity. It must be remembered, that in India, as elsewhere, the lower the Caste, the more particular and precise are the rules to protect it. These converts have had no sacrifice of social status to make when they accepted their new Faith. But the fact of their numbers, and the defilement of their old and present occupations, still sticking to their skirts, presents a frightful stumbling-block to the man of Education, of Position, and of Social Estimation, who is moved by the Holy Spirit to become a Christian. Let any reader of these pages faithfully apply such circumstances to himself, and to his family circle, and judge.

The Church of Christ is, however, a new Society, one with the highest morality, the grandest aspirations, and the most precious promises. Men upon entering such a Society, and becoming inheritors of such promises, must be prepared to make sacrifices. The unclean must be no longer unclean; the opium-smoker must no longer debase himself; the cannibal must no longer indulge his abominable appetite; the bloody man must no longer take away life; the proud man must admit, *ex animo*, that all before God are equal; that the worship of God is common to all without distinction of person; that Christ died for all; that the Ministers of God and Teachers of His Truth are to be listened to and respected without reference to their origin. These are essential conditions precedent, and may thus be formularized:

I. Frank admission of the equality of all men before God.

II. No separation of Churches or of Seats in Churches except for the sexes.

III. Partaking of the same Bread and Wine from the same Cup and Platter, at the same time without distinction.

IV. Social intercourse with ordained Ministers and Office-holders of the Church, in the Homes, the School, and Church.

V. Abandonment of Circumcision, Caste-marks, Notions of ceremonial defilement, and belief in Witchcraft, Sooth-saying, or Spirits.

VI. No separation of high and low Castes in Burial-grounds.

It is unnecessary to allude to savage and inhuman customs, as the Laws of Anglo-India have stamped them out. For Office-holders of the Church, both Lay and Ordained, a fuller and more thorough compliance with the spirit of the above must be insisted upon, as the condition of office.

But outside such conditions are two important factors of Human Society, COMMENSALITY and INTERMARRIAGE. The founders of the Indian Church have no authority to lay upon that Church a greater burden than is imposed upon the English Church. Let us consider these subjects calmly but firmly. The Laws of Anglo-India have guaranteed the Customs, having the force of Law, with regard to Marriage and Inheritance. The Convert, however, must at once surrender his legal right to Polygamy. No right of divorce can survive his change of Religion, for these practices are absolutely forbidden by the words of our Lord, "Male and Female created He them." But the Missionary must pause, ere he ventures upon the gross tyranny of insisting upon his converts associating and eating together, except by spontaneous action, and avoid the still more violent infringement of natural Equity in enforced Intermarriages. Such conduct might involve the Missionary in a Criminal Prosecution, or an action for Civil damages.

There are notorious instances of excellent Christians, of good social position and Caste, who, when they had occasion to be married, went long distances at considerable expense to find a Christian wife of their own Caste and station in life, instead of helping themselves, as many Missionaries would suggest, from the senior class of the Mission Girls' School, consisting of low-Caste, though excellent, and educated young women.

Some of the Protestant Missionaries are as unreasonable in denouncing Caste in the Christian Church as the Roman Catholics are in denouncing Freemasonry. I cannot say that I think highly of either institution. But the roots of both lie deep in the soil, and both have a side of goodness. It is vain to run counter to the deep currents of human opinion, and institutions, such as these, will last as long as the world lasts. It scarcely lies in the mouths of those Societies, who plead for the

independence of the Native Churches, both at present and in future, to interfere with their Social Customs, and attempt to bind the Indian congregations with ropes of tow, which will be snapped at once. The Native Christians already show signs of desiring for themselves a Church modified to some extent in its forms and ceremonies so as to suit Oriental notions. And a modified form of Caste, limited to Rules of Intermarriage and Commensality, will, we may depend upon it, ever be found a feature in any such Native Indian Church.

The merits and the good points of the character of the Indian people are without number. They are very docile ; though not entirely free from the curse of drink, yet not habitual drunkards, and quite amenable to reason in such matters ; Polygamy, where it does exist (and it is exceptional), is very different from the Polygamy of Africa ; and, if intoxicating drugs are indulged in, the cases are rare ; assassination, secret societies, and blood feuds are unknown. It is doubly unwise of the Missionary in these conditions to tilt against a brick wall, and to step aside from his obvious duties of preaching the Gospel. As to Missionary Boarding Schools, or any other similar Institutions of a benevolent character, such conditions can be imposed as seem proper to the benefactors, and it would be ludicrous to allow the least atom of Caste to be maintained in such Institutions. The State would not tolerate it in the Ferries, the Railway-Carriage, the School, or the Hospital.

Let us recollect that the " Kingdom of God " is not meat, or drink, or marriage ; that things much worse than Caste exist in the English Church after centuries of Christianity ; that the practical man considers what is possible and equitable, not what is abstractedly desirable, as if he had to deal with an Utopia ; and, finally, that a word can be said in favour of Caste ; for the feeling of Caste in England makes a gentleman polite, a tradesman honest, a soldier brave, and a woman circumspect in her conduct.

I now proceed to quote upon this important question some opinions of men whose judgments are worth recording.

Sir H. Maine, in his " Village Communities," writes :

Caste is merely a name for trade and occupation, and the sole tangible effect of the Brahmanical theory is, that it creates a religious sanction for what is really a primitive and natural distribution of classes.

Bishop Daniel Wilson, after recapitulating, very much as given in my six Rules, the matters of Church Order, which he must insist upon, in supercession of Caste prejudices, closes thus :

I do not interfere with your national customs, or with matters of dress and food ; but old heathenish customs must be relinquished.

Bishop Gell, of Madras (1868), writes on the importance of

Exchanging the distinctions of Caste for those of rank, education, and the like.

This object must be obtained, not by coercive measures, but by persuasion, and the power of the truth of Christ, working upon the prejudiced heart ; and by the use of every opportunity for making advances without irritating.

In the official organ of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (December, 1877) we find the following passage with regard to a high-Caste convert :

I took pains to advise him *not to break his caste*, but to eat, drink, dress as heretofore, and live among his people, only abstaining from everything idolatrous.

Upon inquiry I received a reply from the late Mr. Bullock, the Secretary, that in his *private* opinion the Missionary had taken the right course, and that the Missionaries of the S.P.G. generally would do as he did.

A most striking testimony on the subject is that of the Rev. Dr. H. Bower, of Madras, in the *Indian Evangelical Review* for 1876. He had read a paper, in the February of that year, before the Madras Diocesan Church Conference. It was a vigorous, downright exposure of the dark side of Caste ; but suddenly the note is changed ; like the Prophet, he began to curse and ended in blessing :

I wrote an essay on Caste twenty years ago ; I was young, inexperienced, and enthusiastic ; since then, as I grow old, and see more of men and of the world, I am disposed to be more charitable, and lenient to all, who have scruples on this intricate subject. In order to form a just estimate of the trials of a high-Caste Convert, we must put ourselves in his place, and view things from his standpoint. All Castes, high and low, who embrace Christianity, have peculiar difficulties to encounter. Caste, as 'class prejudices,' seems to be inherent in fallen human nature. They are felt in Europe, in America, and all the world over, as well as in India. Their power pervades all minds : it in some measure influences the State, the Church, Benevolent Societies, Religious Communities, and even pious individuals. It showed itself in the prejudices of Peter. Providence has made a difference between one man and another with regard to birth, wealth, learning, and position. These distinctions cannot be ignored, however much they may be regulated, or mitigated, or improved. Are we justified in demanding of converts more than Repentance and Faith, which was all that the Apostles demanded ? Capricious dictation and rigorous law will do no good. Charity and Liberty are more important than Uniformity. We must allow converts to retain their simple and innocent usages and customs, while we strike at the root of immoral and idolatrous practices ; we must be careful not to disgust them with trivial matters.

A native clergyman at the same Conference remarked as follows in favour of the lenient treatment advocated by Dr. Bower :

A Caste-Christian may not answer the *beau ideal* of Christian perfection, but, so long as he is a Christian, he comes under Christian influences, and gradually accepting in its Christian sense the brotherhood of Man, he may less and less attach any importance to Caste. In dealing too rigorously with Caste, the Missionary demands on the part of the convert the exhibition of the highest virtue, and most self-denying Christian graces, and makes no allowance for prejudices deeply rooted by immemorial custom.

Another Missionary thought that

Caste should be recognized as an evil, and all moral means used to uproot it, while refraining from severe measures.

Another remarked that :

If native opinion were moulded, Caste would die out like Slavery from the Early Church.

I do not place much value upon the opinion of a Roman Catholic Missionary *as such*, but I accept common sense from whatever quarter it comes. In the *Missions Catholiques* of 1880 I read :

Le seul point essentiel des Castes c'est le mariage : les gens d'une caste ne contractent pas d'alliance avec ceux d'une autre. Les Castes étant des distinctions purement sociales le prêtre Catholique ne gêne en rien la liberté naturelle de ses ouailles."

The Lutheran Church has openly declared for the maintenance of Caste, so there is always that refuge open to the neo-Christian.

The following practical testimony is given by a Madras Minister:

The longer I work among the people, the more am I convinced, that, until we get a staff of workmen from the high-Castes, our work in that direction will be unsuccessful. A high-Caste catechist may work with perfect impunity among the low-Castes ; but a low-Caste man can never cross the threshold of a high-Caste man. I know the common cant, that the Gospel can level all Caste obstacles, social and religious, and that no Caste distinctions should be countenanced. This springs from mistaken zeal and downright ignorance. Many Missionaries are not so prudent as they ought to be, while they themselves are, perhaps, as high-Caste socially as the high-Caste Indian himself. I know of no Missionary, who would be willing to sit down in a low-Caste house, and take his meals with the inmates, or let them sit down with him at his own table. This is a social distinction. There is no moral or religious principle involved in it, nor does the low-Caste consider such implied.

As a commentary to this, I may remark, that in the first Report of the Native Panjáb Council in the North of India it is mentioned, that the Missionary agents had to simulate to be high-Caste, though they were not so, with a view of getting an access and a hearing. How often in England is it stated, that it is important for an ordained clergyman to be a gentleman ? Now this is Caste of the rankest kind, since in the eyes of the Lord nothing is common nor unclean ; and the word ' gentleman ' is not found in the Bible.

The Rev. Mr. Hickey, a retired Missionary, remarks with truth, that

Caste is more ethnological than superstitious ; the lowest day labourer will not take the food cooked by one of another Caste, much less would he marry with such. The design is to keep the clanships distinct. Education will have greater influence in this matter than rigorous Church discipline.

The Rev. Mr. Adamson remarks, that

In dealing with our weaker brethren in the faith some little respect should be shown for national ideas. He considers that the scheme of the annual dinner, or Love-feast, is next door to compelling converts to adopt a European style of dress.

And so indeed it is.

The whole question turns upon Christian liberty in doing, or

abstaining from doing, what is not contrary to the law of the Bible, and the law of the land. The Missionary, who compels his Christians to partake of a Love-feast, or who forcibly arranges marriages contrary to the wishes of their families, is doing an action contrary to the law of love, to natural equity, and which will affect him most, when these communities grow strong enough to set aside both the letter and the spirit of whatever laws may be framed for their government. Much is said in these days about the paramount importance of the independence of the Native Church. With the Native Council of that Church will eventually rest the decision of such matters as these. In past years Pastors and Church office-holders may have been dismissed for not obeying orders about Caste: this can no longer be done except by the Native Council. For the first generation, at least, we may fully expect that a separation, analogous to that of Jew and Gentile, will exist. After this, and gradually, under the influence of example, advice, and, above all, God's grace, such will, no doubt, in the end disappear. In the mean time, why should the Missionary put a stumbling-block in the way of the infant Church, and place upon his converts a burden with regard to Commensality and Inter-marriage, which he himself would not touch with his little finger? Would he give his daughter in marriage to a Native Pastor, or sit down to dinner with a Sweeper?

The present policy of some Missions practically closes the door of the Church against the better classes, and opens it only to the very refuse of society. Colonel Sleeman, a skilled observer, remarked that what chiefly prevented the spread of Christianity was the dread of exclusion from Caste, and the convert's utter hopelessness of ever finding any respectable circle of society in his new sphere. Other observers have remarked, that the unhappy convert is not admitted to the English Caste, which is the strongest and most arrogant and exclusive Caste in India, and of which the Mahometans, in spite of themselves, share the feelings.

Bishop Sargent very pertinently observed in 1871:

So long as all sit together in the Church, partake of the same cup in the Lord's Supper, admit the administrations of men considered originally of lower Caste, and abstain from all heathen rites and ceremonies, what other overt acts are there that we can legitimately insist on? Now the above is the extent to which our rural congregations in the mass go. Have we power to insist upon this promiscuous eating in a social manner as a *sine quâ non*? It seems to me that the only power left us in dealing with this matter is example and persuasion. In my mind, to whatever means I have recourse, I see that Love must be the spring, or the result will be disappointment.

We may be thankful, that there is a Christian Bishop such as the man who wrote this, and who had lived years among the people. The Love, that is required to subdue this evil, would

prevent the uttering of such exaggerations, and the penning of such abuse, as disfigure the periodicals of Evangelical Societies on this subject, and which are a scandal to the Christian Church, and reflect upon the judgment of those, who penned them.

In the Christian settlement of Kishnagar in Bangál a great trouble broke out a few years ago, and three well-known and esteemed native Christians were sent from Calcutta to visit the Christians, and report. They were Bangáli, and knew what they were about. They were of opinion, that the more the removal of the Caste distinction was insisted upon at the present moment, the less likelihood there was of success, and that the best solution of the difficulty was to let matters alone; to treat the people kindly, and so win their affections as gradually to dispel their prejudices by some Christian teaching. A European Missionary did not hesitate to express his opinion, that no one would like to be compelled to eat and associate with people given to filthy habits, and that the angry feeling of the people in this case was caused by the exhibition of an overbearing spirit on the part of the Missionary.

Of course scores of quotations could be given in the opposite sense to the preceding ones. It often happens, with regard to the writers, that they faithfully repeat the same cuckoo note, and "*quod non intelligunt damnant.*" The writers are either good men of the exalted type, who dream of a Christian Utopia "of faultless men, born again to a new life;" or they are ignorant men, knowing neither the people, nor their language, and certainly imbued with no love towards them. No doubt there is a difficulty in getting a suitable wife for a young Neo-Christian of an isolated Caste, and it is not well for the Indian convert to remain unmarried. These are the difficulties of all nascent communities. Again, the re-marriage of young widows is a measure of the greatest importance. St. Paul felt it to be so in his time. There is little sentiment in such unions in India, though they may claim an average amount of happiness and fidelity. Protestant Missionaries in these matters are unconsciously following the example of all the Hindu Sectarian Reformers, who, century after century, have attacked Caste, but without success. Such movements were the result of the upheaving of the lower classes against the Priesthood, and against the oppression of the upper classes generally, and in all cases the vernacular languages were made use of to influence the people. It may be added, that the educated atheistical classes of modern India are fighting against Caste, in the interest of unrestricted eating, and promiscuous marriage, and are not desirable allies for the Missionary.

There is too great a tendency on the part of Missionaries to treat the people as children. Babes they are, indeed, in Christ;

but a robust and vital Church must be composed of hardy and independent members. The late General Dalton remarks, that Christianity is offered, even to Non-Arian races, in the least alluring form. The Koles are fond of ornaments, and the women like to wear natural flowers in their hair. The Missionaries require, as a mortification of the flesh, that they shall wear no decoration. The General expresses his hope, that the necessity for such rigid austerity may cease, and that the girls may be allowed the harmless and pleasing custom of wearing flowers in their hair. The wish may also be expressed that the Brahmin, who is gentle in birth and by culture, may not, on becoming a Christian, be compelled to associate with, and pressed even to marry amongst, those who form, socially, the dregs of his nation.

While, on the one hand, the State guarantees the rights of the people of India to their immemorial customs, on the other hand, when individuals or families have deliberately abandoned Caste, or tribal designations, and accepted the new denomination of "Christian," the conduct of the Courts of Justice, and the Records of the Census, in persisting in the use of the abandoned description, in spite of a protest, is open to serious objection, and would not be maintained for an instant, if proper remonstrance were made to Government. The Madras Government approved, that Native Christians should be recorded as such, irrespective of their former Castes.

There is, then, a portion of this Indian custom of Caste, which is protected by the Law of the land, and there is another portion, which has the sanction of what the natives are pleased to call "Dharma," or Religion. The question for the prudent Christian is to decide, whether the *Social* portion, so deeply entwined with the feelings of the people, cannot be dissociated from the objectionable Religious portion, and be accepted, or at any rate tolerated, in a Christian Church. The Legislature of British India has by statute declared, and declared justly, that no person shall forfeit any rights, which he would otherwise have enjoyed, by becoming a Christian. The Hindu and Mahometan population have acquiesced in this Law, imposed upon them by an alien Government, and which they would never have enacted themselves, though, in truth, it has been practically the Common Law of India for many centuries. The convert thus passes into the new community with such property, as he is entitled to by inheritance, and the Law allows no disqualification or disability of any kind to operate against him. In what other country, except England and the United States, does such liberty prevail? Let the Christian Church, on her side, allow these converts to retain their *social* customs, until such shall, under the influence of education and higher civilization, lose their present rigid and exaggerated forms, and assume the elasticity, which is enjoyed

in European countries. Upon a review of the entire subject, I am forced to the following conclusions :

I. Whatever the Missionary Society in England, or the Missionary Agent in India, may wish to advise, the Native Church, which will, sooner or later, be independent, will do what it likes in the matter. The Civil Power in India will support it in the exercise of rights guaranteed to all subjects. Public opinion is, and ever will be, strongly in its favour, and against the extreme section of the Missionaries. No Reformed Church will ever be supported in the enforcement of arbitrary regulations, restricting the lawful liberty of citizens ; nor will harsh ecclesiastical discipline be tolerated, or be possible, in a country full of rival Churches.

II. One of the greatest obstacles to Conversion is the entire destitution of all social respectability, which accompanies the acceptance of Christianity. Some remarkable men, like Ram Chandra of Dehli, Nehemiah Goreh of Banáras, Krishna Mohun Banerji of Calcutta, have been practically incorporated into English Society, and have found a new status, to which their great talents, their high culture, as well as their earnest faith, entitled them. But the respectable member of the middle class, with small talents and less education, but whose soul is as dear to God and the Church, as that of his exalted brethren above alluded to, loses his companions, his social ties, his credit, and all that makes up the charm of life, and finds no new community, with which he can associate. It is a fearful thing, to contemplate the position of such a man. Great will be his reward hereafter, for he has given up all for his Master's sake, and taken his Saviour at His word. But the flesh is proverbially weak. In India the Martyr, in the old sense, is unknown, but comparatively few will have strength to be Confessors, unless their way is smoothed in all things lawful, and their entrance into the Church is barred by no unnecessary stumbling-blocks laid upon its threshold.

The best way of putting down Caste is to preach a full Gospel.

The man, who is born of the Spirit, will not walk after the flesh, but after the Spirit. He will not use his liberty for an occasion to the flesh, but by love serve his brother, and bring forth the fruits of the Spirit, love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance.—Gal. vi. 13.

God made all of one blood.

There is neither Jew nor Gentile, bond nor free, male nor female.

In the 14th chapter of Romans, St. Paul gives us specimens of the difficulties, which arose between Jews and Gentiles, the former naturally desiring to bind the Gentiles to their own customs, such as days of fasting, circumcision, the distinction of meats, etc., and in this chapter I think we may find a principle to guide. "Him that is weak in the faith receive ye, but not to judge his doubtful thoughts." Paul treated the scruples of others with tenderness and indulgence. He circumcised Timotheus, Acts xvi. 2, because of the Jews. Again he shaved his head and purified himself with four others, paying his own

and their expenses, to satisfy Jewish prejudice, Acts xxi. 21 and 24. At Antioch he blamed Peter for not eating with the Gentiles, Gal. ii. 11—18.

The above remarks were made by a friend, and I gladly accept the views as my own.

I would not for one moment be supposed to suggest any concession of Christian doctrine and practice, or any amalgam of Hinduism and Christianity; but I would remind all, who are interested in the spread of Christ's Kingdom, that the Church in India may be as much built on Christ as our own, and yet have very different external developments. It may be free from many of the weaknesses, which disgrace our own, and may be exposed to others, which we have never suffered from. I am deliberately of opinion, from a long and intimate knowledge of the great races of Northern India, that to struggling converts trying to pass into the Christian fold through the mazes of an Oriental civilization, an Oriental morality, and Oriental weakness of character, it is desirable, that the boon should be conceded of being allowed to marry only within certain families, if they wish to be so restricted, and to eat and drink only with certain people, *except at the Lord's Table*. It is amazing to think, that Christian ministers should place on such weak backs a burden, which strong Christians, such as may be found in an old Christian country like this, would not allow their ministers to suggest to them from the pulpit. The whole mistake arises from our forgetting, that the people of India are men of like passions to ourselves, neither worse nor better. The Missionary will find it as much as he can do to wean them from Idolatry, keep them from Immorality, and protect them from Infidelity. And the permanency of his work will depend upon his remembering this. The English domination may pass away like a dream in the course of another generation, and only be remembered as a somewhat important incident in the long history of Indian civilization. But Institutions, built up on the Great Truths of Scripture, upon the solid foundations of Natural Equity, will stand unshaken amidst the ruin of empires, and wield no lessened power, when the mightiest thrones have fallen.

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V.

THE CULTIVATION OF THE POPPY, AND
MANUFACTURE OF OPIUM.

ARE THE PEOPLE OF BRITISH INDIA TO BE SACRIFICED TO
THE CHINESE ?

“ AUDI ALTERAM PARTEM.”

IN the midst of loud declamation and plenteous abuse, the Anti-Opium agitators neglect to grapple in a practical manner with the subject, or suggest any feasible remedy for the alleged evil. It is natural, that this should be so, for, not understanding the formidable complications of the disease, how can they prescribe for the patient ? The problem is a solemn one. If the agitators urge, that China is not to be sacrificed to the financial wants of India, the whole body of Anglo-Indians rise, as one man, to maintain, that British India shall not be sacrificed to the moral weakness of China. Great Britain has no direct interest in the matter : every rupee of the vast sums spent in the culture of the poppy, and the manufacture of the drug, is supplied by natives of British India, or Anglo-Indians, transacting business in India.

Let me clear away sundry topics, which only cloud the discussion, and divert the mind from the real issue, which is, “ What shall be done ? ”

I. The war of 1841-42 may, or may not, have been connected with opium in its origin (which is doubtful), or have been wicked, (which is also doubtful); but, whatever it was, it is an accomplished fact and a matter of history.

II. The war of 1857 arose entirely from the capture of a small vessel, and had nothing to do with opium. Be it recollected, that Parliament was dissolved, and the matter was laid before the country, and the war was the direct result of the votes of the electors of Great Britain and Ireland. The people had the matter before them, and decided upon it. British India was not consulted.

III. Peace was made, and certain ports were thrown open to all merchandize, opium, at the request of the Chinese, being

admitted to the Free Ports subject to a fixed Customs-Duty. Beyond those Treaty-ports China is absolutely master of the situation, and nothing can pass out of those ports without an arbitrary transit-duty, which can at discretion be made prohibitory. I have ascertained this fact from the most competent authorities, and, if there were any treaty, *compelling* China to admit opium beyond the Treaty-ports, I should join in the petition to have the treaty repealed. It is very true that, if the Chinese were to forbid the passage of opium out of the Treaty-ports, smuggling would be resorted to along two thousand miles of coast by men of every nationality; but Great Britain, if it attempted to exclude French brandy, would run the same risk, and the Navy of the United States was not able to exclude the blockade-runners during the cotton famine.

IV. The injurious effect of over-indulgence in opium-smoking is admitted. But every nation has its prevailing vice, which must be attacked by moral arguments, not by the Arm of the Flesh. An English Bishop rightly said, that it would be better for men to be drunkards than slaves. The people of Great Britain extract twenty-eight millions annually from the intemperate habits of a portion of the community. There are worse things in China, a far greater moral contamination than opium-smoking. Why do the citizens of the United States, and the Colonists of Australia and British Columbia, who admit all nationalities to their territory, exclude the Chinese? Because they bring with them a contamination worse than opium-smoking. They occupy among races the position of the Bug among insects.

V. If the habit of opium-smoking is so destructive of body and mind, as the agitators say, it would tell upon the population. China, however, is like a full bowl, overflowing into every land, Australia, New Zealand, the Indian Archipelago, South Africa, and America. Other vices bring with them sterility, poverty, and national weakness. China is a power of unwieldy but gigantic strength: it has recovered all its lost ground on its North-West frontier, holds its own against European Powers, and there are no signs of decay in its arts, manufactures, or national development.

VI. If unhappy Ireland had a culture, a manufacture, and an article of export, which enabled the tenant to live in comfort, the landlord to receive his rent without fail, the State to levy an excise of many millions on the export; if the population were indebted to this culture for social and undemoralized happiness and content, would the Parliament of Ireland consent to destroy this culture, and arrest this manufacture, because the inhabitants of the Fiji Islands, or South America, were so uncontrolled in their appetites, and so abandoned in their proclivities, as to destroy themselves with over-libations of Irish whisky? Yet

such is the state of many millions in British India, to whom the culture of the poppy is as the wand of Fortunatus. Landlord and tenant welcome the arrival of the Opium-Factory Agent, who pays upwards of a million in advance without interest, under contract, for delivery of the poppy juice, thus protecting the cultivator from the exactions of the village banker, and enabling him to pay his rent to his landlord, and enabling the landlord to pay his land-tax to the State.

VII. If British India were a constitutional Colony (and one excellent result of this agitation will be, that independent constitutional powers will be conceded to it for self-protection from selfish Englishmen), would it be expected, that the Colonial Parliament would throw to the winds a revenue of many millions, because irresponsible men in Great Britain take up one side of a question, and, forgetting the drunkenness of their own country, and the frightful injuries inflicted upon Africa by British commerce in arms and liquors, sympathize with the debased Chinese opium-smoker, and its debased and mercenary rulers, who fill their despatches with moral saws, and tolerate ineffable abominations?

VIII. "Begin at home" is a maxim, which applies both to the British agitator and the Chinese Government. China will soon become, if it is not already, the largest opium-producer in the world, and some even think, that ere long it will export opium. Of one fact, however, there can be no doubt, that travellers in remote regions find the poppy-cultivation and the opium-pipe among tribes never visited by Europeans, or accessible to the Indian drug. It is not clear, that opium-smoking ever has prevailed outside China: in British India, with the exception of British Barma, which is outside of India proper, and in the Indo-Chinese Peninsula, it is totally unknown.

IX. With our streets at home inundated with intoxicating liquors, with our manufacturers sending out annually arms, ammunition, and rum, to every part of unhappy Africa, so as to enable the aborigines, who have survived down to the nineteenth century, and have outlived the foreign slave-trade, to destroy themselves by internecine war and a liquor, of which they were ignorant before the arrival of the white man: with human sacrifices and cannibalism still practised in marts to which our traders resort: with many forms of frightful cruelty and horrible crime rampant in countries to which we have access, are we to throw away the Empire of India in the vain and fanciful idea of keeping back a heathen Chinaman from his pipe, while we have failed to hold back a Christian Englishman from his pot?

X. It is notorious, that the surplus-income of British India over the absolute necessities of the State is supplied by the wonderful and heaven-sent windfall of the opium-revenue, and out of this surplus fund the Bishops with their Chaplains, and

the grants-in-aid to the Missionary Societies from the Education Department, have for many years been paid. If then this source of revenue be so tainted, as the Anti-Opium agitators would have us believe: if it be an accursed thing, like the price of blood, the wage of the prostitute, the cost of a brother's soul, and the incense offered to Mammon, how is it that these Societies, so outwardly blessed by the Almighty, can accept a part of the spoils and mingle it with the pure offerings of Missionary love and thanksgiving? It is their duty before God and Men to reject the contamination. The Missionary Societies know very well from what source the surplus-income of British India comes, and yet they do not hesitate to take their share.

XI. Amidst the agitators there are two camps; the platform-orators, and the prudent Secretary of the Anti Opium Society, who must sometimes start at the utterances of the extreme members of his own party. We have heard the cultivation of the Poppy likened to the Slave-trade. What does this mean? No doubt the Slave-trade was a curse to the country which despatched the slaves, and a heavier curse to the country which received the slaves; but the sympathy of the world was with the slave himself, a man of like passions to ourselves, and with an immortal soul. But the cultivation of the Poppy is one of the choicest and richest blessings to the country which exports it, blest at every stage of the transaction, and to every one concerned in it: to the country which receives it, it has neither brought depopulation, nor poverty, nor sterility, nor weakness, though to a large number (about two millions out of a population of four hundred millions) of the debauched members of that nation it has supplied an opiate, more carefully prepared and of greater intrinsic excellence than the culture and manufacture of his own country can produce, or at least has as yet produced, for, in the ports of Mongolia the Chinese indigenous opium has driven out the Indian alien drug. We can scarcely suppose that any sympathy is felt with the fate of the opium-ball: so the analogy with the Slave-trade falls to the ground.

XII. The agitators sometimes urge, that it is an Indian, sometimes a British question; but I never heard any one urge seriously, that sevenpence in the pound should be added to the British Income-tax to make up for the loss of Revenue to British India, and that compensation should be given to the landlords and tenants and chiefs of Central India for the terrible loss caused to them by the abandonment of a profitable culture. Yet, if we have the strength of our convictions, we should rise to the dignity of paying the forfeit of our own misconduct. Sydney Smith gives an anecdote of the Bishops on one occasion feeding the starving populace with the dinners of the Deans and Canons, while they kept their own. When Slavery was abolished,

the twenty millions of compensation were paid by Great Britain, and not by the West India Islands. An extremely moral sensitiveness should not be sordid, and attempt to make a scape-goat of another country, to satisfy its own scruples, not shared by the people of India. A much larger sum (perhaps five-fold) than twenty millions would be required to supply the compensation to the agricultural interests wantonly injured by the Exeter Hall moralists. Nor would the Chinese be any the better for this Quixotic insanity.

XIII. Another line of argument, brought forward in Exeter Hall, is, that the suppression of the Manufacture would cause British India no loss at all. It is stated, with charming simplicity, that the area of culturable soil, now occupied by the poppy, would be at once transferred to cereals, which would be equally profitable and be a safeguard against famine. How little do such advocates know of the infinite trouble taken, during the last thirty years, to introduce into British India other and more profitable products than cereals? How little does he reflect, that a glut of cereals is the ruin of a country, unless the means of export are at a very high stage of development, which requires capital? Besides, land under poppy-culture pays its land-tax to the State, and the rent to the landowner; and it will have to do the same if under garden-crops or sugar-cane: but over and above the land-revenue and rent, the opium pays an export duty of many millions to the State, and who could place an export-duty on any other crop? There would, therefore, be a dead loss to the State, but the landlord and tenant, in losing the poppy-culture, would lose their enhanced profit upon a profitable culture with a certain demand, and in the provinces under the Bangál Monopoly, they would lose the opium-advances, which fall annually in a shower of silver over the fortunate districts suitable for the cultivation of the poppy.

XIV. Herod and Pilate are reported to have become friends on the occasion of the condemnation of an innocent prisoner. This reflection rises in the mind, when we read of a Roman Cardinal and the Evangelical Clergy of England joined in a strange alliance. In the Papal Bull of 1882, the British and Foreign Bible Society is described as the eldest daughter of Satan, and all Protestant Missionaries as propagators of lies, and yet the evidence, which has convinced the Cardinal, is supplied by these Missionaries. On the other hand, the Evangelical Clergy have over and over again denounced the Pope as the Father of Lies, and yet on this extremely complicated question of morality and politics, they appear on the platform, and exchange compliments with the Cardinal. The astute Cardinal would keep the Monopoly, which we Anglo-Indians are longing to get rid of, until he can find an opportunity to cut down the culture, manufacture, and trade, root and branch. Others would

get rid of the Monopoly as a glaring offence, and leave to time and public opinion to correct the greater evil, which is inextricably entwined with the great principles of liberty, freedom of culture, freedom of trade, and freedom of export. Still the independent observer cannot but look on the sudden alliance between parties otherwise so opposed in a matter, the whole gist of which is mixed up with the efforts of Protestant Missions, as inauspicious and suspicious. Over and over again it is asserted, that the Manufacture of opium in Bangál is the chief obstacle of Protestant Missions, and the Missionary Societies take it up as such, without going into the truth of the assertion. Such being the case, the Cardinal was a strange ally: "*Non tali auxilio.*" I remark that there was the same inauspicious conjunction of orators to attack the Surgeons, on the platform of the Anti-Vivisection Society.

"National Sin" is the cuckoo-cry of the party. Each day His Eminence the Cardinal, the great champion of the Anti-Opium party, kneels in his Oratory and prays, that the Lord would remove from Great Britain the great National Sin of *Protestantism*. The High Church party pray daily, that the Lord would remove the National Sin of the schism of the Nonconformist Churches of Great Britain, who presume to preach the Gospel without the Divine Commission of the Apostolic succession. I have heard the Reredos of St. Paul's Cathedral called a "National Sin." In many quarters it is called a "National Sin" not to allow Home Rule and unrestrained confiscation of property in Ireland. We must discount the meaning of these much-abused words at the value placed upon the general intelligence, experience, and judicial calmness of persons, who use it.

I would not willingly say an unkind word against any missionary. I am a Member of the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society and the Church Missionary Society, and take an active interest in every attempt to evangelize India and China, assisting the work by addresses on platforms, by my writings, my subscriptions, and the devotion of the best part of my time to Committee work. Their motives are pure and above suspicion: their hostility to the Culture and Manufacture of the Poppy-juice in India is inspired by respectable but mistaken feelings, roused by ignorance, or misconception of the real state of the case. The plummet-line of their investigations does not reach the bottom. They do not appear to advantage in this controversy, as going out of their proper sphere, and displaying a narrowness of vision. Some of them are indeed great men, of whom the world may be proud, but the majority are men of self-devotion and probity; but no Government would deem it wise to rule an Empire on their advice, or according to their notions.

In China there are six hundred Missionaries, and they represent

thirty-eight different Societies, of different Nationalities and Denominations. The people of China know very well, that there is a great difference between a Frenchman, a German, an American and a Briton, and they know that British India belongs solely to Great Britain, and that from British India comes the opium, which they so much prefer to their home-grown opium, just as the British Native prefers the claret and brandy of France to his own gin and beer. Now I read the weekly organ of the Roman Catholics, and I do not find, that the French Priest in China attacks the Opium-importer as the obstacle to his work, but rather the Protestant Missionary, as the great propagandist of deadly error. The American and German Missionary can, in no sense, be said to be partakers of the so-called "National Sin" of the British people (though it is to be feared that many Germans and Americans are engaged in the export trade of Opium from Calcutta to China), and I cannot find, that the Chinese people receive them more gladly, or that their conversions are more numerous.

In Missionary phraseology the great kingdoms of India and China, with their population of seven hundred millions, are conventionally described as the kingdom of Satan: those of us, who have lived a quarter of a century in the midst of the people of India, know how untrue that description is of them, and it may be assumed to be equally untrue of the Chinese. The kingdom of Satan, if it were localized, would probably be found in some European capital. They fix on some particular evil, which strikes their eye, and attribute to that evil their want of success in their field, forgetting that in other fields, where that particular evil does not exist, want of progress is complained of also. For instance, Caste is denounced in India, Opium in China, Cannibalism and Slavery in Africa, and Polygamy and idolatry everywhere. As a rule, owing to the necessity of acquiring the vernacular language, the transfer of a Missionary from one field to another is not possible: so a Chinese Missionary lives and dies with the conviction, that, if he could get rid of his bugbear opium, his way would be clear. Nor are those, who chronicle the works of Missionaries in Europe, wiser; for I read in a pamphlet by a simple-hearted German writer, that he would recommend the British Government at once to throw up and abandon the millions obtained from India from the export of opium, *and trust to God to supply the deficit*. I write with all reverence, that empires are not built up and maintained on such principles. It is a pulpit-utterance, and not the counsel of a ruler.

Nor do the Missionaries recollect the famous words of Prince Kung :

Take away from us your Missionaries and your Opium.

Sir Rutherford Alcock has publicly stated, that the enmity felt

by the Chinese to the importation of foreign opium sinks into nothing, and will not bear comparison with the hatred, felt and openly expressed for Missionaries of all denominations and their doctrines, and it has been a constant trouble to the Ministers of the French, British and American Governments. In 1884 at Fuh Chou placards were stuck up against the Missionaries. I do not justify the Chinese rulers or people, but I state facts, and it is reasonable to believe, that, if China recovered its independence, it would sweep away all treaties, and get rid of both subjects of annoyance. The Missionaries have, in China and elsewhere, directly and indirectly, done infinite good, and it would be wiser and better, if they would not meddle in politics, leaving to Cæsar the things that belong to Cæsar, and devoting themselves to the things of God. And I can truly say, that throughout the length and breadth of India, with extremely rare exceptions, such has been the practice of Missionaries of every denomination. Unhappily in China the Missionaries have taken up political agitation, with very little advantage or credit. Could these excellent men, whom I love even in their weaknesses, have a term of five years in Africa, how gladly, on their return to China, they would accept the Chinaman with his pipe, and try and win him by moral influences and the public press, could they be rid of the savage and the cannibal, the sorcerer and the executioner, whose presence weighs down the spirit of the Missionary on the Victoria Nyanza and the Niger.

The agitation has been re-echoed by a certain class in Great Britain. So long as the principle of repressing the use of intoxicating liquors and drugs is not adopted by the State for the people of Great Britain, it seems mere mockery and hypocrisy on the part of Britons to apply it arbitrarily to a nation not under their control. The Chinese, who are the consumers, and the Indians, who are the producers, must laugh at the hypocrisy of a nation, of which drunkenness is the notorious blot, and urge it to begin its moral reform at home. In one of the reports of the Society I read, that the Chinese Government desire to stop opium-smoking among their own soldiers, and they are quite right to do so; but it is shocking to think, that for the first offence the punishment is slitting, or excision, of the upper lip, and the second offence is visited with decapitation. In all our wars we have refused to accept as allies tribes, who scalped their prisoners. The Anti-Opium Society does not hesitate to ally itself with the rulers of China, who openly avow such barbarous laws, though we may hope that they are not acted upon.

I was reading a short time ago the Report of the Anti-Vaccination Society, and but for the title, it might have been supposed to have been the Report of the Anti-Opium Society: there were the same speeches at public meetings, the same complacent

self-assertion, a general abuse of all Governments, who were fools, or knaves, or both, and a disposal of a most intricate and difficult question in an off-hand manner. The Reports of the Anti-Vivisection Society are moulded in the same mould. Many of the discussions of the Anti-Opium Society have the character of a College Debating Society, for the Society is spoken of as "the English nation," and one individual, writing from Calcutta, vouches for the opinion of the Hindu people; another correspondent, who had never left Hong-Kong, undertakes to express the opinion of the Chinese people. About twelve men seem to do all the speaking, for their names appear at all the meetings, and the same arguments are used with variations of inaccuracy, reiteration of abuse, and strange inconsistency. Can a tree at the same time bring forth good and bad fruit? Can the long succession of Indian Viceroys and Governors, whose praise is in the lips of all parties, whose Biographies are sold by thousands of copies, all have been deceived, or were they purposely blind and base in this one particular? Most of the speakers on this subject are of third and fourth rate calibre, and some really good speakers, when they handle the opium pipe, fall short of their usual excellence, as if out of their depth, or uncertain of the drift of their policy: occasionally, really great men have stepped down into the arena. Lord Salisbury and Mr. Gladstone were at one on this issue: the former statesman remarked, in a somewhat bantering tone, that the deputation

Raised a very large question, when they asked them to interfere in any way to discourage the action of private enterprise in supplying a drug, which the Chinese preferred to take. He could not hold out any hope that any legislation in that direction was probable. If he were to assign a time, when such legislation might be undertaken, he should say it would be subsequent to the time, when a Bill was passed preventing the sale of spirits in England.

But Mr. Gladstone, in 1880, raised the question above its usual level, and touched a higher chord: he said:

Do not let it be supposed, that I am treating this subject with indifference. The charge is that this subject has been approached from a very low level of morality (hear, hear). Let us see, then, whether we cannot escape from this low level of morality, and resort to the high level of morality which is recommended. If we are told, that we must abolish this traffic, then the charge has no meaning at all, unless we assume the obligation on the part of the people of England. Either we are to assume the obligation on the part of the people of England, or content ourselves at the present moment with giving a promise that something will be done in the future. It would be a very high level of morality indeed, in one point of view, if we were prepared on behalf of our constituents to put 3*d.* or 4*d.* on the income-tax, and assume the payment of these seven millions. That would be taking our stand on a high level of morality. But that is no part of the debate. That is not proposed; therefore that is not the level of the morality. It must be some other level of morality, and let us see what it is.

And how injudicious, and impolitic, and indeed un-Christian,

has been the mode of agitation adopted. Hard words and gross insults have been heaped upon a body of men, who for a long series of years have watched over the interests of the great Indian people. No close Corporation, no City Guild, no Company of Merchants, has been fattened by the Poppy-cultivation. It is notorious, that the Government of India is renewed every five years by both the great parties of the State, and a long line of illustrious statesmen, and an army of less distinguished but no less honest and single-minded servants of the State, both Civil and Military, have made India their study and delight. Some, like Lord Elgin, have brought Chinese experience to India; others, like Lord Napier of Magdala, have served in both countries. There has been a Government at home independent of the Government of India, and yet there has been an absolute uniformity of opinion on this great question, shared by every one of the servants of the Queen, who had studied the subject. Nor have the distinguished representatives of England in China arrived at a contrary opinion. I have myself taken the opportunity of personally consulting members of the China Diplomatic Body on their return to England, and I have received always the same reply. To show the length to which this abuse has gone, I mention that in my presence a Member of Parliament, at a great public meeting, asserted that the "gold coin, called a Sovereign, was large enough to hide the name of God," as if any of the distinguished champions of the policy pursued by the Government of India for the last forty years had the remotest pecuniary interest in the matter. They were not slave-holders fighting to retain their slaves, or monopolists struggling to retain their monopoly, or rack-renting landlords to maintain their right of eviction, but persons totally uninterested in the issue, but convinced, that an attempt was being made to force a policy contrary to the rights and interests of the people of India.

Let me consider the matter from the Chinese side of the question. I am not careful to defend the use of the drug, or to assert that opium-smoking is innocuous. So much I can say from knowledge. I lived a great many years among the Sikhs of the Panjáb, who habitually swallowed opium-pills, and a finer, manlier, more prolific race cannot be found. In *China Millions* I find at page 32, 1879, that Opium was plentiful in Yunan, and yet the people had a well-to-do appearance and good houses, notwithstanding that the narcotic, home-grown, could be purchased for a trifle. Mr. Cooper remarks, that it would be death to a large portion of the population suddenly to stop the supply, and that the Chinese Government, in wishing to stop the Indian opium, were acting, as they generally do, without any idea of the welfare of the people. I read in the *Friend of China*, 1883, page 221, that the elders of a village begged that the cultivation

of the poppy might be stopped in their village, remarking that about one per cent. would smoke Indian opium, while twenty per cent. smoked home-grown opium. The greatest anti-opium agitator is obliged to admit, that no reliance could be placed upon edicts from Peking, as they meant nothing, and were only bland expressions of Confucian morality. Moreover, they are known to mean nothing, and subordinates in high office smoked opium, and collected excise on imported opium, and took bribes to permit home-grown opium: attempts to stop cultivation, or destroy cultivation, notoriously failed. It transpires, that the Chinese themselves, while their Rulers were denouncing the trade of the Europeans, were exporting opium from Yunan to Barma. There seems little doubt, that the amount of home-grown opium far exceeded the imported opium, and the real objection of the Chinese Government was to the annual drain of silver from China, as the balance of trade was against them. It is notorious, that the Chinese Government levy an excise upon home-grown opium exceeding one million, and levy a differential duty on land cultivated with the poppy.

But of all things the idea is to be deprecated of making China a *corpus vile*, upon which benevolent enthusiasts desire to inaugurate a policy, which they are totally unable to enforce at home. One authority reports that opium-smoking is a pleasure, which it is quite possible to enjoy in moderation, and take in the same way as the Scotchman takes his whisky; and a Chinaman stupefied by opium is a much less terrible person than a Scotchman excited by whisky. Setting aside, however, such considerations, there is no doubt, that the violent extirpation of opium-smoking in China is as impossible as that of gin-drinking in Great Britain. When men are persuaded that the practice is undesirable, the fashion will die out; but attempts to compel them before they are so convinced can only lead to aggravation of the ills complained of. Why should an enlightened Government, such as the British, recommend the tottering dynasty of the Chinese Empire to interfere with the private habits of the people? This would be dangerous even in England, where the people are educated and enlightened. We should never attempt such a crusade in India. Mr. Herbert Spencer, in his late work, "*Man versus the State*," shows that we are advancing too far in that direction in England, and over-governing, and therefore mis-governing. The Sikh Government, which preceded us in the Panjáb, forbade the use of tobacco, or the slaughter of kine, but tolerated the burning of widows, the killing of female infants, and the burying alive of lepers. Mahometan rulers forbid liquor-shops, while they tolerate Polygamy, and punish an abandonment of the Mahometan religion by death. In the Papal States change of religion

and matrimony to a large proportion of the people were forbidden, but there was no objection to State Lotteries, licentious lives, and liquor-shops. Leave the people in their pleasures and their private habits alone, so long as they refrain from breaches of the peace, and appropriation of the property of others. Leave it to moral pressure, and education, and general advancement, to control, diminish, and eventually eradicate the particular moral weaknesses, from which no one nation is free, though they differ in character and degree. It is very easy to make a treaty, forbidding the importation of opium into Japan, because the people are not addicted to the drug. It is still easier for the Government of the United States to make a treaty forbidding the export of opium from North America, considering, that no opium is grown in the length and breadth of the United States: whether American citizens abstain from the trade in the Chinese seas is very doubtful. So random are the assertions, that it is a relief to find, that no one has yet charged the Indian Government with introducing the cultivation of the poppy into Western China, *vid* Thibet and Barma, from pure motives of mischief, to complete the proofs that the Government consisted of men who were both knaves and fools. The import of opium from Persia is comparatively insignificant. Borneo opium up to this time is only a possibility. On the Zambési, in East Africa, the Portuguese have commenced the cultivation, and send the opium to India. One of the chief resources of the Dutch Government in the Indian Archipelago is opium: it is sold to the Chinese, and forms one-tenth of the revenue of the colony. Here is a National Sin in the embryo stage.

It must be recollected, that the Chinese Empire is sending colonists literally all over the world, and they take their pipe with them, and it is asserted, that they recommend with success the custom to the inhabitants of the country where they settle. This fact does not bear on the subject of importation of Indian opium into China, and is only mentioned by the Anti-Opium Society by way of aggravation. There are, however, colonies of Chinese in Singapúr, the Malay States, the Islands of Sumátra and Java, the French Settlements of Saigon, and the Kingdom of Siam, as well as in Peru and California. They all smoke opium, and are beyond the influence of the Chinese Government, but they intercept a portion of the Indian opium shipped for the China seas. The Chinese at Singapúr are robust, hearty and energetic beyond other Eastern races, and yet beyond doubt they are all smokers. Is it expected, that in Australia, Hong-Kong and Singapúr, British Colonies, the crime of smoking opium is to be punished in the Courts of Law? It is whispered that the practice has commenced in

London, and is extensive in the United States of North America.

There is little doubt that the Chinese Government has been false throughout. In spite of the high moral seasoning which distinguishes their arguments, the real taste of their *flesh* is sometimes discovered. The Grand Secretary argued to Sir T. Wade, that the fair thing would be for the Indian Government to divide the enormous profits on the export of opium with China, share and share alike. He declined to give up his revenue on home-grown opium. In fact, he showed himself to be a ruler of men, and not a member of an irresponsible voluntary association. The Mandarins and the Governors of Provinces smoke themselves, and make a profit upon the drug. The real solution of the difficulty will be to deal with home-raised and foreign opium upon an equitable adjustment of excise, transit-duty, and customs.

Let me consider the matter from the Indian point of view. I took the opportunity of stating, some years ago, at a meeting of the Committee of the Church Missionary Society, that the Government of India had nailed its flag to the mast, and that I rejoiced, that it had done so. The Viceroy in Council has recorded his opinion, that the sudden loss on the excise would cause insolvency: this is stated in language not capable of misapprehension: other sources of revenue are not available, and reduction of expenditure is impossible. The abolition of the export duty would confer a very doubtful benefit on the Chinese, but it would do incalculable harm to the millions of India. Perhaps this is overstated, as empires and nations have survived heavier losses. I was very sorry to hear, that an attempt had been made to widen the cultivation in the North-West Provinces, but it proved to be an utter failure. The cultivators stated, that they had been badly used in old days, that they did not now understand the cultivation, and had other crops which paid as well, and they wanted no change. The improvement of communication enabled more bulky produce, such as sugar-cane and potatoes, to be carried to distant markets, and the poppy is driven to inferior lands. It is satisfactory to know that the area of 500,000 acres, now occupied by the poppy, will not be enlarged.

It appears, that not more than £200,000 is realized from opium sold in India at the different Collectorates. India abounds in stimulants and narcotics, and opium is only one of many. The Arian nations seem to prefer to swallow the drug, the Non-Arian to smoke it. I have often as Collector superintended the sale of the opium to the local retailers: if a prisoner were found to be addicted to opium, he had to be supplied with daily decreasing doses, so as to wean him of the habit without

endangering his life: only once I came upon two men from the Himaláya (whence also much opium is imported into India) who were hopelessly addicted to the practice, and were miserable objects. In the early days of our rule in the Panjáb, where the cultivation has never been restricted, post, a decoction of opium, was sold openly in the shops licensed for the purpose. In Western India a decoction of opium is sold publicly in the cities, and called Kusumba. The Anti-Opium Society will scarcely find proofs, that with such vast stores of opium available in British India, we have attempted to raise revenue by encouraging our subjects to indulge vicious habits. We have raised the largest possible revenue out of the smallest possible supply, but this subject will be discussed in the following Essay.

There is not the least probability of the present policy being abandoned or modified, but it is as well to consider what is possible or the contrary. We might abandon the export duty, and set the Indian opium as free as indigo and grain. The consequences would be an enormous increase of the exported article, an excessive fall of the price of the drug in China, and such a defalcation in the Indian revenue as would cause insolvency for the time at least. If an attempt were made to impose other taxes, we may imagine the indignation of the people of India: the mass of the population is very poor: the salt tax ought to be reduced: to impose further burdens merely to gratify a moral whim of a small portion of the British people, who had taken up an extreme view of the subject, would be a cruel injustice, and arouse a keen sense of wrong wilfully and widely inflicted, and would go far to justify a Rebellion.

We might abolish the Monopoly, and disconnect the State with the manufacture and sale of the drug. To some tender and uninstructed consciences the very existence of this Monopoly aggravates the evil, and, as a rule, all Monopolies are wrong, and I am in favour of the abolition at all risks; but if the State withdrew, its place would at once be occupied by a Company, and very serious considerations would arise. So inexplicable are the reasons which guide good men in their actions, that it is possible, that some of the loudest denouncers of the National Sin, as the Manufacture is called, might be found among the shareholders of this new Company. On the death of an advanced total abstainer a few years ago, he was found to have shares in a hotel, which held a liquor licence, and his family could not see the inconsistency. But the abolition of the Monopoly cannot be looked upon only from the financial point of view, but as a measure affecting the well-being of the people of India. A great Company, seeking only a good dividend, would flood the country with opium, with great

injury to the people. It is true, that no Monopoly exists in the West of India, whence nearly half the export duty is collected, but the poppy cultivation is entirely within the territory of Native States, whose system differs entirely from our own. It is obvious, that a State-Monopoly is the severest of all fiscal restraints, and those, who really desire the export to be reduced, should not seek to destroy the Monopoly, however scandalized they may be by its existence.

We might forbid the export, in the same way as the Government of Italy forbids the export of works of art, but it would be impossible to prevent smuggling with a seaboard of two thousand miles. The people of India would resent the, to them, unintelligible policy of interference with a profitable trade, contrary to all the well-established principles of political economy. The cost of the preventive force would be very heavy, and the interference with other trades very annoying. In fact, such a measure scarcely comes within practical politics, and we should have the Native Chiefs of Central India to deal with: they derive a large revenue from the cultivation of the Poppy: the prohibition of export would entirely destroy this, and they would demand compensation, and so would the Landholders of Bangál. Who would satisfy these lawful demands arising from inconsiderate legislation?

That we should prohibit the culture of the poppy within British India is a thing that is not possible. It would be a policy unworthy of an enlightened Government, and would be incapable of execution. It is true, that we can restrict the culture to certain regions which are most suitable to the crop. I have had considerable experience in the North of India from the river Karamnása to the river Indus, and consider it impossible to forbid absolutely any culture. Moreover, the regions, where the poppy grows, are the recruiting grounds of the Native Army, and they would have a word to say in this matter. If the culture were prohibited in British India, and allowed to continue in the Native States, the production there would be stimulated: the attempt to prohibit the culture in the independent Native States of Rajputána and Central India would either be illusory, or, if enforced, lead to very serious consequences, and peril to the very existence of our Empire in India.

And at the same time that India was thus exposing herself to perils, and expenditure in the maintenance of repressive establishments, in a fight against Nature, equity and common sense, the Chinaman would be smoking his pipe with opium supplied by his own country, or other opium-growing countries, not such good opium perhaps, but much cheaper, and in much larger quantities; and it is not obvious that, if the Anti-Opium

Society had any definite ideas of its objects, it will have gained anything, for all the sad pictures of the debased and ruined Chinaman would be as true, or as deficient in truth, as ever, and the Missionary would be met with the same harrowing scenes, and would realize that it is not that which goeth into a man defileth a man, but his own fallen and corrupt nature.

We must recollect, that there is now a powerful Free Press in every part of India and in every language, and the Press would have a word to say on such an insane policy: and there is a power of Public Meetings, and the wild nonsense spoken by Young India is only equalled by the utterances of our Anti-Opium platform in Great Britain: but the latter is as harmless as the lashing of a dog's tail: the former may lead to Rebellion, Mutiny, Blood-shedding, and loss of Empire. I do not think, that the Government of India would entertain such a policy for a moment, but I wish the Anti-Opium Society to understand the ultimate consequences, to which their ideas would lead.

I intimated this summer to a friend, who, like myself, is a Member of a Committee of a Missionary Society, that I intended to write a paper defending the Indian policy in this matter. His remark was, that I should be soundly abused for so doing. I am quite prepared for the contingency. Sir Rutherford Alcock felt himself compelled to stand forward and enlighten the public mind, and mercenary motives were at once attributed to him in connection with the New Borneo Company. It is the old story. When a man has a bad case in a court of law, his only resource is to abuse the attorney of the opposite party. I admit, that those who oppose the Indian policy are actuated by the highest and purest motives: having myself no interests whatever except the promotion of Missionary enterprize, I claim the same admission in my own favour, nor do I rush into the controversy hurriedly, as I have had it under consideration for more than ten years, waiting for some further *denouement* of the Chefú Convention, which appeared to have disappeared. Let it be clearly understood, that under no circumstances would the Government of British India admit into its Treasury income, of which the sources are tainted, such as the produce of lotteries, a tax on Hindu pilgrimages, offerings to idol-temples, the price of slaves, the earnings of slave-labour, the profits of immoral establishments, whether gambling, as at Monaco, or brothels, as in some European States, any more than it would accept the hire of the assassin, or the *premium pudoris* of the unfortunate classes, who infest the great cities. The line of demarcation of lawful, and unlawful, income is quite clear. The kindly fruits of the earth, blessed by the hand of the Creator, are intended to be gathered. In the case of the poppy they are thrice blessed, supplying comfort to the cultivator, rent to the land-owner, land-revenue

to the State, and over and above, a magnificent export-duty. If foolish men make a bad use of the exports, after they have left the shores of India, that is no concern of the people of India, and the so-called Government of India is but the Trustee of the great people committed by Providence to its charge. Neither in morals, nor by the law of nations, can a legitimate commerce be impugned. If fanciful and romantic objections were admitted, the Quakers would object to villainous saltpetre, as being the component of gunpowder. The total abstainer would object to the Palm Tree, hemp, sugar, and rice, whence intoxicating liquor is distilled. It is mere hypocrisy in a nation, which exports rum, gin, and gunpowder in such enormous quantities from British ports to Africa, and which, among many noble qualities, is noted for the drunkenness of a portion of its people, to feel such a tenderness for the besotted Chinese. It would be much easier for those, who think with me, to sail with the wind, and throw overboard the interests of the people of India. Sir Wilfred Lawson is the only consistent antagonist, for he would go to the root of the matter, and place opium and alcohol in the same category, adding a plea for mercy in favour of opium, as the opium-smoker is not a wife-beater, a ruthless murderer, a breaker of the peace, and a public nuisance.

It may be distinctly asserted, that the opium trade is not based upon force: the Chinese are quite strong enough to exclude it, if they chose, and their being ready to resist the French on a much less important grievance, proves that they could do so, and they know, as every one knows, that Great Britain would never attempt to force the drug into China by war. But, when force is so vigorously denounced, have the leaders of the movement reflected upon the meaning of the term, which they so often use? By force of character and of arms, Great Britain has raised herself to her present lofty position: by force she vanquished the Spaniards, the French, and the Russians, subdued vast kingdoms in Asia, Africa, America, and Oceania, and brought under subjection a large portion of the world. Our Indian Empire is based upon force: our prestige throughout the world is based on our potential, or stored, force. I have been pelted by little boys in the towns of Turkey, and have walked alone at my ease, and respected, in the great cities of India: this was owing to the force stored up in our cantonments. It was not the outcome of treaties, but of conquest. I have accompanied deputations of Missionary Societies to the Foreign Office, to solicit Justice, or Protection: what enables Great Britain to act, while Switzerland and Sweden submit in silence, but Force?

Some years ago I described to Giuseppe Garibaldi, the Italian Liberator, our system in British India: he remarked, that we were no better than the Austrians after all; and this has often led me to

reflect upon our inconsistent position, for in Europe, we are the champions of every State, which seeks for political liberty, and in Asia we are ourselves despots. The only reply is, that we are *there*, and it is not practical to leave India: but, while we are there, we are bound to stand up for the people of India, and be their champion against the Manchester manufacturers; against the sentimental philanthropist; against our own countrymen, who come to fill their pockets and go home again: we are bound to protect the Indian in the enjoyment of his laws, customs, lands, and civil rights: if we cannot give him political liberty, he shall have everything short of it: if he cannot have a Constitution like the colonies of Great Britain, he has a strong phalanx of men, who have known India from their youth, and loved the people, and are ready to resist any attempt to oppress them, deprive them of equality in the courts of law, or of free trade, and free commerce. If the Chinese do not like the products of India, they can let them alone. The Indian ports are open to every possible product of Chinese industry. If the Chinese prefer their home-grown opium, be it so, and India will seek other markets, and develope other industries; but it will do so by its own spontaneous action, and not under the threats of benevolent enthusiasts in a distant country.

However dark the colours may be, with which the Cultivation of the Poppy is painted, it is *there*, and, if the Government of British India abolished its Monopoly, and remitted the export-duty, and set the cultivation of the poppy free, the trade would not be diminished, but would be enormously expanded. It is said of King Henry V., that he intended, if he had conquered France, to destroy all the vines with a view of arresting drunkenness. The late Mahārāja of Pateála allowed no distilleries and dancing-girls within his territory; but the extent of his administrative capacity may be measured by the fact, that I tried in vain, in a personal interview, to persuade him to allow me to open a post-office in his dominions. It is, however, beyond the power of Viceroys, or Parliaments, or even Philanthropic Associations, to fight against Nature, and exclude from culture and commerce one of the richest gifts of the earth. By restricting the culture to certain tracts (of which the soil is most suitable to its cultivation), we can create a Monopoly, and restrain the culture beyond certain limits; but as to forbidding it altogether in the central poppy region in our own territory, it is impossible, and, if it were possible, it would be a difficult and costly operation to war against Nature and freedom of culture under the influence of a mere fancy. Still less feasible would any attempt be to arrest the culture in the territory of the independent Chiefs of Central India. It is possible that if prices fell, the culture would be given up in outlying districts, and other staples would prove

more profitable ; but this matter would be settled by the cultivator himself, and not by the State.

The people of China will soon have unlimited supplies of home-grown opium. The action of the Anti-Opium Society has helped to open the eyes of the Chinese authorities to the policy of this counter-action, which will arrest the export of silver, and still supply the much-coveted drug. British India will suffer for the time, but it is not clear what the morals of the Chinese will gain. The Chinese Government now thoroughly understand that no force will be used to introduce the Indian drug, and they are anxious to share the vast revenue by imposing a transit-duty. If a few millions make use of the Indian-imported opium, which does not penetrate far into the country, scores of millions will learn to smoke the home-grown opium manufactured in their midst. When the Indian export trade has, under the inexorable laws of Supply and Demand, shrunk into nothing, it is not obvious whether the Anti-Opium Society will congratulate themselves upon the extinction of the so-called National Sin, or feel like engineers hoist with their own petard, when they contemplate the enormous increase of opium-smokers in China.

In the mean time the march of events seems likely to extinguish the Opium trade and the Anti-Opium Society in one common ruin. I quote the last accounts :

There cannot be any doubt, but that the foreign drug will be driven, slowly perhaps, but steadily, by native competition, from the China market. The records of the foreign Customs, and the Consular service, the testimony of travellers and Missionaries, supply evidence on this point which cannot be doubted. The three northern Ports, in one year, show a loss amounting to 27 per cent. of their total imports. The native drug has so much improved, that it is there driving the foreign article from the market, even though the foreign prices had been reduced from 9 to 24 per cent. from those of the previous year. Sechuan opium is fast supplanting the foreign on the Yangtze, the distribution being largely carried on through boatmen and foot travellers, who tell no tales. In Formosa and South China generally, though the decline of the opium imported through the Customs is marked, the consumption is said not to be largely on the decrease, owing presumably to contraband supplies, nor does the native article as yet interfere largely with the foreign drug. The reason for this is simple. The opium of Yunan and Sechuan cannot yet compete with the Indian opium, adulterated, as sold at the ports of Formosa, Amoy, Swatow, Pakhoi or Hoihow, where it is delivered, principally by means of junks from Singapur and Hong-Kong, mainly, of course, the latter place. It resolves itself into a simple question of cost of carriage.

Among the reasons assigned for this decrease are the action of the Chinese authorities towards discouraging the practice, and the depressed condition of trade. The latter is undoubtedly a great factor in the case, but I have no faith in the former. That the authorities are taking any serious steps towards the suppression of the drug is not to be credited, least of all by any one who has travelled in Interior China. Like the Abbé Huc, from personal experience gained in Chinese travel, I can say : " Pendant notre long voyage en Chine, nous n'avons pas rencontré un seul tribunal où on ne fumât l'opium ouvertement

et impunément." It is found, in the opium provinces, growing under the walls of nearly every court-house. All travellers are agreed in this, that Yunnan and Szechuan opium is rapidly increasing in quantity and improving in quality. It is fast forcing its way to the seaboard; being already brought there and shipped along the coast, although as yet in small quantities. The poppy is spreading over other provinces, and as the value of the crop is double that of wheat, it is fast replacing that dry-weather crop. The use of the Indian drug, since the improvement of the native article, is becoming, slowly but surely, a luxury only for the more affluent trader or official. Perfected still more, fashion will give its *impetus* to the native article, and then the foreign drug will be doomed.

The owner of a mine finds, that the ore is exhausted, and he has nothing to blame himself for: he has done his work scientifically, but the gift of Nature is exhausted. So will it be with British India. It made good use of the advantages, which fertility of soil, industry, and commerce supplied, and when one of them fail, there is nothing for it but to let the export-duty die out, and strive to face the financial difficulty. This is something very different from abandoning without cause an abundant source of revenue. But this decay of resources will be a work of time, and the Cultivation of the Poppy, with its shower of silver upon India, will, though perceptibly diminishing, scarcely disappear in this generation. The Missionaries in China will restrict themselves to their proper duty of preaching the Gospel, sadder at the spectacle of the awful increase of opium-smoking, perhaps wiser in having learnt, that it is idle to fight against Nature, free-trade, and the liberty of each man to control his own actions in things not forbidden by the laws of civilized nations. The Government of British India will have to restrict its many plans of usefulness. The Anti-Opium Society will cease its exertions, unless, under the guidance of more thorough and earnest leaders, it turns its attention to gin, rum, and French brandy, exported to West Africa or consumed in Great Britain.

My own feeling has ever been in favour of getting rid, at as early a date as possible, and at some sacrifice of revenue, of the Monopoly, because a Monopoly in itself is wrong, and in this case a scandal to some minds, and it seemed feasible to arrive at the same results on the East side of India, which have spontaneously arisen on the West side; but I am assured by experts, that the abolition of the Monopoly would be prejudicial to the best interests of the people of India, and that is with me the paramount consideration. I have already stated that, if I were satisfied that opium were introduced by force into the Provinces of China *outside* the Treaty-ports, I should join the opposite party. Five years ago I called, with another member of the Committee of the Church Missionary Society, by appointment, on the late Sir Harry Parkes, then Envoy and Minister Plenipotentiary at Japan, and satisfied myself that this allegation was not true. A short time ago a Missionary from China told the

Committee of the Church Missionary Society, that the Chinese Government systematically neglected the provisions of the Treaty as regards religious liberty. I made him repeat those words, and then asked him, why then it was alleged that they were afraid to do the same with regard to opium? His reply was that the Chinese were afraid of the merchants, but not of the Missionaries. But I read in the *Times* (October 23, 1884):

That for the last nine or ten years the Chinese Government has been allowed to encroach on treaty rights, and has levied with impunity heavy transit-duties, which have virtually nullified the treaty-advantages, and proved disastrous to the sale of Manchester goods in the interior.

This is the statement of a Hankow merchant. In the face of such statements, and the fact, that the Chinese Government is not afraid to go to war for ancient and shadowy rights over Tonkin with the French Government, how can we believe the Chinese Government is not able to raise the transit-duties upon opium to such an extent as to raise the price and restrict the sale? Is China not strong enough to put down smuggling, if the attempt were made?

Nor can I, after calm reflection on the whole case, during the last fifteen years, acquit the Anti-Opium Society of being the cause of the miserable end of the contest, which will have injured the people of British India by the destruction of a profitable industry and export, and has yet multiplied the vice of opium-smoking in China beyond any previous calculation. What was their object? Did they desire to arrest the vice in China, or only to free the British Nation from the imputation of pandering to that vice? If we desired to wean the British public of their taste for alcoholic drink, we should scarcely commence a crusade against cultivators of the Vine, and the French Government. The line, which the Anti-Opium Society adopted, of indiscriminate abuse had two effects: it stiffened and hardened the views of the Government of India. The statesmen who were, or had been, Viceroys, and meritorious public servants, who were or had been Governors and high officials, felt injured by the gross insinuations which they felt they did not deserve: they at least understood the nature of the problem, but upon the Committee of the Anti-Opium Society there was not one Anglo-Indian of experience, nor was it likely that there would be one: a general feeling of resentment at, and contempt for, the movement was felt in Anglo-Indian circles, both in British India and Great Britain. But their proceedings had another effect, not contemplated, but equally real. The eyes of the Chinese rulers were opened to the exceeding value of the product, and to the firmness with which the Indian Government held to it. They saw also how feeble were the efforts of the Anti-Opium Society, whose motive was not the welfare of the Chinese, but the alleged

discredit attaching to the British name. Opium cultivation was found to be as acceptable to the Chinese landowners, the local Governors and the State, as it proved to be in India. It was not clear what results the Anti-Opium Society desired: it is clear what they have obtained.

The above remarks were written in London in October, 1884, despatched to Calcutta, and appeared in the pages of the *Calcutta Review* on the 1st of January, 1885. I had no idea that negotiations were going on, and that the Chefú Convention would so soon be ratified. Yet such has been the case. On my return from a prolonged tour to the Cataracts in Egypt, where I was, when Khartúm fell, and Gordon was killed, and a tour through Palestine to Damascus, I find the death-blow to the argument of force being applied to the Chinese Government has been struck, and in the Paper (China, No. 5, 1885) presented to the Houses of Parliament, August, 1885, Marquis Tsêng appears as a very sensible negociator, representing a very sensible and enlightened Government at Pekin. They have entirely entered into the Commonwealth of Nations, and thoroughly appreciate the valuable addition to the Imperial Revenues by an additional squeeze of the Indian opium, which pays the Customs-duty for permission to enter the Treaty-port, and a heavy Transit-duty for permission to leave it: when sold in retail, it may again be taxed, in the form of an Excise, but upon equitable principles with regard to the Native-grown Drug.

The arrangement now sanctioned is *proposed by the Chinese Government*: there are no Confucian platitudes, no high moral sentiments, but an unmistakeable desire to secure the Imperial Treasury, as distinguished from the Provincial Chests, as large an income as possible, collected in advance at the Treaty-port. Moreover, the information is volunteered, that the new arrangement will harmonize with existing Institutions in China. The matter has stood over for seven years, and, as if by an irony of Fate, the final arrangements were conducted by the Liberal Ministry of Mr. Gladstone, and brought to all but a formal conclusion, but the finishing touch has been given by a Conservative Ministry under the signature of Lord Salisbury. So both the great parties of the State agree in this sound and profitable settlement of the controversy.

It may be asked then: why add to the controversial literature? let the dead dog lie. We shall probably hear little more of the Anti-Opium Society. They have discharged their Secretary, and are content with the occasional use of a small room. It is to be hoped, that moral influences will be brought to bear to stay the plague of opium-smoking among the Chinese People,

and that the great European, Australian, and North American peoples will resist the contagion. Shame on them, if they do not!

But the mischief does not end here. Great Britain has many sins to answer for, both in past and present time. She has used the strength of a giant as a giant, invading weaker countries, and then abandoning them; but for the manufacture of opium Great Britain is not to blame, unless the new principle is to be laid down, that no Christian Nation is to be allowed to export Gunpowder, Arms, Alcoholic Drinks, and Intoxicating Drugs, and no commercial treaties are to be made with weaker Asiatic and African and Oceanic Nations. To make such without a degree of pressure, which in the case of European Nations would be intolerable, is impossible. Britons, by unwarrantably vilifying their own country, and in this case unjustly, only give foreign nations the opportunity of echoing it. We read with astonishment such expressions as the following:

The most outrageous and unpardonable national crime of any age.

These unjustifiable expressions are quoted and amplified by such excellent and respectable Religious organs as the *Missionary Review* of Princeton, U.S.A., and are believed by thousands of over-confident and uninstructed readers. Such expressions as these follow, indicating gross ignorance:

The perversion of many hundred thousand acres of the best land in India from food crops to crops of this poison is the main cause of the frequent famines in that country. The thousands of Hindus, who grow the poppies and make the opium, are greatly demoralized thereby, many of them becoming eaters *or smokers* of the baneful stuff, and the opium vice is spreading in almost all parts of India. In Barma and Arracan opium *was given away at first*, then sold at a cheap rate, and the price raised when the habit was established. England on a vast scale is ruining her own subjects as well as the Chinese.

Surely this is something more than ignorance, and amounts to *Suggestio Falsi*. It is notorious, that India suffers from a glut of Cereals, and exports grain to England. It is equally notorious, that the amount of opium sold in India is extremely limited, and that the population of the opium-growing districts are peculiarly free from the use of the drug. It would not be easy to find an opium-smoker in British India west of the Bráhmáputra River, except the Chinese immigrants. As to the alleged policy adopted in Barma, it is simply ridiculous.

What will be thought of the following extract from a communication by a Chinese Missionary to his credulous friends:

The thing which remains for us to do now is to give the people the Gospel of the Lord Jesus; meanwhile to use every effort to induce our Government to abolish the trade as far as India is concerned. We must wipe our hands of this dirty trade, though we cannot wipe out the past; *the harvest has been sown*. The Chinese regard it as a direct act of plotting the nation's destruction, equally as much as the conduct of a man, who is guilty of administering poison to another for some evil advantage.

I was talking with two men yesterday upon the subject of opium. One was a young fellow, who is now using medicine to break off the habit. As we were talking of its effects, he stamped his foot, exclaiming, "Alas ! alas ! from where did it first come ?" I answered, "From India ; but," I added, "no one has forced you to grow it, neither forced you to eat it. There is no foreign drug to be bought here ; it is all your own production." Nevertheless the fact remained that Englishmen *introduced it, or at least introduced the practice of habitual smoking* ; before that, it was scarcely known, if known at all.

The British nation are undoubtedly the sowers of this dreadful seed ; it has yielded an abundant harvest of death and ruination in China. So prevalent is the habit here, that the bulk of the people do not rise before ten or eleven o'clock in the forenoon, and no business is commenced in the commercial houses until nearly mid-day.

A distinct reply is required, and an indignant denial, and an appeal to patent facts. We shall next hear that the British introduced the use of intoxicating liquors among the tribes in the valley of the Kongo : fortunately Henry Stanley, an American citizen, in his great work, published in 1885, mentions incidentally, that these tribes were wholly given to the use of intoxicating liquors of their own manufacture, *before they saw a white face*.

If any one had a dear friend, exposed to unjust obloquy, affecting his whole moral character, would he, if he had the facts at his command, maintain silence ? If any one were deliberately, and without foundation, to attack the British and Foreign Bible Society and Church Missionary Society, to which I have devoted the remainder of my life, should I not draw the sword in their justification ? and can I be silent, when such things are said against my countrymen, against the two great parties, Liberal and Conservative, which govern the country, and do not spare the failings of each other, and are equally jealous of the National good name : when such frightful crimes are imputed to the Government of British India, with regard to which I quote a few lines from a Leader in the *Times*, which appeared only a few days ago (August 11, 1885), and which expresses my deliberate sentiments after a prolonged study of the system of administration of European, Asiatic, and African Nations :

On the whole, we are convinced, such an inquiry will be useful, mainly, because it will show that there never was a Government, be its faults what they may, more efficient for good, more progressive and enlightened, and more consistently inspired by the highest and purest motives, pursued with indefatigable zeal and absolute self-devotion, than that of the English rulers of India.

This pamphlet is written for an American, as well as an English public.

LONDON, *August* 18, 1885 (with additions, 1888).

The July number of the *Friend of China* supplies a report of the Annual Meeting of the Society for the Suppression of the

Opium Trade on June 8th, 1887, and a Breakfast Meeting to discuss the policy for the future on May 10th, 1887. The tone of both meetings was highly to be commended. The object of all Missionary Societies is to improve the lives of the Heathen, so as to get them to be better citizens in this world, and heirs of salvation in the next. All abominable customs, whether partaking of the character of crime forbidden by human law, or vices condemned by Christian morals, are objects of aversion to all who seek the welfare of Heathen people. It is in the method to meet, correct, and get rid of these vices, upon which sincere and earnest men differ. The Association has determined to follow the advice of the Rev. Dr. Dudgeon, an esteemed Missionary, and have recourse to moral suasion of the Chinese people, similar to the action of the total abstinence societies, which have worked such wonders amidst the British people. The scheme is to appoint a qualified agent of the Society in China, to act in unison with the Missionaries, and give his whole attention to the matter; to superintend the work; to collect information; to establish agencies; to employ Native helpers; to publish sheets and tracts; to hold meetings and give lectures; to establish opium refuges; to form abstinence societies; to memorialize Native officials; to conduct a periodical journal in the vernacular, and to use all lawful means to rouse the people to a sense of the ruinous nature of the vice of opium-smoking. If such a policy be followed, there will be a rich blessing, for it is consistent with reason, experience, the practice of the home Churches, and the teaching of the Bible.

LONDON, *August*, 1887.

The great Congress of Missionaries in London, in June, 1888, was disfigured by an attempt to disturb the peace of those, who follow the example of St. Paul, and seek only the extension of Christ's Gospel, by the introduction of this nearly moribund craze. I was sorry to read, that some of our dear American friends attended this meeting, thus interfering in the domestic affairs of a great friendly nation, whose hospitality they were enjoying. The Meeting *was not part of the Congress*: it was expressly excluded from the Programme after a lengthy discussion before the Executive Council, and took place after the Valedictory Meeting, and the dismissal of the Congress. Our friends did not attend as delegates of Missionary Societies, but as private American citizens, interfering in the affairs of the great British Nation. I was invited, but did not attend; but, if it had been attempted to pass a vote of censure on the President of the United States, for declining to agree to the Treaty for restraining the Traffic of Liquor in the South Seas, I

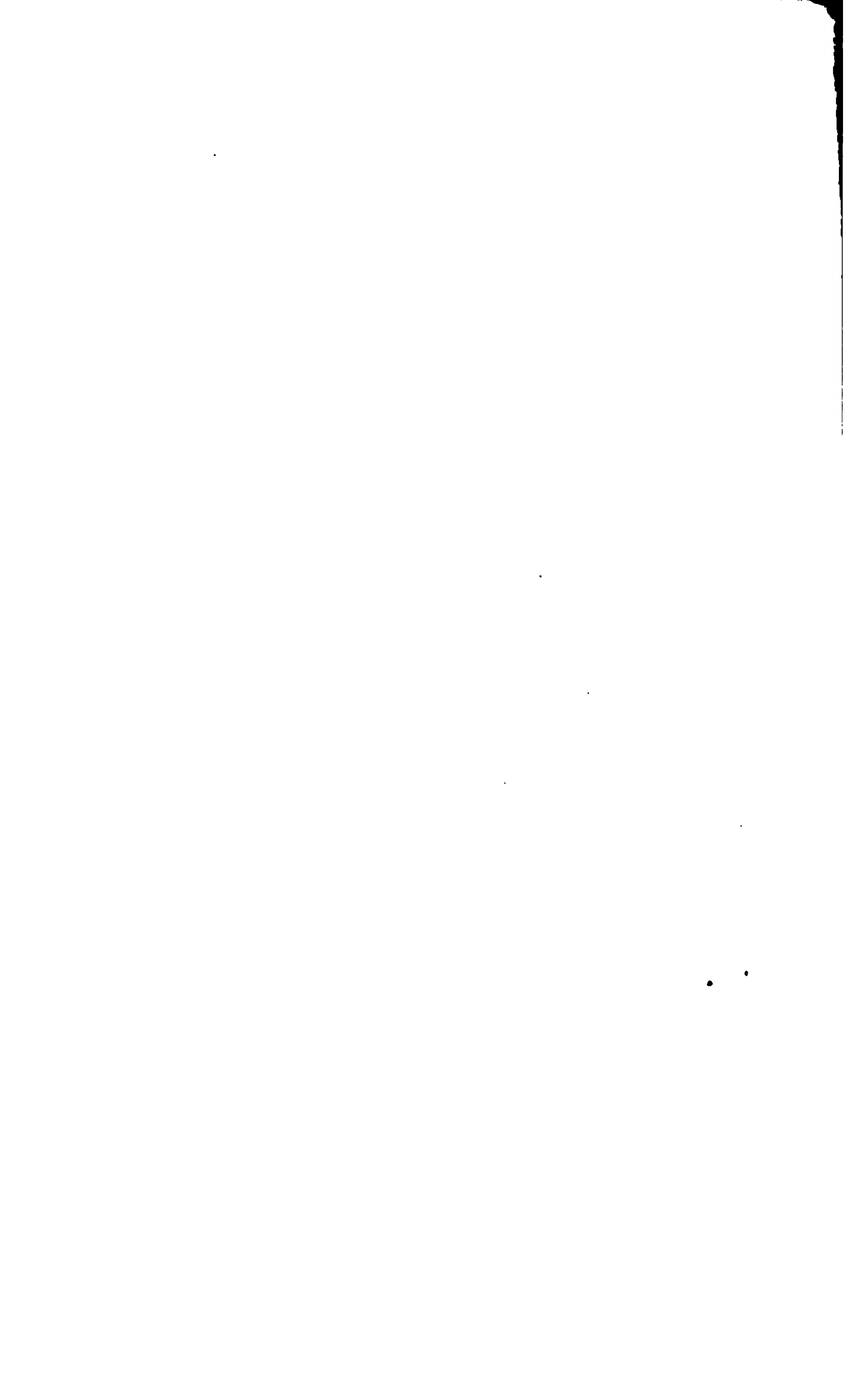
should have attended, to protest against a miscellaneous assembly of the British people passing a censure on the Government of a friendly Nation, *whether right or wrong*.

None of the distinguished Noblemen, and Gentlemen, who had presided at the authorized meetings of the Congress, took the chair on this occasion: it was occupied by a permanent Civil Servant of a Public Office, who was not unwilling to put Resolutions, condemning the Government of India, at the head of which was his illustrious cousin, the Earl of Dufferin. Had those Resolutions condemned either the people of Ireland, his native land, or the Government of that Island, a question would have been promptly asked in the House of Commons, why a public servant with an annual salary of £2000 should be permitted to put to a Meeting votes of censure on one of the great Departments of the State. British India is a corpus vile, upon which any brave orator can flesh his weapon, for the India Office, secure in its own strength, never returns the blow, but looks on with a smile of scorn. On this occasion something more than usual has to be recorded, for an American citizen on the platform of Exeter Hall was allowed to state, without being called to order by the Chair, even without cries of "Shame!" from the audience, that, "for what had been done in India, the British deserved far more than the Turks for their atrocities in Bulgaria, to be turned out bag and baggage." Opium seems to stupefy the sentiments of Patriotism in the hearers, and Decency in the speakers.

The cause of Missionary Societies is as unpopular with the higher, richer, and influential, classes in Great Britain, as with the great democracy: it is difficult to secure the attendance at a Meeting of a Member of either House of Parliament. This unpopularity is caused by the folly of this small section, always bringing forward their local and peculiar grievances, which have no direct bearing on the Evangelization of the World. No one distinguished in Art, Arms, Literature, Politics, or Theology, joins their ranks. Even quiet, undemonstrative, but still sincere, Christians feel shy of joining assemblies, which abandon their holy duty of conveying the Gospel to dying souls, to discuss, and pass resolutions on the subject of the Cultivation of the Poppy and Manufacture of Opium, the export of Rum and Gin, and the Immorality of the British Soldier. Sensible people can see no possible connection between such subjects and the duty imposed upon us all by the parting words of the Risen Saviour. If Missionary Societies desire to constitute themselves Censors and Judges of the Morals of the British people, the Champions of all that think themselves injured, and the Denouncers of everything, which they do not understand, they are going beyond their province, and trespassing on the duties of secular Societies. St. Paul was

determined to know nothing among the Corinthians, save *Jesus Christ and Him crucified*, and yet we know what Corinth and the Corinthians were. St. Paul tells us, that not many wise were called, and I feel that it is indeed true, when I listen to the speeches of good, loving and lovable Christians, who are no more able to appreciate the principles, upon which Great Britain has built and sustained her Empire, than that humble saint of God, who wrote the *Pilgrim's Progress*. The reports tell us how an American citizen from the Far West, and a German from Westphalia, undertook to explain to a mixed assembly of men and women, what was the duty of the British Parliament, and the foolish assembly stamped and applauded. It is indeed a sad reflection, how much discredit is brought upon the cause of Christ by the weakness of some few of His devoted servants, who love well, but not wisely. We are sinking to the level of the Salvation Army, its extravagance and impotence.

JUNE, 1888.



VI.

THE LIQUOR-TRAFFIC IN BRITISH INDIA.

HAS THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT DONE ITS DUTY ?

Μεγάλη ἡ ἀλήθεια, καὶ ὑπερισχύει.

“DOEST thou well to be angry for the gourd ?” And he said, “I do well to be angry even unto death.” Such were the words of the prophet Jonah, 800 B.C.: it is well even in this age of hasty judgment, and rash words, to be angry, when statements are made by public men in public places, which are wholly unwarrantable, and the Government of a great Dependency, the greatest that History ever knew, is held up to scorn for having initiated, and continued for more than a Century, a policy of the damnable nature of deliberately destroying the morals of two hundred Millions, placed in their charge, and at their mercy, for the sake of realizing a paltry Revenue. As one of the chief speakers put it:

The wants of the Indian Exchequer are so urgent, and it is so easy to bring in Revenue from the increased sale of drink, that the temptation is irresistible to go on licensing more drink-shops.

There is no getting out of the difficulty: the charge is not made on this occasion against the British people, the great shipping and commercial and manufacturing interests of Great Britain, but against the Government of India.

How did it come about ? For more than twenty-five years there has existed in England an association called the “Church of England Temperance Society,” which by its numerous branches has done an infinity of good to the people of this island, who are notoriously a thirsty race, and, in addition to many excellent qualities, which have placed them in the front rank of Nations past and present, do not possess, and never have possessed, the great grace of Temperance. Total Abstinence is the miserable and desperate remedy of the dipsomaniac, the weak-hearted, and coward, while Temperance in all things lawful is the glory of the Christian Man, using the good gifts of his Creator, as they were intended to be used. Happy are those, who from their youth up, not under the influence of

a pledge, or a command, or a craze, have of their own free will and inclination learnt to dispense with the use of stimulants and tobacco: but this grace is not given to all, although the number is annually increasing. The above-mentioned Association determined in 1886 to make a new departure, and to carry the war all over the world. A letter was addressed to the Primate of England by the Chairman of the Society, enunciating this new policy, and stating with regard to British India that:

A nation of abstainers was gradually becoming a nation of drunkards: that drunkenness had disappeared, but was reintroduced by the British: that nothing was done to check the evil by legislative measures: that nearly every village had its liquor-shop, and the natives believed, that they were *conferring a favour on the Government* by buying the liquor.

We are not told in the Pamphlet, to whom we are indebted for the last sentiment, but it looks, as if the writer had had a rise taken out of him by some astute Bábu from a Presidency College, who had acquired bad habits; but Archdeacon Farrar is credited with the following dictum, which no doubt drew down rounds of discriminating and temperate applause:

We have girdled the world with a zone of drink.

The selection of authorities in the appendix to the Pamphlet contains no single name, which carries any authority whatever: one person suggests, that total abstinence should be a condition precedent to Baptism, for which there is no warrant in Holy Scripture: another person translates "sharáb" as "shame water": this rendering may deceive excited hearers in a public meeting, but will not hold water in Asia, and has no warrant in the Dictionary. Another person cannot see any other explanation for the increase of income, than the encouragement by the State of the sale, forgetting that a higher rate of taxation, only limited by the margin of profit of the smuggler, would have the same result. A great increase in the amount of Police fines in the Metropolitan area in a given period would imply, not that the Magistrates had encouraged intemperance, and wife-beating, but had punished it by heavier fines. The late King of Oudh is credited with the merit of not making a revenue out of the sale of spirits: it is true, for he allowed distilleries to be worked without any check whatsoever! This would hardly seem a wise policy either in India or Westminster. Another person states, and no doubt correctly, that the educated classes betake themselves to imported liquors, and infers, that the Government is entirely responsible for this state of things. Has that person considered, whether in a country, of which Free Trade is the glory, any import can be excluded without raising difficult complications with British and Foreign Producers? The same person remarks, that the heathen regard the use of intoxicating liquors as a sign of a Christian. I shall

show below, that this person must have imperfectly studied the literature of India to arrive at such a conclusion. Nanda Lal Ghose, a Barrister, undertakes to state, that the Demon of Drink was introduced by a Christian Government. I must refer him to a closer study of the esteemed writings of his own countrymen. Another person states (as the result of six months' tour in India) that the natives, if left to themselves, would not have *licensed* shops for the sale of the vile alcoholic compounds, which come from Europe. No doubt, that, if the State-control and tax were removed, there would be an unlimited amount of *unlicensed* shops. And, with all deference to the same person's opinion, formed in the Railway-train, or the Hotel, or Rest-houses, and unassisted by the least knowledge of the Vernacular, I do not think, that in matters of morality the Government of India falls behind the Ethical Code of the people, as unquestionably the slaughter of kine was prohibited, while the slaughter of widows, female children, aged relations, and lepers, was considered to be a religious duty, and the practice has been only abandoned, or checked, under the pressure of severe penalties, without any assistance from the moral consciousness of the Nation. During the Mutinies the Emperor Napoleon III. received a petition from India, praying for assistance to drive out the British, who had forbidden their time-honoured customs, among which these were enumerated !

But another movement had been made, with less sound of the trumpet, perhaps with more soberness of statement, by Missionary Societies, to stem, if possible, the stream of liquor, which was flowing from European ports into the Rivers of West Africa. In December, 1884, while the Berlin Conference was sitting to arrange the affairs of the Dominion of the Kongo, at my suggestion a Deputation of the Church Missionary Society was received by the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to lay before him the state of the case, and urge the introduction into the Treaty of some clause, restricting by a system of Excise the importation of European liquor into the Basin of the Niger. The Bishop of Sierra Leone made an impressive speech, and I was permitted to follow him, and I ventured to remark, that the Missionaries were not seeking their own personal interests, but those of the people, who could not speak for themselves, and that they did not ask for impossibilities, such as the absolute prohibition of the import of spirits, but only for the regulation by means of Excise, and licences of Liquor-Shops. Great credit should be given to the representatives of Great Britain and of the United States, for their gallant attempt to introduce a clause, but it was necessary to make a compromise with Germany and France, and the clause was abandoned. In October, 1885, the German Missionaries, assembled at Bremen in North Germany,

brought to notice the lamentable consequences to the people of Africa of the uncontrolled import of spirituous liquors, chiefly from Hamburg, and Dr. Zahn, the Director of the North German Missionary Society, published a powerful German pamphlet on the subject, and was good enough to make communications to me, which enabled me on the 20th January, 1886, to bring before an assembly of representatives of all the great Missionary Societies at the Wesleyan Mission House, Bishopsgate Street, the following resolutions :

A. That the Protestant Missionary Societies of Great Britain and Ireland should send a Deputation to the Foreign Office to point out the ruin, which threatens the Negro populations of West Africa generally, and of the Basin of the Niger in particular, by the unrestricted importation of spirituous liquors from Northern Europe, and to inform the Foreign Secretary, that the German and German Swiss Missionary Societies, assembled at Bremen, last October, have brought the subject before the notice of the Imperial Government at Berlin with the same object, admitting frankly that the town of Hamburg is one of the greatest offenders in this matter.

B. The Deputation should impress upon Her Majesty's Government, that the present state of affairs will not only prevent the development of legitimate trade in the Manufactures and Products of Europe, but will destroy, physically as well as morally, the population of a country, rescued from the Slave Trade by the expenditure of British lives and resources.

C. The remedies, suggested as feasible, in which the German Societies agree, are

(I.) The imposition of a substantial Import-duty, fixed at a scale just low enough as not to make smuggling profitable.

(II.) The introduction of a system of Licences, by which the sale would be restricted to certain shops, maintained by responsible parties. A substantial Fee to be levied for each licence.

(III.) The forbidding of any British person, or British Company, remunerating labour, or bartering for native produce, in spirituous liquors.

(IV.) The discontinuance on the part of the British Authorities of making presents of cases and bottles of spirits to Natives, or offering, or receiving, entertainment in spirits on the occasion of public ceremonies.

The Revenue collected from the Import-Duty and Licence-Fee will suffice to maintain ample Government Establishments for the purpose of enforcing the Regulation of Customs and Excise now proposed.

D. The leading secular organs of Public Opinion should be invited to bring home to the public conscience the lamentable consequence of the neglect of remedial measures *before the evil exceeds the possibility of control and remedy*. A promising market, both of Export of Native Produce, and the Import of European Manufactures, will be destroyed by the short-sightedness of the first generation of Merchants, who would literally kill the goose to get at the golden eggs: this point of view concerns the Manufacturer and Merchant; but the Missionary Societies have their thoughts ever solely fixed upon the awful crime of ruining Millions of a race in a low state of culture, and unable to protect themselves, by the introduction of Rum, Gin, and Alcohol, *of the very existence of which the Negroes never heard before, and with which they could not supply themselves, except by the Agency of European Merchants*.

It was agreed, after discussion, that the subject should be referred to a Committee delegated by each Society, who should confer, and make a collective Report to their several Committees,

and that final action should then be taken. This eventuated in an able and comprehensive Pamphlet, entitled "Trafficking in Liquor with the Natives of Africa," from the pen of the Rev. Horace Waller, so well known as the companion of Livingstone, stating the whole case, and published in the beginning of the year 1887. I have alluded to these proceedings in detail, as no doubt those, who disagree with me in my argument, defending the Government of India against the unjust aspersions thrown upon it, may be tempted to cry out, that I am a kind of Philistine, and one who cares little for the welfare of native races: on the contrary, it is the leading object of my life, and I was up in arms for the people of West Africa long before the Church of England Temperance Society unfortunately lent an ear to the exaggerations and downright falsehoods, which have for the present arrested its useful and benevolent career.

On the 30th of March of the year 1887 a Meeting was held in Prince's Hall, Piccadilly, of all persons interested in this great subject, "The Demoralization of Native Races by the Drink Traffic." The Bishop of London was in the Chair. The practical object of the Meeting was to appoint a Committee to collect information, and I among others was requested to attend, and to allow my name to be placed on the General Committee, to which I gladly assented, believing, in the innocence of my heart, that the term "Native Races" was meant to include those unfortunate races of Africa, and Oceania, which, being under no settled form of Government able to protect them, were at the mercy of the unprincipled European importers of European spirituous liquors, as described in Mr. Horace Waller's pamphlet.

The Bishop of London made an admirable opening address, carrying every one with him. He was followed by Archdeacon Farrar, who proposed the first Resolution, and astonished many of his hearers (and among them most particularly myself) by stating, that his portion of the task related to British India. Now India is a great dependency of the British Crown, with a Constitution of its own, a Budget of its own, owing nothing to Great Britain, and paying no tribute to Great Britain, governed under a system of law by able and high-minded men, sent out from time to time by both of the great parties of the State, who are assisted in the subordinate administration, political, fiscal, and judicial, by the great Civil Service of India, which is elected by competition from the youth of each year, restrained by Covenants, controlled by Rules, guaranteed by Law, and upheld in the high and steadfast path of Honour and Duty by feelings of Self-respect, and the consciousness of integrity never questioned, and purity of motive, upon which no shadow during this century had ever been cast. In a book which I published in 1887, "Linguistic and Oriental Essays," when reviewing the

miserable state of Egypt, I contrasted with it the state of affairs in British India, remarking:

That the British official, wherever he goes, carries with him in his office-box the dignity of a gentleman and a Christian: under no circumstances, or in any place, and in any environment, would he condescend to do or say what is false and mean: he would shrink from what is cruel and treacherous: he would proudly turn away from what is wanton or sordid.

And yet Archdeacon Farrar, with knowledge, or without knowledge (it matters not which), that the administration of British India is entirely in the hands of the Covenanted Civil Service, with the exception of the post of Viceroy, and the Governors of Bombay and Madras, in strong, slow, and measured words, dared to say,

"We found India sober, and left it drunken."

As the Head Master of a great public school, he could not resist a quotation,

pudet hæc opprobria nobis
Et dici potuisse, et non potuisse repelli.

The indignation, which several members of the Indian Services felt, with myself, when we listened to this speech, can scarcely be described: the feeling was to interrupt the meeting by loud protests, but the kind and wise address of the Bishop of London held me back, for to disturb the meeting would be to vex him: my chief desire was to get away from a Hall, where such things were uttered and applauded.

He was followed by Mr. Samuel Smith, M.P., who, freed from the restraint of the presence of Under-Secretaries of State for India, and ex-Governors of Bengal and Bombay, who had to a certain degree kept him in order in the House of Commons, mounted his hobby, and in order that full justice may be done to his eloquence and accuracy of statement, I quote his remarks from the Report in the *Rock Newspaper*:

During his recent visit to India he found a complete unanimity of opinion as to the rapid increase of intemperance. The natives imitate Englishmen in drinking with disastrous effects, for they have not the same power of self-control, and their constitution is not so strong. *Before the English were in India the sale of strong drink was unknown. By religion and custom the people of India were total abstainers.*

Mr. Smith is reported to have produced a profound impression by his calm and clear statements. He gave some items from a letter, which he had received from an English missionary, which created a painful impression.

No one would say, or think, that the Government desires to foster the vice of drunkenness in its Indian subjects.

Whereupon Mr. Smith remarked, amid cheers, "That is a

charitable statement," and continuing the reading of the missionary's letter, said :

But Government wants *money*, and the Board of Revenue has found out that one way to get it is to encourage the drink-trade, and to put facilities before the people generally to take to the habit of drinking, in order to push on the trade, and get in a larger revenue, so that really the Indian Government is guilty of the crime of pushing a trade for fiscal objects, which is fast spreading the terrible evil of drinking and drunkenness throughout the country.

The speaker went on to describe how this had been effected by the "out-still" system :

Formerly certain central distillers were alone permitted. Instead of this, under the new system, native distillers were at liberty to open their own stills, and manufacture as much as they liked, and what they pleased, by paying a monthly rent to the Government for permission to manufacture and sell. This brought the liquor down from about two shillings or so a bottle to about twopence, and the stills multiplied a hundred-fold. The consequence was there was a regular rush for the drink from all classes, the *very beggars and boys and women* taking to it. There are two facts of importance which should not be lost sight of in native drinking. First, natives have no idea of moderation in the use of strong drinks. They try to get drunk, and therefore they imbibe by the bottle, not by the glass. Moreover, while many Europeans reform and give up the drink, the native goes on to the bitter end. Once a Native becomes a hard drinker, he seldom or never can give it up, for want of moral courage. The Revenue in India is chronically short. The mass of people are poor beyond any standard of poverty known at home. We hold India by prestige, but in the long run, we shall only hold India by the prestige of righteousness.

He thought, that the greatest kindness an audience can do to the Government of India, is to elevate their standard of righteousness, a sentiment which elicited warm approval. Mr. Smith quoted the testimony of a native doctor to the effect, that 90 per cent. is the proportion of deaths from drink, and, making every allowance for Orientalism, the statement is terribly appalling.

I quite admit, that the throne of the Empress of India is founded on Righteousness, and that the British Nation is only permitted to rule over that great country on the condition, that their Rule should be righteous; but Truth is usually coupled with Righteousness, and here it appeared to be entirely dissociated. A French downright hater of Great Britain would have carefully collected his facts and marshalled his authorities. A Member of the British Parliament seemed under no such necessity. A line of Juvenal came to my recollection :

Quid Romæ faciam ? mentiri nescio.

I left the Hall, feeling, with many others, that the Liquor Merchants had effected a great triumph. Truth was the only weapon, with which we could meet them: with carefully collected facts, and tested statistics, the Committee of the Missionary Societies had prepared for a direct attack on the common enemy, the Merchants of Great Britain, Germany,

France, and America. Some of the Missionary Societies of the last-mentioned Country had expressed to me their entire concurrence in the attempt that was to be made. By the speeches of the Archdeacon, and Mr. Samuel Smith, the whole character of the struggle was altered : the attack was now upon the constitutional Government of British India, or rather on the Covenanted servants of that Government : it was a charge of a character worse than that made by Cicero upon Verres, inasmuch as the plunder of Provinces from personal greed is a less heinous offence than the systematic poisoning of the bodies and souls of a great and historic Nation for the miserable object of adding a few Lakhs of Rupees to the Revenue of the State. Moreover, if the speakers only understood their brief, they **must** have felt that the line of Juvenal applied to them :

Dant veniam corvis : vexat censura columbam.

The British Merchant, who brought the Brandy and Whisky and Gin and choice wines in such abundance to India, the British Planters of the Mauritius, who flooded Bombay with Rum, were the real offenders, if any tangible offence existed. With singular inconsistency, after Sir Charles Warren and the Negro Pastor, James Johnson, had pleaded earnestly and truly for Africa, after Mr. Caine, M.P., had made a speech about Egypt, which had no bearing upon the subject, after Mr. Horace Waller had vainly striven to bring back the Meeting to the region of common sense and calm judgment, the following Resolutions were passed, which bear no relation whatever to the false and libellous statements of the chief speakers, and which clearly indicate, that this attack upon the Government of India was not contemplated by the Director and Secretaries of the Church of England Temperance Society, for no one can hesitate for a moment in giving their hearty consent to these Resolutions:

1. That the traffic in strong drink, as now carried on by merchants belonging to Christian nations in India, Africa, and most of the colonies and dependencies of the British Empire, has become the source of wholesale demoralization and ruin to the native races, and is proving a fatal stumbling-block to the progress of the Gospel among them.

2. That in the interests of Christianity and humanity the facts bearing on the traffic and its results should be made more generally known to the people of England and other countries, with a view to the formation of a sound public opinion, and eventually to the passing of legislative enactments for the repression of such traffic.

3. That for this purpose a Committee be formed, to include, besides members of the Executive of the Church of England Temperance Society, representatives of the leading Missionary and Temperance Societies.

But the mischief did not end with the Meeting. No one would have troubled themselves with the platform speeches of a travelling Member of Parliament, the creature of the hour: we have known the genus in India for the last forty years, the man

who asks questions, makes copious notes, and looks, as if he could see through a millstone. King Solomon remarks, that there were three things, which were too wonderful for him, and four which he knew not: but in modern time there is a fifth, which is beyond the comprehension of the most wise, it is the way, in which the travelling Member of Parliament is gulled, and the plausibility, with which he tries on his return to England to gull others. He meets an intelligent-looking man in the Railway carriage, or passes a night at the house of the most crotchety man of the Station, and he stuffs his travelling bag with crude undigested facts, and then gives it out on a Manchester or Liverpool platform with the air of a Prophet, who has just come down from the Mountain, forgetting that the Science of Rule of subject Millions is the greatest and noblest of Sciences, only mastered by a few after the study and practice of decades, and not during the excited tour of six weeks. But the chief orator on this occasion was a man of different stamp, a real man, one of the greatest of the Metropolitan Clergy, one who has done for the young men of London more than any living man, one whose written works are read by thousands, and whose spoken words are listened to by hundreds, in fact, one of the great Workers and Speakers of the period.

What was to be done? It was clear to me what I must do, viz. at once to resign my seat on the proposed Committee, and to decline any joint action with the Society, until these speeches were as openly disallowed, as they were openly applauded. Canon Ellison in his reply to my letter stated that:

As far as he knew, no attempt had been made to disprove the statements contained in the Pamphlet: he further stated, that the object of the Committee was to sift and test such assertions; to disprove, if truth should require it, quite as much as to prove, and in some cases to vindicate the character of Governments unjustly assailed. He assured me, that the Committee could be in no way responsible for the statements made at the Meeting; he begged me finally to continue on the General and Executive Committees.

At a subsequent date I was invited to join the Sub-Committee, appointed to consider the reply of the Viceroy of India, which will be noticed below. From the first I felt, that Canon Ellison, and the Church of England Temperance Society, were not responsible for the indiscreet utterances made in Prince's Hall, but I felt also, that I could serve the cause, the great cause, which we all had in common, by standing aloof, waging my own battle, and trying to clear the air of these clouds of ignorance, and make the way open to an advance, based on facts and the Truth, not on sensational and inaccurate statements.

Mr. Horace Waller entirely agreed with me: as he was one of the Speakers at the Prince's Hall Meeting, he was stout-hearted enough to speak out his mind, and tell the audience:

That a man, who is intemperate in his facts, is just as much a dram-drinker

to his own harm, as any dram-drinker of the ordinary kind, and that figures could be brought together and presented to a meeting, which *were a great many degrees above proof.*

These honest remarks were hooted by an excited audience, who only cared to listen to Prophets, who prophesied according to their own views. It was determined not to dissolve, but only suspend the action of, the representative Committee of the Missionary Societies; it would not have been wise to allow this great subject to fall exclusively into the power of the Committee of the Church of England Temperance Society, which was clearly under the temporary influence of Fanatics, but which in a short time would recover its equilibrium, and become the centre of renewed efforts in the great cause.

I lost no time in forwarding a copy of the Report of the speeches of the Meeting to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India, praying, that means should be at once adopted to disprove the assertion :

That it is the policy of Government to encourage drunkenness in India with a view of increasing the Revenue.

And I was assured that the charge was groundless : that the consumption of spirits was repressed by a repressively high duty, and that since 1872, in consequence of improved Excise administration, the number of liquor-shops had steadily and appreciably decreased, notwithstanding the increase of the population during that period. I addressed the Under-Secretary of State for India privately at his house, pointing out the extreme gravity of the statements made, and the receipt of my letter was acknowledged. A despatch was expected in a few weeks from the Viceroy of India in reply to the Pamphlet of the Church of England Temperance Society, sent out in the previous autumn. The task, which I set before myself, divided itself into three heads :

I. Did the British in very deed find the people of India total abstainers from the use of spirituous liquors and drugs, or even temperate users of the same ?

II. Has it been the policy of the State, and of the Servants of the State, to enhance the Revenue of the Excise at the expense of the morals of the people ?

III. Has the Revenue of the Excise increased beyond what was to be expected from a people doubled in population, quadrupled in wealth, and exposed to the insidious dangers, which accompany an advance in Civilization, and increased intercourse with other Nations, those Nations famous for wholesale export of spirituous liquors ?

The first point was historical, and my proofs had to be collected from a long list of Sanskrit, Pali, Persian, and Hindustáni writers; extending over more than two thousand years : fortunately for my argument, just as the use of wine for purposes of intoxication

can be traced back to the time of Noah, so in India the use of intoxicating liquor is vouched for in the Veda, the most ancient and sacred of Hindu Books, and can be traced, as I shall proceed to show, from generation to generation to the present time in the Hindu, Buddhist, Mahometan and Sikh annals. The second point, and the third, would rest upon the expected despatch of the Viceroy, upon the Report of the Bangál Commission of 1883, 1884, and the annual Administration-Reports of British India, presented each year to Parliament. Things in British India are fortunately not done in a corner, and the Government of India is famous for its outspokenness, for the naked way, in which it exposes both the successes, and the failures, of its administration: the quinquennial change of every high Officer of State alone renders this possible. There is no desire of an hereditary blockhead to screen the errors of his scoundrel ancestor. Each Viceroy, and each Governor, knows well, that he leaves his character behind him. Lord Dufferin's despatch, dated June 25th, 1887, was published on the 4th August, but did not reach me till September 10th, just as I was starting on a long journey to Morocco: so I contented myself for the time with a letter to the *Times*, which appeared on the 16th of that month, as a cartel thrown down to my antagonists, and on my return I proceed to make my reply to Archdeacon Farrar's thesis in detail. I deal first with the first part:

“We found India sober.”

It so happened, that in 1873 a very distinguished Hindu Scholar of Calcutta, Lala Rajendra Lala Mitra, President of the Bengal Asiatic Society, published in the Journal of that Society an essay on the use of spirituous liquors by the Hindu, tracing the practice by quotations from the most esteemed Sanskrit authors from the earliest ages: to me it seemed, when I first read this essay, in exceedingly bad taste thus to parade the weaknesses of his countrymen, and I should think poorly of an English literary man, who out of pure malice traced back by quotations from Shakespeare, Chaucer, and Caedmon, the drunkenness of the Anglo-Saxon up to the time of the origin of the race; yet this great Sanskrit scholar took the trouble to do so in 1873, and in 1881 republished it with other of his learned essays in his collective volumes, “Indo-Aryans, Contributions towards the Elucidation of their Ancient and Mediæval History.” As in the foot-notes of his essay he gives the original Sanskrit quotations from each author quoted in extenso, any one, who knows Sanskrit, can satisfy himself of their accuracy. The quotations are easily accessible from the great Epic and Dramatic Authors, and the Veda, and I have them in my private library: it is indeed a most astonishing revelation; perhaps I

ought to have expected it, but I certainly did not do so. I attributed the deplorable habits of intoxication, so notorious among certain races and tribes, to a decadence from a higher standard, rather than an uninterrupted continuance from the cradle of the National life.

Rajendra Lala remarks, that drinks have a peculiar charm, which enable them to hold their ground against the deductions of Science, and mandates of Religion; that the history of Mahometan civilization illustrated this assertion, for no one condemned more emphatically the use of wine than Mahomet, and yet that there is no Mahometan country, where the consumption is not considerable. Gibbon remarked cynically last century, that the vines of Shiráz have always prevailed over the law of Mahomet. When the Indic branch of the Aryan race crossed the Hindu-Kush at some remote period into the Panjáb, the earliest Brahman settlers indulged largely in "Soma"-beer, and strong spirits. To the Gods the most acceptable offering was "Soma"-beer, and wine or spirits, which in India are identical, was sold in the shops. In the Rig-Veda Sanhita (Wilson, vol. ii. p. 204) occurs a hymn, which shows, that wine was kept in leather bottles, and freely sold to all comers. A minority of authorities doubt, whether "Soma" was intoxicating, but all admit that "Sarā" or Arrack, manufactured from rice-meal, and also alluded to in the Rig-Veda, was highly so: and this clearly shows, that the Vedic Hindu of a period long anterior to the Christian era did countenance the use of spirits: but Professor Whitney clearly proves, that "Soma" was intoxicating: it is supposed to have been the juice of a climbing plant, the "*Asclepias acida*," which was extracted, fermented, and produced exhilaration grateful to the Priests. The liquid had power to elevate the spirits, and produce a temporary frenzy, under the influence of which an individual was prompted to do, and found capable of doing, deeds beyond his natural powers. Soma was therefore deemed divine, and became a Deity, the myth running on parallel lines to that of Dionysus or Bacchus, who came from India into Hellas.

As time went on, the later Veda forbade the use of spirits for the purpose of animal gratification, and said, that drinking was as bad as the murder of a Brahman. The Smriti included wine-bibbing among the five capital crimes, and ordered the severest punishment. Manu 500 B.C., and others, denounced the use, and fortified their dicta by legendary tales of frightful punishments; yet it is clear, that at no period in their history has the Hindu Nation abstained. Priests and respectable and pious householders did so, but they were but a fraction of the community, and there was at all times, as there is now, a considerable amount of hypocrisy on the subject. Sanskrit literature, both

ancient and mediæval, leaves no doubt, by its casual allusions, and unpremeditated admission, that wine was extensively used by all classes at all times with rare exceptions of individuals. Manu found the public feeling so strong, that he remarks, that there is no turpitude in drinking; but that abstinence produces a signal compensation. The Soldier and the Merchant (or in other words the Kshatriya Rajpút, and the Vaisya, or Trader, both of whom belonged to the order of the Dwija or Twice-born) must not drink Arrack, but were allowed the choice of all other liquors, whose name was legion; the Sudra, or lower class, might indulge freely without restraint: the Brahman, or highest class, must totally abstain.

The Rules or aphorisms known as the "Sútra" are dated, some about 600 B.C. anterior to Manu, and some later: the Brahmana are of various dates, the Aitareya being fixed at 700 B.C.: in them we find, that not only the Soma and Sará retained their firm hold of the people, but we read of new candidates for the public taste, the Mohwa or Bassia latifolia, so popular as a drink to this day, the Gandi or Sugar-rum, the Tari, or Toddy, from the Palm: so the drinks of the Hindu, as well as their Castes, and Religious rites, and magnificent literature, have an unbroken lineage of at least twenty-six centuries.

In the fascinating Epic Poem of the Ramáyana by Valmíki, which has been my delight for more than forty years, we find frequent notices of wine and drinking. The great Sage Visvámitra, himself the reputed author of some of the hymns of the Rig-Veda, entertained the great sage Vasishtha with Maireya (or Rum) and Sará (or Arrack). Bharadwája, another great Sage, offered wine to Bharata, King of Ayodya, and his soldiers, who stayed one night with him during their search for Rama. Sita, the beautiful and faithful wife of Rama (himself an incarnation of the Supreme Deity), promised to offer to the River Goddess, Jamna, in the event of her safe return, one thousand jars of Arrack. Nor was she herself, nor her husband, the Incarnation of Vishnu, averse from the cheering cup, for we read in the last book of the noble Epic, how Rama, embracing Sita with both his hands, made her drink pure Maireya wine or Rum, even as the God Indra makes Sachi partake of nectar. Nor was the practice confined to the Court, for it is incidentally mentioned, that King Bharata found his city Ayodya plunged in grief for the loss of Rama, one symptom of grief being the absence of the exhilarating aroma of Arrack. Moreover, in the palaces of Sugriva, the King of the Monkeys, and of Ravana, the King of the Rakhsha, the greatest glory was the smell of Arrack, as the Poets could not conceive the notion of luxury, joy and splendour, without the presence of intoxicating liquor in ample abundance.

In the Mahábhárata, another magnificent Epic of a later date than the Ramáyana, the leading characters, whether Heroes, or Demigods, or Krishna, himself the Incarnation of the Supreme Deity, are described as indulging in strong drinks, and no pleasure party was complete without them: we read of Krishna and Arjuna, with their wives and sisters and daughters, indulging in drink. Queen Sudeshna is described as sending her maid to get a flagon of good drink for her use: the Yadava, of whose race Krishna was born in the flesh, are described as being so overcome with drink at a seaside watering-place, that they destroyed each other in sheer drunkenness.

The doctrines of Buddha must have contributed much to check drunkenness, and the use of wine, as well as of flesh, but could not suppress either. The Játaka and Avadána abound with stories of drunkenness: it must be recollected, that the Játaka are the narratives of the former births of Buddha himself: whether they are historical, or fanciful tales, they reflect the notions of their compilers on this subject. In the sculptures of Sanchi are figures of ladies of high rank, and their attendants holding cups and flagons. In a Buddhist drama, the Nágananda, the plot turns upon the vagaries of a drunkard, who had for his love one of the attendants of the Queen. In other love-scenes the lover is described as offering overflowing goblets to his lady-love. We may look at the subject from another point of view. Mr. Spence Hardy, in his Manual of Buddhism, tells us, how the use of intoxicating liquors is forbidden: when only as much tari, or toddy, is drunk, as can be held in the palm of the hand, it is a minor offence: it is greater, when the amount can be held in both hands; and greater still, when so much is drunk, that all things turn round. To constitute the crime of drinking there must be (1) intoxicating liquors made from flour, bread, or other kind of food: (2) actual intoxication produced by these liquors: (3) they must be taken with the intention of producing the effect: (4) they must be taken of free will. Many a regular toper would escape punishment by an ingenious application of these rules. Moreover, the Christian Moralist would scarcely think the Buddhist motive for temperance sufficient, being only to avoid the six evil consequences, (1) loss of wealth; (2) arising of quarrels; (3) production of diseases, like sore eyes; (4) bringing down the disgrace of rebuke from Parents or Superiors; (5) exposure to shame for going about naked; (6) loss of judgment for carrying on the affairs of the world. It is clear, that the use of liquor taken moderately was not deemed wrong, and that worldly advantage was the only incentive to induce a man not to degrade himself to the position of a beast by getting drunk.

The great Dramatist Kalidása probably lived after the

Christian era; the latest date assigned is 600 A.D.: in the famous drama of the Sakontala, the Superintendent of the Police, who is also brother of the King, proposes to spend the present, which he had received, in a glass of good liquor at the next wine-shop. An English Policeman could not have been more pronounced in his taste for strong drink. In the fine Heroic Poem, the Raghuvansa, by the same Poet, one of the grandest of Poems, drinking-booths are described as being set up at Rajamandri by the soldiers of Raghu, an ancestor of Rama, to drink the famous cocoa-nut liquor of that place. It is clear also, that women of quality drank in their husband's society; for in the great Poem by Kalidása, the Kumára Sambhava, Rati, the Indian Venus, the wife of Kama, the God of Love, mourning the loss of her husband, says :

Rice-liquor (alias arrack) which causes the reddened eyes to roll, and speech to get disjointed at every step, has in thy absence become a torture to poor women.

In the same Poem it is described, how the ladies rushed to the window to see a procession, and evolved the odour of arrack, which they had drunk.

The Purána vary in date : the oldest has been placed in the sixth century of the Christian era ; the latest in the thirteenth, or even the sixteenth century : they abound in descriptions of wine and drinking, and, though the object of many of them is to condemn the use of wine, the inference is clear, that there was a widespread malady, which they proposed to overcome. The Bhagávata Purána enjoins the use of spirit by the Brahmans at one particular rite. In another Purána the great Goddess Dúrga is represented as particularly addicted to strong drinks.

Other quotations from later authors could be made ad libitum, more particularly from the poetical literature, to show how frequently references are made to drinking among the higher classes. The Tantra are books of a later date than the Purána, and are of extreme importance with reference to the life of the modern Hindu : the Saiva Tantra gives full liberty to their votaries to indulge in drinking spirits. No worship to the Devi can be complete without wine, and the worshippers sit round a jar of arrack, and drink, and drink, till they fall to the ground in utter helplessness. The most appropriate way of drinking liquor is in the mystic circle, but, as this cannot be got every day, the devotee takes the bulk of his potations *after his evening prayer*.

Pulastya, an ancient sage, and author of one of the Smriti, of a remote and uncertain age, enumerates twelve different kinds of liquor beside the Soma-beer : they are (1) the Jack, (2) the grape, (3) the honey, (4) the date, (5) the palm, (6) the sugar-cane, (7) the Mohwa, (8) the long-pepper, (9) the soap-berry,

(10) the rum, (11) the cocoa-nut, (12) the arrack or rice: the mode of preparing all these liquors is described in one of the Tantra, and they were all taken neat, and it was necessary to eat a wine-biscuit with them, to remove the smarting in the mouth caused by raw spirit. These wine-biscuits had many technical names, and one of the names of the great God Siva, the third of the Triad, is "Lord of wine-biscuits." No drinking party was complete without these titbits.

We learn from Arrian's Periplus of the Erythræan Sea, that quantities of foreign wine were regularly imported into India two thousand years ago, and met a ready sale. The varieties mentioned are from Laodicea, Italy and Arabia: they were more costly than the Native wines, and only used by the rich. History seems to repeat itself; and the British Shipper, Distiller and Brewer had his prototype, and is but a servile imitator of the astute Greeks!

Medical works of the Hindu tell us of the diseases, which were the sure punishment of intemperance: we find in Sanskrit the word wine-horror, suggesting delirium tremens: wine-disease, suggesting gout: wine-death, suggesting the well-known phrase "drank himself to death." The description of the diseases is given in Sanskrit words. Such names could not have come into existence, had there not been immoderate drinking in many instances to give rise to the complaint. In medical works there are a number of recipes for removing the odour of wine from the mouth. We have seen, how in elder days the aroma of spirits was not concealed, but welcomed, even from the mouths of ladies: a more hypocritical age tried to hunt with total abstiners and run with the drunkards: there was clearly a class of rich men who drank in secret, and wished to pass among their neighbours as total abstiners, like the women in Europe, who in this generation drink liquors sent in from the Grocers' stores, and get rid of the smell with peppermint lozenges.

I feel a sort of compunction in thus exposing the venerable Veda, and the charming Epics, and Dramas of the Hindu to scorn: they have been the delight of my life. No one, who had read Horace or Juvenal, can doubt, that the Romans drank more than was good for them. Homer tells us in the *Odyssee* iii. 139:

οἶνῳ βεβαρῆότες υἱοὶ Ἀχαιῶν,

and he himself is said never to have prosecuted his labour as a poet till he was well drunk. We cannot doubt that the Greeks drank. The great catena of Greek authors could be quoted to show that they drank and drank to excess: they attributed to their Gods the same weaknesses as their own: otherwise what

occasion had Jupiter for Hebe and Ganymede as cupbearers ! When Mercury visited Calypso, she served him with drink. Minerva was the only one of the Immortals who never drank : if it be argued, that this was only the fancy of the Poets, I reply, Just so : their writings reflect the feelings of their own age, whether in India or Hellas : they do not allude to Railways and Telegraphs, but they do to drink, because they and their hearers knew what it was.

When Peter with the Apostles were charged with being full of new wine, he did not repel the insinuation as a gross insult, but remarked that it was not the third hour of the day, or, as Dean Alford puts it,

He showed the improbability of intoxication at that hour of the morning.

Hence a fair inference that some of the Jews at that period drank. We cannot admit, that the Hindu Nation were a good innocent people, who did not know how to make fermented beverages, how to distil, how to import from Europe, how to drink to intoxication like brute beasts, how to acquire frightful diseases, how to get rid of the odour of wine from their mouths, and to play the part of sanctified total abstainers, until they had been taught all these tricks by the British Collector of Revenue, anxious to increase the Excise : and yet it is necessary to place these facts on record.

But perhaps the Pagan tribes of India, who lie outside of the Hindu and Mahometan Civilization and Religion, according to the Poets and popular fancy leading rude and simple pastoral lives in secluded valleys, or on the slopes of the Himaláya, had escaped this contamination. Up to this day many of them have scarcely seen a European, or visited a City. Forty years ago Mr. Brian Hodgson thus wrote of the Bodo and Dhimal on the confines of Assam :

They use abundance of fermented liquor made of rice, or millet : it is not unpleasant. Brewing, and not distilling, seems the characteristic of all non-Arian races, all of whom make beer, and not spirits : the process is very simple : the grain is boiled : a plant is mixed with it, and it is left to ferment : in four days the liquor is ready : the plant for fermenting is grown at home : this tribe use tobacco, but no opium or distilled liquor. I do not brand them with the name of drunkards, though they certainly love a merry cup in *honour of their Gods* at the high festivals of their religion : among my own servants the Bodo have never been drunk : the Mahometan and Hindu several times excessively so.

The aborigines, the Santál, are notorious for their fondness for beer.

The Mahometans conquered India about 800 A.D. : many aliens settled in India : some Hindu were converted by force, or fraud, or for desire of gain : thousands of wild Non-Arian tribes have accepted a veneer of Mahometanism, but are Pagan

still. Even the converted Hindu retain the Caste-names, and the Hindu law with regard to Marriage and Succession. We have fortunately full accounts of the way of living of the Emperors and Nobles, but scant notice of the ways of the lower class. History is generally silent about them.

Here is a contemporary's peep into the life of Mahmūd of Ghazni, the first invader of India :

The Amir said to Abd-ur-Razzak : " Shall we drink a little wine ? " Accordingly much wine was brought into the garden, and fifty goblets placed in the middle of a small tent. The Amir said, " Let us drink fair measure, and fill the cups evenly, in order that there may be no unfairness." They began to get jolly. Bu-i Hasan drank five goblets : his head was affected at the sixth : he lost his senses at the seventh, and began to vomit at the eighth, when the servants carried him off. Bu-ala, the physician, dropped his head at the fifth cup, and was carried off. Khalil Daud drank ten : Suja Biruz nine : and both were borne away. Bu-Nain drank twelve and ran off : when the Khwaja had drunk twelve cups, he made his obsequies and said to the Amir, " If you give your slave any more, he will lose his respect to your Majesty, as well as his own wits." The Amir laughed, and went on drinking. He drank twenty-seven goblets : he then arose, and called for a basin of water, and his praying-carpet, washed his face, and recited *the midday prayers as well as the afternoon ones*, and he so acquitted himself that you would not have said that he had drunk a single cup : he then returned to the Palace on an elephant. I witnessed the whole scene with my eyes.—*Tarikh Subuktegin*, Elliot's " *Historians of India*," vol. ii. p. 145.

Sultan Muizzu-d-dunya plunged at once into dissipation : his companions all joined him : the example spread, and all ranks, high and low, learned and unlearned, acquired a taste for wine-drinking. Night and day the Sultan gave himself up entirely to dissipation and enjoyment. One of the nobles said : " Suppose you kill the drunken insensate king by some villainous contrivance." —Elliot's " *Historians*," vol. iii. pp. 126-129.

Sultan Ala-ud-dīn prohibited wine-drinking and wine-selling, and also the use of beer and drugs. Jars and casks of wine were brought up from the royal cellars, and emptied into the streets in such quantities, that mud and mire was formed. The dissolute used to make and distil wine clandestinely, and drink at a great price : they put it into leather bags and conveyed it in hay and fire-wood. By hundreds of devices it was brought into the city : when seized, the wine was given to the elephants to drink : the sellers were flogged and sent to prison, but the numbers increased so, that holes for their incarceration were dug outside the gate : the severity of this confinement caused many to die : those, who could not give up the habit, went out to the fords of the river, and procured liquor ; the horror of confinement deterred others. Desperate men still drank, and even sold liquor : seeing this difficulty, the Sultan ordered, that, if the liquor was distilled in private houses, and consumed in secret, and no parties were found drunk, it might go on.

Baber, the great conqueror of India, the founder of the Moghul dynasty, was a constant and jovial toper : many a drunken party is recorded in his Memoirs : even in the middle of a campaign there is no interruption of his excessive jollity. *Ex. gr. :*

We continued at this place drinking till the sun was on the decline : those who had been of the party were completely drunk. Saiyad Khan was so drunk, that two of his servants were obliged to put him on horseback, and brought

him to the camp with difficulty. Dost Mahommed Bakur was so far gone, that they could not get him on horseback: they poured a quantity of water over him, but to no purpose. A body of the Afghans (the enemy) appeared in sight, and they threw him on a horse, and brought him off.

On some occasions they contrived to be drunk four times in twenty-four hours: they began to drink and kept up the party *until evening prayers* (they were strict Mahometans).

Baber writes himself:

I now want something less than one year of forty years, and I drink wine most copiously.

In 1527 A.D. he began a course of rigorous reform, and there is something picturesque in the very solemn and remarkable account of this great revolution in his habits: however, his indulgence had shortened his days. He was a truly great man, in spite of all his weaknesses, and showed his greatness in his manly struggle against his habits of intemperance: "Hostium victor et sui."

I had collected the above quotations before I started on my late expedition to Morocco: on my return I find upon my table additional evidence of the gross intemperance of the Mahometans in India collected for a totally different purpose in the columns of the Church Missionary Intelligencer of December, 1887, p. 727. This is the Society, to whose service I have devoted myself for many years, and by an odd chance the father of Archdeacon Farrar was of this Society an honoured Missionary, and his Maráthi hymns are still sung in the Native Churches of Western India. The statements, which I quote, were made by a writer, who knew what he was about, having been many years a Chaplain in India, and they were made in reply to one of the greatest paradoxes of modern time, an attempt on the part of a beneficed Clergyman of the Church of England to prove, that Mahometanism to certain races was a more suitable religion than Christianity, and that Mahometans were total abstainers.

On this supposed abolition of drunkenness, a much bewildered correspondent of the *Guardian* (October 19th) recalls the memory of Selim the Sot, the temporal and spiritual head of Islam, and that drink cut short the splendid career of Amurath IV. We read in *Mountstuart Elphinstone* (vol. ii. p. 49) that Alá-ud-dín's constitution had yielded to a long course of intemperance. When he was beset with conspiracies, his counsellors traced his troubles to convivial meetings, where men opened their thoughts to each other. The Emperor Baber tried to persuade a friend to leave off wine, but he admitted that drinking was a very pleasant thing with old friends and companions. Elphinstone remarks, that it would have been fortunate, if Baber had left off drinking wine sooner, for there seems good reason to think his indulgence in it tended to shorten his days. Many a drinking party is recorded in his Memoirs. Akbar's third son, Dániál, when debarred by his father's order from wine, had liquor conveyed to him in the barrel of a fowling-piece, and thus, having free

access to indulgence, brought his life to a close in the thirtieth year of his age. Akbar himself, in his youth, indulged in wine and good living. Sir Thomas Roe tells us, that Jehangír never left off drinking till he fell asleep, scarcely one of the party remaining sober. In his drunkenness he talked with great liberality of all religions ; then he fell to weeping and to various passions which kept them till midnight. It was when he was recovering from a fit of drunkenness that he was seized and deposed. Shah Shuja, the son of Shah Jehan, was given up to wine and pleasure : he was a mere drunkard. His brother, Morad, was seized when in a helpless state of intoxication, and imprisoned and murdered by Aurangzib. It would be easy to extend this bead-roll of Mahometan monarchs, who have been amongst the most conspicuous drunkards of their times.

And another writer tells us :

So far as abstinence from strong drink is concerned, Moslems do show how much may be accomplished by repressive measures, and we may take a lesson from them ; but with regard to inebriating drugs their example is quite the other way, and of the two their vice is the worse. The tendency of intoxication through drink is to delirium tremens, which is a suicidal mania ; but the tendency of inebriation through bhang is to homicidal mania. The delirious Mahometan "runs a muck" ; armed with daggers and other life-destroying weapons, he runs through town or country stabbing, maiming, and killing every man, woman or child whom he meets. I well remember the suffering and terror, that were caused on one occasion, when four such maniacs "ran a muck" in one day, with such violence, that the authorities turned out a company of soldiers and shot them down. It was summary vengeance, but the only way of saving innocent lives. I do not think that such cases are now as frequent in India and Ceylon as they were forty years since, and I think that the indirect influence of Christianity has caused the decrease.

Nor is it peculiar to India : the Odes of the celebrated Poet Hafiz tell us how :

My spiritual guide went from the Mosque to the Wine-shop.

And he makes an appeal to the Cup-bearer, to

Pass on good wine, for he would not find in Paradise such charms as the world bestowed.

I quote from the Missionary Periodicals :

"Islám," says one defender of Islám, "has abolished drunkenness." Has it? Night after night we took up dozens, I may say, of drunkards in the streets of Zanzibár. Many high-class natives were drunkards on the sly ; and, when a Moslem does drink, he will pawn his last rag for liquor, or, as was frequently the case with the men we apprehended, would commit robbery solely for the purpose of gratifying their love for liquor ; but enough. The man, who has not travelled in Mahometan countries, may never have seen drunken Mahometans, but we have.

There is a famous story in Mahometan books, how a Kádi, whose duty it was to punish drinkers, privately indulged in drink at night, and was in the early morning caught in the act by his Sovereign, who was about to decapitate him, when he begged, that the shutters of the windows open to the East might be opened, and he be informed from which quarter of the

horizon the Sun was rising. When told, that it was from the East, he quoted from the Korán :

So long as the Sun rises from the East, so long will God have mercy on His children.

He then knelt down submissive to his fate : he had learnt something from the Korán better than Temperance, viz. Faith and Submission to the Divine Decree. This is Islám.

In the time of the Emperor Baber, a new Sect of the Hindu Religion came into existence, founded by Baba Nának, and became so influential, that their tenets are often talked of as a separate Religion : it was an upheaval of the lower classes, and a war against Caste. All fanatics and lawgivers must forbid something. Moses and Mahomet forbade swine's flesh : the Popes of Rome forbade a large and influential portion of the community, male and female, to marry : the Total Abstinence Society forbids liquor : Baba Nának forbade tobacco. Smoking is a nasty habit, but it scarcely amounts to a sin. The day will come, when an Anti-Smoking Society will arise : all such prohibitions are limitations of Christian liberty, and I protest against Total Abstinence being made anything more than a very proper moral inculcation to youth. Baba Nának forbade tobacco : the Sikhs took it out in another quarter :

Naturam expellas furcâ, tamen usque recurret :

they became terrible consumers of opium, decoction of poppy-heads, and spirituous liquors generally. I lived many happy years in their midst. I was present at the taking of Lahore, and the conquest of the country, and I found liquor-shops in abundance, and decoction of poppy-heads, called Post, set out in brass cups for free sale, like ginger-beer in London, and, as I was placed in charge of one of the newly-conquered districts, one of my first duties was to regulate the number of shops for sale of liquors, take the sale of opium entirely into the control of the State, and impose a heavy tax on intoxicating liquors. The Sikhs are a magnificent race in stature, living long lives, and having large families, and yet they habitually took their daily opium pill, and lay like logs on the ground, until the narcotic had worked itself off.

In the History of the Panjáb published in two volumes by Messrs. Allen in 1846, I find it noted, that the famous Mahárája Ranjít Singh, the putative father of the well-known Dulíp Singh, was unreserved in all his habits, and his diet consisted of high stimulants, of which he partook sparingly. At his interview with Lord Auckland, the Governor-General, in 1838, Ranjít Singh, after pressing His Lordship to take part in the drinking, drained the cup of fiery liquid to the dregs. This excess produced upon the Mahárája such a severe fit of apoplexy, that Lord Auckland

took leave of him lying on his couch, scarcely able to articulate. His wine was extracted from raisins, a quantity of pearls being ground to powder and mixed with it: it was made for Ranjít Singh alone: he sometimes gave a few bottles to his Chiefs. It was as strong as Brandy: the only food allowed at his drinking feasts was fat quails, stuffed with sage, and this abominable liquid fire. His sensual indulgences were the vices of his country.

His grandson Maharája Nou Nihál Singh in his moral habits was an example to the corrupt Court, being sober, and comparatively temperate amidst the debauchery round him. He was killed at the age of twenty-two. Maharája Shír Singh, son of Ranjít Singh, was a good-natured sensualist, and solaced himself with an unrestrained indulgence in every species of intemperance. He was killed and was succeeded by his half-brother, a supposititious child of Ranjít Singh, named Dulíp Singh, so well known in England: the officers of the Army proceeded to the Palace and remonstrated against the brother of the Maharája's mother continuing as Chief Minister, reproaching him to his face with drunkenness. He was so drunk, that he could not hold a Durbar, and the mother of Maharája Dulíp Singh, besides her unbridled profligacy with her paramour, indulged in similar excesses, and in August, 1845, her faculties became seriously impaired by these indulgences: she used to sink into a state of stupor, from which she could only be raised by the stimulus of strong drink; on one occasion a letter from the Governor-General awaited a reply, but none could be sent because the mother and uncle of the Maharája Dulíp Singh, *and the boy himself*, aged 6, were all drunk: on the following day there was no Durbar, because the Wazír, and the Members of the Council, were intoxicated.

It is not pleasant to me thus to expose the weaknesses of any class of Her Majesty's subjects, whether in Westminster or Lahore; but, since it has been distinctly laid down by Archdeacon Farrar at a public meeting, that the British Government found India sober, it is necessary, distinctly, and by quotations, to show, that that statement is not exact. I could have added indefinitely to the number of quotations: there is scarcely a battle, which we have fought in India, in which it is not recorded, that the soldiers of the enemy were encouraged to the fight by copious libations of Arrack. It is an unquestionable fact, that a large number of the classes, of which the Indian population is composed, habitually drink; that weddings are always accompanied by additional supplies of wine, specially got in for the purpose, as indeed was the marriage of Cana in Galilee, and a modern wedding in any part of Europe: that there is a special Caste, called the Kulál, or wine-seller, and

that it might as well be said, that the British introduced the use of gunpowder, and calico garments, as of liquor and drugs.

I now proceed to the second part of the Thesis:

“And we left India drunken.”

Nature has supplied the people of India with an abundance and variety of intoxicating liquors, and stupefying drugs, beyond the lot of any other nation. There is indeed a lack of grape wine, and the brewing of European beer has only been introduced for the benefit of the European community; but sugar to make rum, hemp to produce charas, and bhang, rice to produce Arrack, the palm tree to produce the Tari or Toddy, the Mohwa or *Bassia latifolia* to produce the celebrated liquor, the Poppy to produce the opium, and the poppy-decoction called Post in the North of India, and Kusumbha in the South, the Cereals ready for the preparation of Gin in any form; all these deadly ingredients and many others, grow spontaneously with the smallest amount of culture: the process of brewing, or distilling, is of the simplest character: the price is ridiculously low, and the wild character of a great part of the country is all in favour of the smuggler, and illicit distiller, or the still in the privacy of the secluded house. In the memory of man the British troops used to be employed in Ireland to hunt for illicit stills in the Mountainous tracts, and the smuggler on the Coast of Great Britain has only been got rid of by an entire change of the financial system. The problem presented to the Government of India was one of the most complicated and difficult. But it was clearly the duty of the Government, and the Government did not shrink from the discharge of that duty, at a time, when its power was not so overwhelming and undisputed as it is now.

In the *Ayín Akbari* there is a list of taxes remitted by Akbar, among them is a tax on spirituous liquors, but it was reimposed, as it appears in later fiscal statements. In the Province of Bangál in 1722, under the Nawabs, this tax existed, and the British found it, when they assumed the Government in 1763 A.D., but it was exceedingly light, and in 1785 a bottle of spirituous liquor could be purchased for one pice, about a half-penny, sufficient in amount to make a man drunk. Complaints were then rife of the spread of drunkenness among the lower classes, and just one century ago, 1789, the matter was taken up by Mr. John Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth, and President of the British and Foreign Bible Society, one of the most high-minded, pious, and benevolent of men, and the ablest of Indian Statesmen. Lord Cornwallis was then Governor-General, and in 1790 by his orders a notification was issued, that no person should hereafter make or vend spirituous liquors, except on the part of Government, and the collectors of Land Revenue were

charged with the duty of carrying out details. The grounds, which led to this decision, were *moral*, and one of the conditions of each licence was, that the holder should prevent drunkenness, and not receive any goods in barter for liquor, and close his shop at 9 P.M. Regulations were enacted in 1793 and 1800, and in the preamble it is stated, that one of the reasons for passing the rules was the *inordinate use of liquors and drugs*, which had become prevalent owing to the very inconsiderable price, at which they were sold previous to 1790 A.D. In 1802 the great Governor-General, the Marquess of Wellesley, circulated interrogatories, regarding the operation of the system, and inquired, whether the tax had rendered the vice of drunkenness more prevalent. The Court of Appeal at Morshedabad replied in the negative, adding, however, *that it had not decreased*, but that it was not general, and the labouring poor never touched liquor: other authorities replied in different strains, that the Regulations had been beneficial, and suggested still more stringent repressive measures.

Dr. Buchanan published a remarkable book, the account of his survey of certain districts in 1807 and 1814. He remarks, that the use of liquor was very common, but that actual drunkenness was less prevalent: he mentions, that in one district the Mahometans were in the habit of drinking: he mentions that women used spirituous liquor, and that on the frontier of the Company's territory liquor was smuggled in from the Native States free from duty, and therefore sold cheaper. It will be gathered from the above, that the habit was anterior to, independent of, and in defiance of, the Regulations of the early British administrators, and it must be remembered, that since 1790 the population has doubled, the area of cultivation has been enormously extended, roads opened out, new products introduced, and the great Pax Britannica has made Bangál one of the most thickly populous, wealthy, and flourishing countries in the world. The great Provinces of the North-West Provinces, and the Panjáb, naturally followed the Bangál system: the minor Provinces of Assam, the Central Provinces and Barma followed in the same track, while Madras and Bombay developed their system in their own way, but on the same lines, following the same principles, having the same object in view, not the enhancement of the Revenue of the State by pandering to the base passions of the people, but by the steady system of repression and control, and an enhancement of the duty up to that point, which would make smuggling with all its risks profitable.

I must here make a remark, that the speakers have forgotten one element in the discussion, an element however of the greatest importance, that is, the existence of the Covenanted Civil Service,

with entire control over every part of the Administrative Machine, in every part of British India, from the highest to the lowest. Every five years a statesman of the highest mark has been sent out as Governor-General, and since 1858 as Viceroy, and two eminent men are sent out as Governors of Madras and Bombay, and Military men as Commanders-in-Chief, and a lawyer for the Legislative Council of the Viceroy; but with these exceptions every post is held by a Member of the Covenanted Civil Service, supplemented in some parts of the country by Military men, who for the time being become Civilians: the real power, and the entire knowledge of Revenue subjects, rests with them: and the Councillors, who sit by the side of the Viceroy, have risen up step by step in every grade of the Service, and know every detail: there is no room for half-knowledge with them; if there is a blot in the working of the Excise system, they know it: if the measures of Government lead to increased consumption of liquor either by express design, or by the unfortunate nature of the case, they know it. Now one feature of this great Covenanted Service is its independence of character, sense of responsibility, and outspokenness: there have been Civilians, who in times past have refused to obey the orders of Government to pay the Brahmans to pray for rain during a drought, have refused to administer the affairs of a Heathen Temple, have asserted their right to attend the Baptisms of Native Converts, and justified it in such a way, when called upon for explanation, that the Viceroy has admitted the right. By the practice of the Indian Administration a remonstrance against an order is permitted, and it is notorious, how difficult some men have proved themselves to be, till at last it has come to the alternative of obeying or resigning: but I do assert, that, if the Viceroy or Council had ordered, as suggested by Mr. Samuel Smith, that, to make up a deficiency in the Budget, encouragement should be given to the sale of liquors and drugs, *he could not have been obeyed: such an order never has been, and never could be issued.* I have myself filled the post of Collector of a District, Revenue Commissioner of a Division, and Provincial Head of the Revenue Department, both in the North-West Province, and the Panjáb, and I unhesitatingly say that, had such an order reached me, I should have had the courage of my convictions, and *not have conveyed it to my subordinates*, but should have recorded such a protest as would have compelled its rescission. I learnt my earliest lesson from James Thomason, the pupil of Simeon, and matured my knowledge under John Lawrence, and I served under men of the type of Robert Montgomery and Donald Macleod. Does Mr. Samuel Smith, when he makes such assertions, consider what kind of men have controlled the affairs of India since the beginning of this

century from the time of Lord Teignmouth, the President of the Bible Society, down to Lord Lawrence and Sir Bartle Frere ?

Nor has the management of the Excise been one unchangeable system, which no one dared to touch, like a Perpetual Settlement of the Land Revenue, or the Capitulations, by which the independence of Turkey is crippled. On the contrary, Governor after Governor has had his eye upon it, and the practice has varied from time to time, and Province to Province, between the Central State-Distillery at the Head-Quarters, and a lease of a certain area to a responsible person, who could only open out stills at spots approved by the Collector. The first system has the obvious disadvantage, that it casts an odium upon the Collector, as being *de facto* the head Distiller of his district. Many weak, and imperfectly informed, critics in England see in the Opium Monopoly an aggravation of the offence, in that the State becomes *de facto* the Manufacturer of the Drug. This is one of the dilemmas, in the horns of which the imperfectly informed fanatical abstainers find themselves: they desire vehemently the abolition of the Monopoly of the Manufacture of Opium, while they blame the Government of India for not rigorously maintaining the Monopoly of the Manufacture of Spirits. *Damnant quod non intelligunt*. There is the obvious advantage, that by both the Central Liquor Distillery, and the Opium Monopoly, the State officials have efficient means of repression, and can control the working of the machine. The second system has the obvious disadvantage of imperfect control, and therefore loss of Excise, and promotion of undue and illicit sale. In 1859 the Government of India, in its Imperial capacity, pointed out that on *moral, as well as fiscal* grounds, the establishment of Central State-Distilleries was advisable. In 1883 a Commission was appointed for the Province of Bangál under the sanction of the Government of India to consider the whole subject: on the order constituting the Commission occur the following expressions:

It is impossible for Government to allow this increase of drinking to continue without making every effort to ascertain those causes, and, if possible, remove them. No considerations of Revenue can be allowed to outweigh the paramount duty of Government to prevent the spread of intemperance, so far as it may be possible to do so.

These words were penned by a Governor, who knew what he was about, at a date antecedent to Canon Ellison's Pamphlet of 1886, and Archdeacon Farrar's famous thesis of 1887. The result was a Report dated April, 1884, in which the system, adopted in the whole of British India, is reviewed, and certain recommendations are made for Bangál. The Report was published at Calcutta in 1884, in two large folio volumes, and I recommend it as profitable reading to those, who desire to be

something more than Platform-Orators, and wish to make a serious and solemn study of the difficulty of administering the affairs of a great subject Nation, uniting the maximum of wise and gentle control, with the minimum of vexatious interferences with their family customs, their weddings, and their gatherings, their feasting and their weaknesses. Let us try the high moral problem of Total Abstinence by Act of Parliament, or Local Option, first in the Borough of Westminster under the shadow of the Abbey, before we introduce it in Bangál: let us teach the Christian to be sober, and then press the subject on the Hindu and Mahometan. We at least in our Religion have the highest motives, and the power of the Holy Spirit to help us in our endeavours: the Non-Christian world has nothing but the prospect of Earthly advantage, and the unaided energy of Poor Humanity.

I now come to the Despatch of the Government of British India signed August 4, 1887, presented to Parliament August 9, 1887, and printed: it is signed by the Earl of Dufferin the Viceroy, Sir Frederick Roberts the Commander-in-Chief, and five members of Council, one of whom is an English Barrister: it contains reports from the eight Provinces, into which British India is divided: it is a document of the greatest importance, and based on the latest information, being up to date. If we do not place faith in this, it is as much as to say, "All Anglo-Saxons are liars": on this matter I have spoken to one Viceroy, several ex-Governors, and ex-Councillors, and a large body of Anglo-Indians, who have retired, and there is but one opinion on the subject. Some of the most earnest Members of the Temperance Society admit in 1887 the sufficiency of this reply to the Pamphlet issued by the Temperance Society in 1886.

Lord Dufferin summarizes the allegations of that Pamphlet as follows:

A. The Excise Revenue of India is due to a system, which directly leads to the establishment of liquor-shops, where till recently such things were unknown.

B. The fiscal system of India, by affording facilities for drinking *in defiance of native opinion*, is unhappily spreading misery and ruin among many families of the industrial class.

C. The use of intoxicating drinks, which they believe to have been practically unknown in the greater part of India, was introduced under British Rule.

The reply is:

A. The principle laid down and accepted by all is, that liquor should be taxed, and consumption restricted, as far as it is possible to do so, without imposing positive hardship on the people, and driving them to illicit manufactures.

B. The measures taken have been completely successful:

the great increase of the Excise in recent years really represents much less liquor sold, and an infinitely better regulated consumption than the smaller Revenue of former years.

C. It is an error to suppose, that the population of India were universally abstemious, and if left alone, knew nothing of Intoxicating Liquor, and have been introduced to it by the British Government. Both the Hindu and Mahometan Religions indeed denounce the use of Spirits, but the classes, whose habits of life are framed with a strict regard to Religion, and social restrictions, form in India no larger proportion of the population than in other countries.

D. Nature produces in great abundance the material for distillation of Spirit, and there is not the slightest reason for supposing, that in the days of Native administration the Indian population refrained from indulgence in a practice, which it requires the constant watchfulness of the British administration now to restrain.

E. The Reports from the Central Provinces and Assam show that it is those, tribes and races, which are least accessible to the influence of British Rule, which are most addicted to intoxicating liquors and drugs.

F. Our Excise system breaks down on the frontiers of Native States, which are often exceedingly irregular, the villages being intermixed, and not separated by a River or chain of mountains : in those States there is no restriction on the manufacture and sale, and the great difficulty is to exclude untaxed or lightly taxed liquor. In the Bombay Province the Excise rights of Native States have been bought up in some cases, in order that, by imposing on the population of Native States the same restriction, they may maintain, or rather not violate and render nugatory, our restrictive system.

G. The great increase in the Revenue, which is unquestionable, does not mark the extension of drinking habits, but is the result of a great and general increase of the rate of tax, which it would have been entirely impossible to realize but for the great improvement in the preventive measures. The ability of the Excise Department to prevent illicit distillation is the only limit, which is imposed in practice to increase the rate of taxation.

H. The object of the Excise Department is to tax every gallon of spirits, first by a fixed still-head duty, which is regulated at the discretion of the Government, and secondly by a licence fee for retail sale, which is usually determined by competition for the privilege of sale. The system of out-stills is obsolete, except in scantily inhabited tracts, and the borders of Native States, where the Collector has no alternative betwixt letting liquor be distilled untaxed, or make this kind of arrangement.

I doubt whether many persons in England know what an out-still is. I can only lay before them an analogy from Great Britain. Supposing that the State were to undertake the manufacture of Beer and Spirits in great central places, and to license Public Houses for the Sale of the State Monopoly liquors, there would be still wild corners in England, Ireland and Scotland, where the facility of smuggling would be such, that the only possible check would be the establishment of private distilleries under all possible safeguards in such places. It would be a measure of control and restriction, not of expansion. Moreover, the out-still in India (as in the above analogy in Great Britain, the private distillery) is not allowed to manufacture as much liquor as its owner likes, and to sell it wherever he likes. "The duty is levied upon a strict calculation of the number of gallons, which the still can produce, and the conditions both of distillation and sale are carefully regulated with reference to the *existing*" (not the prospective or possible) "demand." Shops are established in the localities chosen by the Collector, and not at the discretion of the Distiller, and the Police and the Municipal authorities are consulted on the subject. I am in the habit of assisting annually in the grant of licences in Westminster and Kensington to Publicans, and I doubt, whether so much power of control and restraint of undue opportunities for the sale of liquor exists in London as in Lahore and Allahabad.

The average consumption in India is only one bottle, or one bottle and a half, of spirits a year for each adult male, and in some provinces less than that; it is clear that the terms "drunkenness," "drinking classes," and "spread of drinking" bear a meaning wholly different in India and Britain. Could we but reduce the consumption of London to that standard, how glad would be the hearts of the Temperance Societies!

The vast increase of the population of British India is one of the great administrative problems of the age. The sword, the famine, and the pestilence have been the usual depletors of Oriental countries: the first has ceased absolutely: the last two are guarded against in every way, that Science and Benevolence can suggest, and can it enter into the minds of good men to suppose, that a Government, which spends Millions to stay a famine, the results of operations beyond its control, would insidiously and deliberately for a smaller amount of Revenue poison the bodies and souls of its subjects? Would any free honest man wish to be enrolled in Her Majesty the Empress of India's Civil Service, if it were as infamous as Mr. Samuel Smith describes it? I quote his very words:

The wants of the Exchequer in that country are so urgent, and it is so easy to bring in Revenue from the increased sale of drink, that the temptation is

irresistible to *go on licensing more* drink-shops. Native opinion is *utterly* opposed to it. The *leading Castes* of the Hindu and all the Mahometans are by *custom and religion total abstainers*, but many of them have been corrupted by our influence and example, and not a few of the princes and leading natives of India have drunk themselves to death.

Another class of imperfectly informed critics run wild on the idea, that the famines of India are caused by the large area given over to the production of drugs, and liquor, and on which cereals could be grown: are they aware that, owing to the enormous additional area of cultivation during the great Pax Britannica, the price of cereals has fallen to such an extent, that wheat can be exported from Central or Northern India with profit to Great Britain, to compete with the cereals of the Black Sea, and America?

The problem is a much more difficult one than unimperfectly informed critics at home think: if it is supposed, that a mere order of an alien Government to a vast native population can change their moral habits, it is a wild dream. We can put down the burning of widows, or the burying alive of lepers, because such isolated facts become notorious; but we wage an unequal war against the practice of daughter-killing, as the Police cannot prepare lists of pregnant women, and assist at every birth in the recesses of the Native House. We could not absolutely suppress the use of private stills, when Nature has been so prolific in her gifts of inebriating materials: the only way is to regulate the manufacture, tax the produce, and license the distributors, and I do conscientiously maintain, that for the last century the intelligence of three generations of honest and upright men has been taxed to effect this. The Native Army is proverbially sober. I wish that I could say the same of the British soldier; and yet one of Mr. Caine's most bitter sarcasms is, that the

Indian Government will not allow liquor to be sold to European Soldiers, but it may be sold to a child thirteen years of age.

Does Mr. Caine reflect, that it costs many hundred Pounds to deliver each of our brave soldiers at their Cantonments in the Panjáb, that it has cost many thousand pounds to house him, and keep him comfortable, well, happy, and ready: and yet Tommy Atkins is more thoughtless of his own life and his own precious soul than any Native child aged thirteen, who probably at that age, if a female, would be a wife and a mother, and care very little for strong drink, or have any chance of getting it. On the borders of our large Cantonments hover scoundrels with jars of illicit drink, and immodest women, to tempt the soldier to disobey the orders of his Captain, and the Great Captain of his Salvation; and is the Government to be sneered at, because it provides for its brave but thoughtless soldiers a protection,

which is not needed for the gamin of the streets, who has neither a pice in his pocket, nor a pocket to put it in, if he had it? It is lamentable to hear such statements cheered by a fanatical audience. Do they wish our soldiers to be exposed to temptations, from which we can protect them partially? Can Mr. Caine's fertile imagination suggest any Police organization, by which a juvenile population, male and female, exceeding thirty Millions, can be protected from a danger, to which they are not exposed? for among all the exaggerated statements it is not alleged, that children of tender years have taken to drunkenness. Dulip Singh was indeed drunk at six years old, but he was an independent Sovereign. Nor do I read in the Police returns of India of any number of men and women brought up for being drunk in the streets as in London. Are the Lunatic Asylums crowded with the insane, of whom twenty per cent. brought on their malady by drink, as in Middlesex? Are the Indian Bankruptcy Courts, or the Indian Registrars' Annals, stained with the words, so frequent in Great Britain, "Drank himself, or herself, to death." But that the subject is so awfully serious, it would seem to be an indecorous pleasantry on the part of the Prince's Hall orators, to put forward charges so ridiculous, and so unfounded, and thus draw a false scent across the path of the earnest Missionary Societies, who were planning to protect Africa from European liquors. From the day of those ill-omened speeches, a Committee, in which British, German, and American Missionaries were united in a truthful and holy work, has been suspended, as it was impossible to carry on operations with those, who neither weighed their words, nor tested their facts.

I now proceed to quote from the Reports of each of the eight Provinces of British India. Bombay is first on the list.

In consequence of the relaxation of religious and Caste rule, it is probable that intoxicating liquor is now often used in secret by classes, who formerly abstained. Habitual drunkenness in the English sense of the word is rare.

A strike took place in the Districts of Thana and Kolába. It was quoted in the House of Commons as a movement among the population in favour of total abstinence from strong drink. As a matter of fact, it was a strike of the drinking classes, made with the sole object of inducing the Government to reduce the tax on the Tari Palm, and thus make liquor cheaper. The strikers were not able to *maintain their resolutions of abstinence*.

As far back as 1838 the Government of Bombay issued the following order :

It cannot be too strongly urged upon the Collectors, that the object, which the Government has in view, is to restrict, and if possible correct, and diminish, the total actual consumption of spirituous liquors, whether clandestine or licensed, being fully persuaded, that any amount of Revenue, that may be lost by the efficiency of the system for this end, will be repaid a hundredfold in the preservation and advancement of moral feeling and industrious habits among the people.

In 1843 we find the following Resolution of the Government of Bombay :

The Governor in Council entirely concurs in the views expressed by the Collector on the subject of the Revenue derived from the sale of spirituous liquors. Were it possible altogether to abolish the use of spirits, the loss to the Revenue would be a matter of trifling consideration, but this is obviously impossible, and the object of Government must be, by enhancing the price and imposing salutary restrictions on the sale, to check the evil as far as is in its power, while at the same time it draws a Revenue from the use of a luxury, which it cannot prohibit. The regulation of this Branch cannot be effected but by the agency of farmers, and the farmers should be carefully selected, not from those, who may bid the highest, and thus be induced to resort to every possible means of increasing the consumption, but from those who, though they may offer less for the farms, bear good characters and will content themselves with a fair profit without adopting undue methods of attracting customers to their shops. New shops should not be established without express permission, and then only in places, where clandestine sale may be carried on, which open and authorized sale will tend to check. The Collector should bear these remarks in mind in all his arrangements relative to the Excise.

In 1884 the Government of Bombay recorded the following resolution :

Government would willingly relinquish all Revenue from this source, could it thereby abate the increasing vice of drunkenness : this, however, being impracticable, the next object of Government is to check it by enhancing the price of intoxicating liquors.

In the Report of the Customs administration of 1884-85 we come face to face with the real "bête noire," the import of Potable Spirits by sea through the agency of European and American Merchants. Under the principles of Free Trade such wares cannot be excluded : the total import amounted at this one Port to 210,119 Proof Gallons ; 53 per cent. of Brandy, 32 per cent. of Whisky, 6 per cent. of Old Tom, and 9 per cent. of Rum : the Brandy was both in wood and bottles. No licensee of Native liquor is allowed to sell foreign liquor, and vice versâ. The licensee of foreign liquors, finding that the superior and expensive Spirit was too expensive for the natives of the lower classes, who frequent their shops, had to seek for a foreign liquor, which might prove as attractive, while cheaper than Spirit. They tried Spirits of wine, which, though of country manufacture, was allowed to be sold with foreign liquors, the duty being the same : it was found, that its strength could not be reduced sufficiently to lower its price to the extent necessary, and at the same time satisfy the consumer. Rum was therefore tried, and has been found to suit the tastes and pockets of the consumer. The whole is imported from Mauritius, a British Colony, but the strength is reduced. Here is indeed a frightful evil, which has lately come into existence ; but it is difficult to blame the Government of India : the sin lies at the

door of the British Merchant and Manufacturer, and it is a grievous sin.

Let us see what the Government of Madras says :

The sale of intoxicating liquors is just as much a trade as that of any other kind of commodity, but there is this great difference, that, while the sale of a necessary of life, like bread, need not be interfered with or regulated in any way, the sale of intoxicating liquors, if left to the unfettered operation of free trade, involves an enormous amount of drunkenness and crime, and therefore calls for regulation at the hands of any Government with any pretence to civilization. The policy, which the Government has announced, of endeavouring to realize the *maximum* Revenue from a *minimum* consumption, though perhaps involving, in its strict interpretation, a verbal contradiction in terms, yet expresses with sufficient force and clearness what we consider the right course to pursue. It is, however, to be observed, that, while all taxation becomes Revenue, as soon as it reaches the public exchequer, yet it should always be borne in mind in connection with the taxation derived from the sale of intoxicating liquors, that it is imposed primarily in order to restrain the consumption of such liquors, and not for the purpose of making money out of their sale, and that the fact of the Revenue so derived being large is merely an incident arising from two causes : (1) The determination of the Government to do all that lies in its power to repress a baneful trade in what is not a necessary of life ; (2) The general prosperity of the people, which enables them to spend on the indulgence of a vicious propensity money, which might be better expended or invested. It follows, that every right-feeling Government will do all that it can to increase the taxation up to that point, when the people, rather than pay for the high price liquor, which alone can be had in licensed shops, will take to illicit smuggling and distillation.

Such to the best of my belief have ever been the principles of the Government of India. Such they were, when I learned my first lesson forty years ago, and such it is still.

The great Province of Bangál, with its sixty-six million inhabitants, twenty of whom are Mahometan, comes next. A Commission had been appointed to go into the subject in 1883, and on the 10th of March the orders of Government were issued.

A. The introduction, whenever opportunities of supervision existed, of the Central Distillery, and Still-head Duty. B. The regulation in other places of the out-stills, so that the minimum licence price should be the amount of duty calculated upon the capacity of production. C. Reduction in the number of shops, and certain restrictions on sales. In the year 1885-86 the Net Revenue from liquor and drugs of all kinds amounted to £927,000, less than a million. In the same year Great Britain levied from a population of Christians of less than half the amount a very much larger sum with their own consent, in a country, where the laws are passed by a Democratic Parliament.

The printed Report of this Commission gives us some side lights on this state of affairs. In 1874 the Government was petitioned on the subject of the increase of drinking, more

particularly of the upper class, by Christians and Hindus, and Babu Keshab Chandra Sen, the celebrated leader of the Brahmoists. The minute, which was recorded by a Member of the Board of Revenue upon that petition, contains much that is worthy of remark.

He agrees with the petitioners, that drinking has increased, especially in towns and among the higher class, but he disputes the assertion, that the action of Government can arrest it: he denies that Government has ever wilfully preferred considerations of Revenue to the welfare of the people, but admits administrative failure, and mistaken zeal of native officials. There is no manner of doubt, that intemperance among the higher classes radiates from Calcutta, as from a central focus, the habit is most prevalent in Districts nearest to the Metropolis, and the opinion is prevalent, *that intemperance naturally follows an English Education*. The restraint of Caste-Rules, and dictates of the Hindu and Mahometan Religious books, lose their hold on the conscience of those, who come under Education, and the sad result must be debited to the Schoolmaster rather than the Excise Officer. A medical man records his opinion, that the demoralizing habit of private drinking is indulged in by nearly nine-tenths of the Bangálí students. A vendor of Brandy remarked, that native gentlemen, who could speak English, acquire a taste for brandy with the language. The quantity of intoxicating liquor drunk on holidays is incredible. Patients describe to their Doctor their powers of drinking. A Mahometan member of the writer caste stated, that he had finished a bottle of brandy, and three bottles of beer, at an evening sitting. A Hindu member of the writer-caste stated, that he had swallowed a bottle of brandy almost at a draught.

It is distinctly recorded, that the upper classes do not resort to the shops licensed by the Excise, nor do they consume Native spirit: but they drink in the privacy of their homes liquor imported from Europe: against this evil the Government is impotent: the duty cannot be raised high enough on imported spirits so as to be prohibitory without raising an outcry on the part of the European residents all over British India, who with very rare exceptions are exceedingly temperate as a class, and yet would not submit to be debarred from the use of liquor, to which they are accustomed. It is added, that the native spirit of Bangál is a weak spirit: drunkenness is exceptional: and there is no necessary connection betwixt drunkenness and crime. Dacoits, or hereditary robbers, usually drink but moderately, and in the course of worship to their patron Deity; the most celebrated Dacoit, whom the Head of the Police ever knew, was a total abstainer: on the other hand, common burglars, and petty thieves, were in a constant state of half-stupefaction from drugs. It is mere foolishness to expect, that a certain proportion of the population will not contrive to use stimulants, or that the Excise Revenue will not increase. As the upper classes adopt more and more European habits, we must expect to see them take the bad with the good, and probably more of the bad than the good: all that the Government can do is to supply the demand, *but not create it*,

and to act on an honest recognition of the truth, that the Excise Revenue is a very small matter in comparison with the comfort and well-being of the people.

There is little doubt, that in this Province there was a short period of mistakes and retrograde policy adopted, but it has been promptly corrected, and is not likely to recur after the close investigation made by the Commission, and the scorching light now thrown upon the whole subject.

I treat the two great Provinces of the North-West Provinces and the Panjáb together. A friend drew my attention to a passage in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, dated March 30, 1887, with a view of consoling my spirit and stopping my mouth :

It is not an indispensable part of our Imperial System. Proof is afforded by the fact, that the corrupt system of Excise has not been adopted in the North-West Provinces and the Panjáb, and the temptation to increase the Revenue has not yet constrained the Local Government to sacrifice the morality of the people to the interests of the Exchequer.

These were my two Provinces, in which I commenced and finished my service, having been chief Revenue Officer in both, and I maintain, that the quotations made from the Records of the Government of Bombay and Madras, of which Provinces I know personally nothing, represent exactly the great principles, upon which we have always acted in the two Northern Provinces of India, which teem with Sugar and Hemp, and in one of which the Mohwa or *Bassia latifolia* drops its insidious leaves into the very Courtyards of the houses: there is less of rice, and palm trees, and a very slight growth of poppy, but cereals to any amount.

A Mr. J. Gregson, a Temperance Missionary, whose statements with regard to events in Kolába, in the Bombay Province, have been (page 151) shown not to be entirely exact (to state the case mildly), tells a startling fact with regard to the Panjáb :

That there was one Rájá in the Panjáb, who built and endowed Churches, and Mission buildings, *and died of delirium tremens*: the man was but an exaggerated type of what a Christianized Indian threatens to become.

This is a frightful statement, and involves the character of Missionary Societies, as well as the Rájá. I have had personal acquaintance with all the Rájás of the Panjáb, and their Fathers and Grandfathers, but the statement seems incredible. As this paper has been reprinted in the *Calcutta Review*, the name of this Church-building and intoxicated Rájá will transpire. In justice to the two Provinces, the population of which is very dear to me, as I have visited every District of this vast Region, and lived for many years in personal contact with people of every class from the Rájá down to the village-watchman, I am glad to record the following facts. The population of the North-

West Provinces exceeds twenty-two Millions both Hindu and Mahometan, and their annual consumption averages *one pint for every adult male*. The population of the Panjáb amounts to nearly nineteen Millions, both Hindu and Mahometan, and their annual consumption gives only a *quarter of a pint for every adult male*.

O Noctes cœnæque Deûm !

This is a most beggarly allowance for races, who supply nearly all our Sepâhis, and are as tall and strong as Englishmen : and no allowance is made for the possible, though improbable, consumption of liquors by one single woman, or those lads of thirteen years old, round whose tendencies Mr. Caine rails at the Government for having placed no protection, and it is within this vast Region, that the bulk of the British Army is cantoned, and their quota of drink must be allowed for in the average. Fortunately for these happy races the European trader with his liquid poison of Whisky, Rum, Brandy and Old Tom, has not as yet got a firm footing ; but the march of civilization and English Education will surely bring this evil, and corrupt the moderate habits of my dear Panjáb friends, who are content with an annual quarter of a pint of Native liquor. Oh ! that I were back in their midst to tell them, how that Henry and John Lawrence and Montgomery, Macleod, Herbert Edwardes and myself, were charged in England with having introduced (for we were the very first Europeans whom they saw) among them such vicious and intemperate habits, habits not alluded to in the Veda, the Ramáyana, and the Mahábhárata, and all their ancient books : habits never practised by Ranjít Singh, and his Courtiers, and the great Chiefs of the Khalsa : how the honest old citizens and greybeards would laugh to think, that their old friends had led them so far down the abyss of intemperance, and misery, as to drink an annual quarter of a pint of their nasty decoction of hemp, sugar, or poppy-juice, while at that period old Clergymen of the Church of England drank daily three glasses of port. Moreover, the Panjáb is a Province thoroughly in hand, with every acre of land surveyed, and every man, woman and child counted in the Census, and has the inestimable advantage of being one thousand miles from the nearest seaport. But a Missionary of the Panjáb informs me that in Lahore, and some large towns, liquor-shops for European liquors have largely increased : so the deadly poison is spreading.

In addition to the five great Provinces of British India, with their teeming populations, and independent Constitutions, there are three smaller Provinces, Assam, the Central Provinces, and Barma : they have been less influenced by British civilization :

the population is chiefly Non-Arian, backward in culture, difficult of access. In Barma we find ourselves in entirely different environments: the people are Buddhists: in some of the remote valleys the practice of opium-smoking, so entirely unknown in India, prevails. Lower Barma has been under British control for many years: the kingdom of Barma is a new annexation: the whole state of affairs is abnormal, and there was clearly a few years ago a great neglect of the established principles of the Indian Government in the Excise arrangements. There are no roads, and the means of communication are difficult: the population is sparse, and heavy jungles facilitate illicit stills. In the Seaports, on the other hand, European strong drinks are easily to be obtained. On the whole, this Province will be for years to come an anxious charge. In the Administration Report for 1885-86 it is noted, that the Excise Revenue is declining, that there are only seventeen shops in the whole of the Province for the sale of opium, and that increased smuggling was the result.

In the Central Provinces the Chief Commissioner reports, that he has always been careful not to countenance any measures calculated to create or foster a taste for spirits. I quote the following:

As to the habits of the people in the matter of drinking, it is of course true, that, in accordance with their religious sentiments, Hindus of certain of the higher Castes and Mahometans do, as a body, abjure drink, but in these Provinces these classes form but a small portion of the total population. We have here, in a country, much of which is wild and hilly and covered with long stretches of forest, a large aboriginal population, and in certain parts of the Province large numbers of persons of the lowest Castes, who with their forefathers have always been accustomed to the use of liquor made from the flower of the Mohwa tree. This tree grows abundantly all over the Central Provinces, and the process, by which spirit is distilled from the Mohwa flower in the wilder parts of the country, is of the simplest character; a couple of earthen pots, and a piece of hollow bambú to form a tube, constituting the distiller's apparatus. There is not a district in some portion of which spirit cannot under these circumstances be distilled illicitly without much fear of detection, and experience has proved most convincingly, that unless the inherited taste of these people for this stimulant is satisfied by the establishment within their reach of shops, where they can buy taxed spirit, they will resort to illicit distillation, and render themselves liable to the penalties of the Revenue-law. It would be useless, even if it were expedient, to attempt to suppress consumption by refusing to license shops. Smuggling and its demoralizing effects, prosecutions and heavy penalties, would, under the conditions of these Provinces, be the inevitable result. The wisest policy is to adopt such measures, as will operate as a check on excessive drinking, and this is the policy which is followed here. It may be added, that in the malarious tracts which abound in the Central Provinces, it is quite possible, that the moderate consumption of a weak spirit, such as that ordinarily consumed in these Provinces, has its beneficial effects in protecting the people from chills and fevers. But, however that may be, there is the fact, that the use of liquor in this part of the country has no connection with the advent of British rule, and that steps were first taken upwards of twenty years ago to restrict its consumption.

In Assam we read of the state of affairs, as it was when the British occupied Assam, when almost every cultivator of land grew a patch of poppy in the cold weather, and as the use of the drug was adopted in its most fascinating form by smoking, the householder, as well as his women and children, were confirmed opium-consumers, for the drug was collected by wiping off the juice of the poppy-heads on rags, which, on being dried, were quite prepared for smoking. The cultivation of the Poppy was forbidden, and the only opium introduced into the valley came from the State-Monopoly, and was sold to men only at an enhanced price. In the mean time the people increased in number, and all the elements of comfort, and other forms of intoxicating liquors have come into fashion, quite independent of any European or British contact or influence. The following remarks of a District Officer of an independent tribe are worthy of notice :

As regards the district of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills the remarks hardly apply, as outside of Shillong Excise rules cannot properly be said to apply. On the broad question, my opinion is, that, were there no Excise system in India, drunkenness would vastly increase with the increase of prosperity, which this country enjoys. The Jaintia are, perhaps, the most drunken race in the Province, if not in India, and they pay no Excise taxes. Several times respectable Jaintia have implored me and my predecessors to introduce the Excise system with the express view of lessening intemperance, but for various reasons this measure has not yet been adopted. Of course it would be idle to deny, that the establishment of a shop at a place, where one was not in existence before, tends to increase the drunkenness of that particular locality. But this to my mind only shows, that the desire to drink is omnipresent, and that, if the demand now creates a supply in spite of the heavy taxes raised as Excise duty, and, in spite of all the vexatious rules and checks, regulating the traffic, in the absence of these taxes, rules, and checks, for every one shop now in existence, there would be a score, if the Excise Department were abolished, unless, indeed, the manufacture of liquor was altogether prohibited throughout India. I should imagine that this is a measure, which not even the Temperance Society would advocate ; but, if they would do so, I would oppose it on the grounds, that it would be an intolerable interference with the liberty of the subject ; that India cannot afford to lose any Revenue at all just now ; that the Excise tax is the least burdensome of all taxes, since no one need drink unless he likes ; that all civilized nations drink, and apparently in exact proportion to the extent of their civilization and general progress (England taking the lead).

In the Administration Reports presented to Parliament annually by a succession of Governors, who have no connection with their predecessors, but are often in antagonism to them, we find a faithful picture of the progress of each Province, such as no Nation in the world, past or present, has ever received from its Subject Empires. If Cicero during his Proconsulate in Cilicia, or Pontius Pilate at Jerusalem, had sent to Rome such Reports, and they had survived to our times, many obscure points would be cleared up. These Reports must be true, because they are exposed to the lynx eyes of readers, who know

the circumstances as well as the Reporter. In the Reports of the Excise we find, how the amount fluctuates, because the particular year was not auspicious to Hindu marriages, and there were fewer marriages, and less feasting. The presence of large gangs of labourers collected for great Public Works is a cause for the increase of the Excise quite intelligible. In Barma we read, that Rum imported from Penang is driving out the locally distilled liquor. In Bangál it is noticed, that foreign rums and cheap brandy are superseding rum of local manufacture. The consumption of opium seems to be decreasing everywhere: but the income of British India from the Excise is steadily increasing, and it is considered to be indicative of growing prosperity among the people.

I did not take up the pen to justify, or even palliate, the use of intoxicating liquors, and stupefying drugs: on one occasion years ago, during a discussion in a Missionary Committee on the subject of the opium question, I expressed my regret, that our Heavenly Father had in His wisdom created the Poppy to be the cause of ruin to millions, and a root of bitterness among good men. I can only add my regret, that the same All-wise Power had created Sugar and Hemp, and Rice, and Grain, and the Palm Tree, and the Mohwa tree, and allowed these poor ignorant races, from whom so much knowledge had been shut out, to discover, as the first of Nature's discovered secrets, the mysterious trick of fermentation. Still, in the cause of truth I protest against the view taken on the subject by the orators of Prince's Hall. I quote some words:

Hindu and Mahometans have listened to the voices of their Prophets, as the Rechabites, and been blessed thereby.

We have made money out of the misery of the Indian people, and grown rich out of their degradation.

If we were to give local self-government for twelve months to the ten Millions of the North-west Provinces (the population amounts to twenty-two), we are assured (by whom?) that at the end of that period drunkenness would have disappeared, because Mahometans would be ashamed to defile their fingers with Rupees for the sale of "Shame-water," as it is called (by whom?), and the Hindu would boycott with indignation any publican, who bore a licence to demoralize his fellow-subjects.

Instead of wells, we have plenty of grog-shops.

We derive from that source a perfect river of gold, flowing into our Exchequer, but the River flows from the fountain of Shame-water.

Some of these points require special reply. What is "Shame-water"? It looks as if an imperfectly instructed linguist had confused the word "sharáb," which means "wine," and lives on in the English word "sharbet," with the word "sharam," which means "shame." I have heard liquors called by many bad names in Hindustani, and respectable people (perhaps secret drinkers) would make wry faces, and signs of disgust,

if the word "sharáb" were used in their hearing ; but I never heard the word "Shame-water" in general native parlance. It implies a knowledge of English, as well as Hindustani, which is rare among Natives of Upper India. And does any sensible person really recommend such a breach of the peace as is implied in "boycotting" ? Does he dare boycott a Public House in Westminster ? Why then propose to a Hindu to do an act in Upper India, which would most certainly lodge him in the Gaol ? Are the weak Municipalities of India able to dispose of the Liquor question in such a trenchant way, while the ancient Municipalities of Great Britain have failed ? It is difficult to get any meaning out of the blessing, which the Hindu and Mahometan are said to have got from their false Prophets. What blessing can come from the hideous idolatry of the Hindu, or the Christ-dishonouring tenets of Mahomet ? How have we become rich out of the degradation of the people of India ? Not a Rupee of tribute comes to Great Britain from India. The balance of advantage of the Union of the Empires is enormously on the side of India, which has obtained everything from Great Britain except Political and Commercial Liberty. Reflect upon the treatment, which the South Africans the Australians, the New Zealanders and North American indigenous population, despoiled of their lands, and turned into serfs, have received at the hands of the British settler, and contrast it with that of the people of India, where Rája and Citizen, landholder and tenant, enjoy their ancestral land and houses, as they were at the beginning of the Rule of the Company, transmitting them to their children, whether Hindu or Mahometan, according to their own law of Marriage and Inheritance, and where in the Courts of Justice there is no distinction of white or black, Christian or non-Christian.

A certain English Missionary addressed a letter to Mr. Samuel Smith, which has been published. Now I am well acquainted with all the Missionary Societies of India, and I should like to know the name of this gentleman : it is he who tells us that

The Board of Revenue encourage the drink trade, put facilities before the people in order to push on the trade and get in a large revenue : there was a grand triumph for the Excise. but it was at the cost of fearful misery and demoralization of the people of India. No less than half a dozen of Rájas have died at a comparatively young age within the last few years from indulgence freely in kegs (sic) of champagne (not soda) and brandy. Europeans may reform and give up drink, but a Native goes on to the end : he seldom or never can give it up.

I call on Mr. Samuel Smith to let us know the name of this Missionary, that he may be cross-examined as to the truth of his statements : it ill becomes a Christian Minister to make such a statement to a chance traveller, and not to bring it

before the notice of a Conference of Missionaries, or report it to his own Committee. As a member of the Committee of the Church Missionary Society, I can certify, that we hear news from every part of India about Famines, and Pestilences, and the condition of the people of India, and the Manufacture of Opium, and Secular Education, but I have no recollection of the subject of the misery of the people brought on by drunkenness, encouraged by the Government. In a Committee, containing at least a dozen retired Anglo-Indian Civilians and Soldiers, this would have produced a startling sensation, and would have led to inquiries, and remonstrances to the Secretary of State for India.

It is the European Distillers, and Exporters, who are rendering nugatory all the endeavours of a wise and benevolent Government to control a fearful evil, which appears to accompany Education and Civilization, when unsanctified by the Christian Religion, which inculcates the only real Morality.

I place on record the rate of annual consumption in each of the five great Provinces :

Bangál, a quarter of a gallon for every adult male.

Madras, less than a quarter.

Bombay, less than a gallon.

North-west Provinces, one pint.

The Panjáb, a quarter of a pint.

The whole of India, one bottle or a bottle and a half.

If the women are taken into calculation, and the boys and girls up to thirteen, for whose unprotected state Mr. Caine expressed such anxiety, the average will fall still lower. The numbers are so enormous, it is not easy for those, who are only accustomed to the small populations of Europe, to grasp the idea of a single Province with a population of Sixty-six Millions, and an Empire of two hundred and fifty: the amount of liquor, which would drench England, is only a sprinkling when scattered over India.

Sir Richard Temple, M.P., made the following statement in the House of Commons in 1887: if any one knows India, he does, and he is in no respect the paid defender, or in the least dependent on the Government of India :

With regard to the civil administration, it had been said that in order to stimulate the Excise, they were driving the people into intemperance. He gave that statement the most emphatic denial. If there was any tendency to intemperance, the Government of India would soon take steps to stop that danger. Anything further from the mind of the Government of India than the idea he referred to could not be imagined, and, indeed, very few populations were less liable to intemperance than the people of India.

I have very little to thank the Government of India for, not even a Retiring Pension: but I love the people of India very dearly, and after a careful examination of the systems of administration of subject-countries by any Nation in ancient or modern times, I have come to the conviction, that the much-abused Government of India is the most sympathetic, the most just, the most tolerant, and the most influenced by Christian wisdom, liberality, and conscientiousness, that the world has ever seen; it is not then a matter of surprise that, as I hold such sentiments, such speeches could not be overlooked: there were but two alternatives, to admit the truth of their statements, and join them in the Crusade, or to combat them, as I do now. The Government of India has to submit to much contumely, but it appears to affect it very little: in the consciousness of Right it is strong; the Indian Press is free, and the Records of the State are freely published: there is nothing to conceal.

What can be done?

It should be impressed upon the Government of India, that there should be triennial reviews of the Excise system, and the greatest watchfulness maintained over the working of the system, as carried out by Native subordinates, who cannot be trusted: there should be some special officer in each Province: his salary can be provided from the ever-increasing Excise. A stop at once should be placed on the use of intoxicating liquors in any College, or Office of the State. Intoxication should be punished by instant dismissal. Bands of Hope, Temperance Societies, and a Temperance Literature in all the languages of India, should be encouraged. A Missionary tells me that they are already formed in the Panjáb, and no doubt in other Provinces, as there is a strong feeling in its favour amidst a large Section of the Community: it is not like introducing a new Religion: it is an attempt to enforce a Rule of Morality, in which all agree, whether Christian, Hindu, Sikh, Buddhist, Parsí, Jew, Nature-worshipper, Mahometan, or Brahmoist. The unwarranted attacks of Missionaries on Caste have been very prejudicial, as Caste-Rules are great preservatives of the decencies of life, and should be respected. A confirmed drunkard would be turned out of a respectable Caste.

Sensational abuse should cease: the matter is too solemn for platform-eloquence. Fanaticism does no good. Henry V. of England, a reformed rake, intended to root the vine out of France, if he had lived: had he done so, he would have been equally intemperate in his manhood, as in his youth. The existence of human tendencies in every race of mankind must be recognized as a fact: this is part of our physical constitution: the abundant supply of intoxicating materials in India is a fact

also : this was part of Nature's mysterious plan. We should try so to restrain the use by practical laws, that the weak may be held back from the abuse of what, if moderately used, is lawful. Centuries ago an Abbey was built on Thorney Island, which became the most illustrious in the world : within a radius of five miles round this Abbey a larger amount of drink is consumed than in any other equal area : is the Abbey to blame ? The liquor consumed is both indigenous, and foreign import. The Empire of India is the most illustrious in the world in wealth, population, products and arts : the Indian Nation were foremost in Science, Commerce, Manufacture, and Literature, when the British were still savages clad in skins : and yet I have conclusively shown, that at all periods of their ancient history they had among them a section of the community, who abused the good gifts of Nature : and since the connection of India with Europe the evil has *been intensified by the import of the liquid poison of Europe* : is the Government of India to blame ?

And how can the British Nation throw stones in this particular at the Indian ? "Physician, heal thyself !" would be the reply from India, if it were as free as Australia. The great Indo-European, or Arian, Race, in its vast expansion from India to Ireland, has been for many Centuries great in Arms, Arts, Science and Legislation, and everything that can render the Human Race illustrious, but it has in all its branches, Kelt, Teuton, Slav, Italo-Greek, Iranic and Indic, been always famous, in spite of the Priest and Moralist, for its passion for intoxicating liquors, and at this day the Teuton has become the great Poisoner of the World. Their footsteps have been dyed in blood and their hands steeped in drink, in their grand march over Continent and Island : they talk of Civilization and Religion, but what they have given to Africa and Oceania is one grain of Bible-teaching, drowned in tons of Drink. The wages of the day-labourer have been paid in demijohns of gin : the exchange of compliments with a Chieftain has been in a "dash" of brandy. Unless the conscience of Christian Nations is roused, nothing can be done. The legislature of British India could in some way protect itself, if the iron hand of Manchester were lifted up, and India had the same independence of taxation of Imports as the Dominion of Canada and the Colonies of South Africa and Australia. Some arrangements might be made for the interior distribution of European liquor among European residents in British India, if a prohibitory Import Duty could be placed upon all liquors imported beyond *Sea for the use of the Natives of India, their consent having been obtained to this arrangement* : until this is done, there is no hope for the People of India.

This Paper has been published in India and England, and will

probably be quoted into some of the Vernacular newspapers: copies have been sent to the Missionary Societies of North America, and the Continent. The false charge has gone forth: the reply has followed. The Press of Europe, America, and India can bring to the test the accuracy of my quotations from Indian Authors, and the correctness of the facts stated in the Despatch of the Viceroy. As soon as this stumbling-block has been removed, the Committee of the Church of England Temperance Society can resume its benevolent labours, and the Committee of the Missionary Societies can be raised from the state of suspended life caused by the speeches of the orators of Prince's Hall of March, 1887. I am sorry to have come into collision with them, but

Amicus Plato : amicus Socrates : major amicus est Veritas.

LONDON, JAN. 1, 1888.

The darkest hour of the night is the one before dawn. Can we hope that something will be done? I add a quotation from an American Missionary Journal just received. *Deep calls to Deep* :

A debate took place in the British Parliament, April 24, on the question of the liquor traffic and native races. The disastrous results of the liquor traffic were universally admitted and deplored. The necessity for prompt and energetic action, if the natives are to be saved from extermination, was clearly set forth. It was urged that a convention be called for united action on the part of the Powers of Europe. A statement was made by the Secretary of the Colonies, that the United States Government had not responded favourably to proposals for an international agreement on this subject, and that Secretary Bayard had declared, that while our Government recognized the moral force and general propriety of the proposed regulations, it does not feel entirely prepared to join in the international understanding proposed. This is a humiliating statement to be made by the U. S. Government, and publicly announced in the British Parliament. It is for Americans to see to it, that our Government and our people *are* prepared for such co-operation. This debate indicates a purpose to take hold of this great problem with vigour, and the following motion was agreed to without a division : " That this House, " having regard to the disastrous physical and moral effects of the liquor traffic " among uncivilized races, as well as the injury it inflicts on legitimate commerce, " will cordially support the Imperial and Colonial governments in endeavours " to suppress the traffic in all the native territories and governments under " their influence and control."

JULY 20, 1888.

VII.

EDUCATION.

THIS branch of Missionary effort has no Apostolic Sanction. We must not forget this, and blame those, who pass it by. Nor is Education necessarily a help to Evangelization: quite the contrary: the most learned men of all European countries are the most far from God. St. Paul knew it in his time, for he writes, that not many wise are called, and that God chose the foolish things of this world, that they might put to shame them that are wise. And yet St. Paul knew what a school was, for at Ephesus he reasoned daily in the school of one Tyrannus, probably a teacher of Grammar and Rhetoric, and at Athens, when he stood on Mars Hill, his eye must have fallen on the enclosures of the Stoa and the Academia, the greatest Schools in the world.

The Apostles went about preaching and teaching, but it goes without saying, that such teaching was religious, and a strict part of the Gospel-Message. In this generation the School-master has got abroad, and certain nationalities, having developed an aptitude for secular learning, bring it unduly forward in the plan of Gospel-Salvation. Perhaps in a lesser degree the same undue stress is placed upon outward personal cleanliness, and in the Gospel according to Mr. Mundella, once a Minister of Public Instruction, Cleanliness is quoted on inspired authority, as next to Godliness. To any one, who is acquainted with the simple lives, and moderate requirements of Asiatic or African races, and the very slow process of centuries, through which the English and Scotch people have been brought up to the present level of education and cleanliness, it must be evident, that the imposition of conditions, not imposed by our Lord, is deeply to be deplored: it stands out in conspicuous contrast to the Monkish history of the Early Christian Saints, who are always recorded to have worn foul clothes, abounded in vermin, and to have been generally totally ignorant of the wisdom of this world. A halo of sanctity attached to such, as to the filthy

hairy Fakír of India, which would not surround the neat home of the rigorously clean, and carefully shorn, Missionary.

Now the subject must be divided into two branches :

I. Religious, or quasi-religious.

II. Secular pure and simple, or Secular upon a Christian method for Christian objects by the agency of Christian men.

With regard to the first Section of the first Branch, there is not a word to be said by way of disparagement. The method of conveying religious teaching, and the amount, which the hearers can receive, must vary from tribe to tribe, and age to age. The teaching of a British Sunday-school would not go far to make a British divine, but that teaching might be over the heads of the African greybeards. I must leave this to the Missionary, with the proviso, that the Bible is the text-book.

The phenomena, described in the second, occur, when in a purely secular school one of the teachers, or a stranger, is permitted before or after the school-hours to address the students, leading on from the school-subject just lectured upon, or about to be discussed, and giving it a higher turn, suggestive of the knowledge of things Divine, the basis on which all Morals rest, the highest objects of human faculties. Young and ardent minds may thus be influenced, and the door of a new world opened : a fruitful seed may find a lodgment. The Resolution of the Supreme Government of British India of this year, which will be again referred to lower down, alludes to the existence of this possibility. I quote the words :

Even in schools supported by the State something in the way of religious instruction can be effected out of school-hours in accordance with established principles.

I now pass to the second branch, "Secular Instruction pure and simple." To my mind no Missionary Society should undertake such a duty, under any possible circumstances. The money, which is collected to send him out, and maintain him, was collected for the purpose of converting a soul, not sharpening an intellect : to make men wise unto Salvation through faith, which is in Christ Jesus. The so-called Missionary, who can only teach Mathematics, Logic, and Science, generally has mistaken his profession ; but he might be of great use to the Missionary cause, by being employed in the State-Education Department, and thus indirectly preparing for conversion.

But the second Section of the second Branch involves other conditions, and must again be subdivided upon Geographical and Ethnical considerations. Where the Missionary has to act upon the African under a Native Chief, or in Oceania, or in such parts of Asia, where no proper and sufficient provision is made for the Education of the Natives, it is clear, that Schools of a Secular-Religious character are one of the most important

agencies, and must not be neglected. But he must take care, that Religious Instruction is the beginning and end, and that it is openly announced, that the conversion of souls is the sole object. It is sad to think, that in some cases Missionary Schools have not been opened with prayer, out of pretended respect to the consciences of the Heathen and Mahometan, that Heathen and Mahometan teachers are employed, that in a long course of years no conversions can be credited to the School, and that the only result of the instruction is to raise the students above the level of their surroundings, their parents, their relations, their means of livelihood, or to have placed a good cheap education within reach of a very undeserving class.

I have remarked this last feature particularly in the Female Schools in the Turkish Dominions: I do not particularize. The Educational Establishments within that kingdom are magnificent, and reflect great credit upon the Missionary Associations, and I was assured, that conversion, and conversion only, was the object intended; but I fear, that the result is not always so. Any allusion to the arrangements made for the education of *converts*, or for training of *Pastors*, *Teachers*, and *Catechists*, is omitted, as I have to deal with Missionary, and not with Pastoral, work.

Where the Missionary operations lie within the limits of great European kingdoms, such as Great Britain, France, Germany, Spain, or Portugal, the case is different. Every European Power has in these last days recognized the duty of the State to attend to the subject of Education as much as of Police, and each State takes a different view of the methods to be employed: but it is a Sovereign-right, and cannot be assailed by any International Law. Austria and Russia will allow no interference whatever. France does not actually forbid, but enforces such laws, that it amounts to the same thing. All instruction must be conducted in the French language, and by French certificated teachers. There is sufficient semblance of justice in these rules to prevent any remonstrance: the Missionary has to close his Schools. Turkey is attempting to introduce some such principle, and there is a general uneasiness in Missionary circles. The Schools are suddenly closed; then explanation is offered, and they are reopened. Certain Regulations have been propounded: the foreign Missionary has no alternative, but to obey. No international principle is involved: if the Government of Turkey chose to make Turkish, or Arabic, the sole vehicle of instruction, and to exclude foreign teachers, it would be entirely within its Sovereign-rights, as asserted by Austria and Russia. The Missionary must temporize, yield a little, conciliate the authorities, conform as far as possible to the Regulations: if it comes at last to the impossibility of conducting Schools on a religious

basis, they must be closed, and converted subjects of the Sultan encouraged to open private establishments. One thing is clear, that no policy can be more suicidal than to worry the Government of the Sultan, and weaken its power: it would only accelerate the catastrophe of the breaking down of the tottering Empire, which would mean the annexation of Turkey in Asia by Russia, of Turkey in Europe by Austria, of Syria and Palestine by France, and the absolute closing for ever of all Protestant Schools. I remark with great anxiety and regret, the occasional petulant and unwise conduct of American and British Missionaries, who do not seem to realize the sword, which is hanging by a thread over their heads, and no diplomatic interference would help them in a matter of internal administration, which the Turk proposes to conduct on the same principles as his dear brethren the Russian, Austrian and Frenchman. Missionaries forget, that, though they carry *personal* rights with them into a friendly country, those personal rights do not protect them in a breach of the domestic laws of the country.

During the present year a remarkable instance has occurred in the United States of North America of the arbitrary use of the Sovereign-right to regulate Education within National limits. It is notorious, that within those limits there are about 250,000 indigenous American Indians, speaking about one hundred different languages: and the Missionary Societies of the United States have made noble efforts to convert these heathen: the Bible has been translated, and the Vernaculars made the vehicle of Instruction. Suddenly from the State Department of this free Republic has been issued an order, resembling a Russian Ukase, ordering English to be made the sole vehicle of instruction, both in State-supported and private schools. The Missionaries have, as was to be expected, remonstrated. I only quote the case to illustrate my position as to the Sovereign-right of the State.

In the Colonies of Great Britain it is different. As they have a constitutional government, it rests with each to regulate its own Educational system, and there is little doubt that it will be on liberal principles. The Government of British India has the hardest, and most perilous duty to discharge, and strange to say, has received an amount of obloquy and detractation from Missionaries, which does them no credit. If British India were to pass into the hands of Russia or France, or Independent Native States, it would serve the Missionaries right. The great Problem before the Government of India was, to bear in mind, that they were the guardians of the great people, committed to their charge, that Toleration to Religious convictions was the chief Jewel of Empire, and the appropriation of taxes levied from Mahometans and Idolaters, to the purpose of converting

them to another form of religion, would be an intolerable wrong, which would be resented by the British People, if the Pope of Rome, or the Caliph of the Mahometans, attempted that policy in the British Islands.

It is the practice of writers in the cause of Missions to speak hardly of the great and impartial Government of India, under whose ægis a greater amount of Missionary work is being prosecuted in peace and comfort, than the world ever saw before in any one country. It is forgotten, that remarks, levelled against an impersonal Government, really attack a succession of good and religious public servants, who, while in India they were not ashamed of being Christians, yet never forgot the principle, which underlies all true religion, "of doing unto others what they would that men should do unto them," and who never swerved from the dictates of tolerance, equity, and respect for the consciences of the great people, over whose destinies they were called to preside. I do not like to see demands made, which the people, if they had an independent constitutional form of government, would never grant. St. Paul, and the other Apostles, were content to be left alone. I am sorry to differ in this matter from men, whom I love and esteem; but I must render unto Cæsar the things that Cæsar's, as well as the things that are God's unto God.

The educational system of British India is entirely based on the Educational Charter of 1854, drafted by the late Viscount Halifax, who was then President of the Board of Control. I have carefully gone over these famous one hundred paragraphs. If there is any one leading characteristic of that Charter, it is the desire not to awaken a religious difficulty. Thus:

Para. 28. The examination at the University will not include any subject connected with religious belief, and the affiliated institutions will be under the management of persons of every variety of religious persuasion.

Para. 32. We shall refuse to sanction any teaching (connected with Hindu and Mahometan tenets), as directly opposed to the principle of religious neutrality, to which we have always adhered.

Para. 34. (The Senate) will include natives of India of all religious persuasions.

Para. 53. The system of grants in aid will be based on an entire abstinence from interference with the religious instruction conveyed in the school.

Para. 56. No notice whatsoever to be taken by the Inspector of the religious doctrines, which may be taught in the school.

Para. 57. It may be advisable distinctly to assert in them the principle of perfect religious neutrality, on which the grants will be awarded.

Para. 84. The institutions are founded for the benefit of the whole population of India, and, in order to effect this object, it was, and is, indispensable, that the education conveyed in them should be exclusively secular.

Para. 100. The measures which we have now adopted will involve a much larger expenditure from the *taxation* of the people of India.

These words were written in 1854, before the great Sepoy

Mutiny. In 1859, Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India reviewed the whole subject, with reference to the allegation, that this educational measure had been among the causes, which led to the Mutiny. I quote from his despatch :

Para. 34. The system of grants in aid is based on an entire abstinence from interference with the religious instruction conveyed in the schools assisted.

Para. 35. Every endeavour appears to have been used to carry into practice the principles of perfect religious neutrality, on which the system was declared to be based.

Para. 42. The home-authorities determined, that computation (for marks in certain religious books) should not be allowed, and thus removed all possible ground of misapprehension.

Para. 56. The author of the Despatch of 1854 regarded the system, as carrying out in the most effectual manner the principle of perfect religious neutrality, and as solving in the best practicable way various difficult questions, connected with education, arising out of the peculiar position of the British Government in India. The principle of perfect neutrality in matters of religion, on which the system has been brought into operation in India, has been laid down and promulgated with unmistakable distinctness in published rules.

Para. 51. It has been alleged, that notwithstanding these precautions jealousy has been excited by the assistance indirectly extended through the medium of grants in aid to Missionary teaching.

Para. 59. From the earliest period, at which the British Government in India directed its attention to the subject of education, all its measures, in consistency with the policy, which regulated its proceedings in other departments of the State, have been based on the principle of perfect religious neutrality : in other words, on an abstinence from all interference with the religious feelings and practices of the natives, and on the exclusion of religious teaching from the Government schools.

Para. 60. The Proclamation of Her Majesty, on assuming the direct control of the Government of India, plainly declared, that no interference with the religion of the people, or with their habits, and usages, was to take place.

Para. 61. The free resort of all classes to Government schools, when unusual alarm had been excited in the minds of the natives, is a sufficient proof of the confidence, which is felt in the promises of Government, that no interference with religious belief will be allowed in their schools, and this confidence Her Majesty's Government would be very reluctant to disturb by any change of system, which might give occasion to misapprehension. They are unable therefore to sanction any modification of the rule of strict religious neutrality, which has been hitherto enforced in the Government Schools, and it accordingly remains, that the course of study in all Government institutions be, as heretofore, confined to secular subjects.

Para. 66. It seems important therefore to learn, whether any of the measures taken by the Government of India in recent years to promote the education of the natives of India have been such as to afford just ground of suspicion, or alarm : whether, notwithstanding the absence of any just grounds of alarm, there has in fact existed a misunderstanding of the intentions of Government with regard to their measures, which excited apprehensions, however unfounded, and whether any alterations of existing arrangements can be devised, by which the risk of misapprehension may be lessened, and the minds of the people may be set at rest.

These words were written by the present Earl Derby, a member of the Conservative Ministry : the Charter itself was written by Viscount Halifax, a member of the Liberal Ministry.

Both parties of the State were at one on this policy. Both Despatches were published, and presented to the Houses of Parliament. No change whatever in the general policy has taken place since that date.

Some dissatisfied persons proposed to move Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India to withdraw from the work of higher education in India, avowedly on the ground "that education without religion is not complete education." An effort would then be made to supply the place of abolished colleges by establishments, in which the principles of the Evangelical Alliance would be enforced, as in a Missionary place of education, and to which the natives of India, Hindu or Mahometan, would be obliged to resort, or be deprived of the benefit of education, which, owing to the efforts of the State during the last quarter of a century, has become a necessity to them: and to carry out this policy a still greater assignment of funds raised by taxation would be asked for, as grants in aid. Such is the nature of the proposition, however much it may be qualified by such words as "gradually," or "a greater or less extent." The temper of the House of Commons must have greatly changed, if such a proposition had been listened to for a moment.

I have arrived at a clear conviction, that the Government of a great subject country, held by force of arms, ought never to relinquish its grasp on the control of the education of a people, any more than it would on the police, the taxation, and the judicial system. Our political tenure of India is a most frail one. The population is composed of very distinct and hostile elements. The possibility of creating an Educational Board, composed of representatives of all religions, seems very doubtful, and no statesman would undertake the responsibility of placing the educational resources of the State, supplied by taxation, at the disposal of religious denominations, however excellent might be the character of the individuals. With what favour would Protestants regard the educational institutions of a Russian province, entrusted to a Greek Missionary body, or those of a Portuguese province, entrusted to the Jesuits? A demand is made, which the British Parliament steadily refuses to the Roman Catholics of Ireland. In both cases the unconcealed motive for meddling with education is to inculcate religious views, with the alleged ulterior object, in both cases conscientiously believed in, of advancing the cause of morality.

Let me consider the point which is urged, that the Government is pledged to give way: let me quote the words of the Charter:

Para. 61. We look forward to a time, when any general system of education, entirely provided by Government, may be discontinued with the gradual

advance of the system of grants in aid, and when many of the existing Government institutions, especially those of the higher order, may be safely closed, or transferred to the management of local bodies under the control of and aided by the State : but it is far from our wish to check the spread of education, in the slightest degree, by the abandonment of a single school to probable decay, and we therefore entirely confide in your discretion, while keeping this object in view, to act with caution.

The whole of the Despatch must be taken together. If they were found to exist in any city, or district, an educational power, which had gradually grown up to full maturity, and was able to take over charge of the education of the people, in the same manner, and under the same conditions of neutrality, by means of an impartial Board of Managers, the Government might be willing to withdraw : but does such an agency exist in any part of India ? Would it meet the wishes of the Missionaries to work their schools with a conscience-clause ? Would they wish to come under the far less gentle, and less sympathetic, control of a Board of Managers elected by a majority of Hindus and Mahometans ? No other construction can be placed upon this clause, and in the later Despatch, para. 46, we only find,

It being hoped, that private schools aided by Government would eventually take the place universally of the several classes of Government institutions.

It cannot be imagined, that the deliberate closing of a Government institution with the avowed object of encouraging Missionary Propagandism was contemplated.

And supposing that the Government were from financial reasons to abandon the discharge of their duty (and I can imagine no other reason), I fail to see, that any Missionary body, or aggregate of Missionary bodies, is in a position at the present moment in any part of India to maintain the higher education of the people with the degree of permanence, which is necessary. The constituents of many Missionary Societies would not subscribe to maintain the machinery of secular education on a great scale. A large and highly paid staff, with pensions and privileges, is required, and this would cause a strain upon Missionary resources, and neglect of the proper duty of direct Evangelization.

But another ground is alleged for the change, and a plea put in for the education of the Masses. Now we have certain information, that the Government is not indifferent to the education of the Masses.

The Duke of Argyll, Secretary of State, writes, May, 1871, to the Viceroy :

Para. 5. I should be understood, as approving generally of the main principle, which runs through your despatch, that the Government expenditure should, as far as possible, be reduced with reference to the education of those, who are

well able to pay for themselves, and should be mainly directed to the provision of an elementary education for the Masses of the people.

Para. 9. If once we can instil into the real upper classes of India, that one of the main duties of society is to provide for the sound primary instruction of the humbler classes, we shall lay the real foundation for that general system of education, which it is the desire of Your Excellency's Government to establish.

Again, on June 4, 1873, he writes to the Viceroy :

Para. 5. The very difficult problem for solution in India is the method of diffusing education among the Masses without injuring the success which has hitherto attended collegiate instruction : and, as the State funds available for education are necessarily limited, it is not to be wondered at, that any apprehended transfer from one branch to another should give rise to considerable controversy and meet opposition.

Para. 9. In conclusion, I must express my concurrence with Your Excellency, in considering that the Lieutenant-Governor of Bangál has not departed from the broad line of educational policy, which has been laid down by Her Majesty's Government during a long series of years, and in cordially approving the steps His Honour has taken to give a more practical tone to education in Bangál. The advance, which has been made in the encouragement of the primary instruction of the people is also a subject for congratulation.

The Lieutenant-Governor of Bangál writes to the Director of Public Instruction, 1872 :

It is not the policy of the Government to discourage English or High Education, but it is its policy not to devote an entirely disproportionate amount of the funds at the disposal of the Local Government to the education of a very limited number of persons, to the comparative exclusion of the much greater number, who have equal claims on the State.

The British Indian Association of Calcutta thus memorialized the Viceroy, June, 1872 :

Para. 27. Your memorialists beg to observe, that the whole discussion turns not upon the question, whether or not the Government approve of higher education in the abstract, but upon the extent, to which they are prepared to assist it. It is a complete fallacy to suppose, that the higher education can subsist, even in Lower Bangál, much less in other parts of India, without necessary aid from Government. It is enormously expensive, and the prospects of success in life, held out thereby to students, is exceedingly small.

The People's Association, Dacca, thus memorialized the Viceroy, September, 1872 :

Your memorialists are not unaware of the fact, that reduction in grant of the higher education is said to be owing to a corresponding increase in that for Mass education, but they beg humbly to state, that a judicious management of the funds would enable Government to devote large sums to the education of the Masses without starving High Education.

The Rajshahye Association thus memorialized the Viceroy, December, 1872 :

Para. 2. Some time before the Government of India passed a resolution to the effect, that in time to come the Government would gradually withdraw State aid from High Education in order to apply the amount to the promotion of Mass-Education.

The recent acts of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Bangál have

inspired your petitioners with serious fear and concern. His Honour at once cut off the collegiate classes of some colleges, reduced the establishment of others. His Honour's policy in reducing the State grant for High Education, like that of the Government resolution referred to at the outset, is understood to be with a view to promote Mass Education.

Your Excellency's petitioners submit, that of all the reasons, for which the people of the country blessed the British Government, there is none in which they have been more unanimous and more earnest than for the education given by the means of colleges and schools.

I have quoted these memorials to show, that an endeavour had been made, and was being made, to reduce the sums spent on Higher Education, and increase the amount spent on Mass Education, and to point out, that there is an observant native public, who would not allow such a step to be taken, as handing over the Higher Education to Missionary control, without the most strenuous and passionate resistance, possibly endangering the peace of the Empire.

In 1873, the Viceroy in Council reviewed the whole subject of Education, remarking as follows :

If His Excellency is to understand any of the memorialists to be of opinion, that the need for the extension and improvement of primary education among the Masses of the people in Bangál is not urgent, and does not require the application to that purpose of all savings, that may properly be made in the cost of Higher Education, His Excellency must express his dissent from that opinion, and his cordial concurrence with the declaration made by the Lieutenant-Governor, that it is the policy of the Supreme, and of the Bangál Government, to promote and foster all sound education ; but it is the wish of both Governments, that out of the public money available for educational purposes, a larger share than heretofore should be given to the support of elementary education in the villages of Bangál.

Quotations could be multiplied to show, that there was a desire to do as much as circumstances would permit, and the Educational Budget could provide. It is, moreover, not probable that additional grants in aid would be given to any Missionary Higher Education Institutions in the Presidency towns, where the people can afford to pay for the education of their own children. In the extreme supposition therefore of the Government closing their Presidency colleges, the Missionary Educational Board would have to conduct their Institutions on commercial or benevolent principles, unrecognized and unassisted by the State. Are they prepared to do so ?

The Government of India is not unused to detraction, and to the attacks of persons, who misunderstand the high principles of administration, which it has resolutely maintained. In a work published in Russia, M. Terentief brings a charge against the British rulers, that they have alienated the people by their attempts to make them Christians. This is the erroneous statement of a hostile critic. But a few good and excellent Missionaries, who enjoy the protection of the branches of the great

paternal tree, and who, if the tree were cut down, would be swept out of India, by the French, Russian, or Native power, which followed, have allowed themselves a licence, which neither the principles of charity, nor their knowledge of the subject, would warrant, in denouncing the policy and practice of the Government of India. It is with regret, that I see inconsistent complaints made by pious and good men, that the Government in culpable indifference allows its rural population to live on in ignorant darkness, and too much light to be let in upon the minds of the youth of our cities. It is difficult to decide what such Missionaries want. In dealing with the rural population, they deplore their intense ignorance, apathy, and inability to grasp the Divine truth. In dealing with the old party, who cling to the faith of their ancestors, complaint is made of their bigotry, the undue influence of their priests, and the debasing character of their moral code, dogma and ritual; but, strange to say, when a succession of youths are turned out from the State-Colleges, imbued with Occidental civilization, free from the ignorance of the rural class, and treating as dirt the Priests, the Veda, and the Korán, and with minds ready like soft clay to receive new impressions, complaint is made that somehow or other this "Young-India" has lost the moral control of the old religions, and has not adopted that of the new: Regret seems to be felt for the extinction of the Hindu religion, and attacks are made upon the Government for their Godless system of education. The great, strong, and wise Government looks on with pity rather than with scorn: greater in the high principles of administration which it has adopted, than in the vastness of its dominions, and the numberless varieties of its subjects: stronger in the integrity, independence, and outspokenness of its public servants, than in its serried battalions: and wiser, less in what it has done, than what through steady self-restraint it has abstained from doing, remembering, that it is the only European Government in Asiatic countries, into whose treasuries the hoards of its subjects, though alien in race, are poured without fear of their being misappropriated, and to whose schools parents, strangers in creed, send their children without fear of their tender consciences being tampered with. Confidence is of slow growth, and the existence of the British Empire depends upon the conviction of its Religious Neutrality.

Nor need it be a matter of surprise, that in the nineteenth century religious beliefs are undermined in India. It was well known, that such must be the result of education and a free press. The same phenomenon is evident in Free Italy, and Free France, and to a certain extent in Free England and Free America. History tells us, that the Roman Empire went through a fearful period of intellectual doubt, and yet by God's grace

Europe settled down into Christianity. At any rate it is an evil, which no government can check or cure. The stone has been set rolling, and will go on rolling; for even, if the British were driven from India, the British culture would remain, and, after all, the number of students in the State-Colleges is but a drop in the ocean of the millions of India.

In a Missionary Periodical of July, 1888, appear the following remarks with regard to the British Colonists in New Zealand:

The towns are saturated with infidelity: the Church is not holding its ground among the men: there is a widespread impression, that the Bible has proved to be inconsistent with itself, and with modern reason, and is no longer to be taken seriously. *A generation of men is springing up in New Zealand with no religious belief of any kind.* A Prime Minister has been known to deliver lectures of some ability against Christianity.

Young India is clearly no worse than young New Zealand, and with more excuse, for the Hindu never knew Christ, and the British Colonists are reported to have thrown Him off. I need scarcely say, that the statements with regard to both the Hindu and New Zealander must be accepted with reserve: the present generation are too fond of generalizing on narrow premises of fact.

Missionaries should consider well, whether the grants in aid are worth the heavy price, which they have to pay for them in the secularization of their schools; the crushing-out of religious teaching by the cast-iron requirements of the Government Inspector and University-Tests; the destruction of the spirituality and fervour of the Missionary by the purely scholastic duties imposed upon him; the small percentage of converts, which such schools have during a long period of years turned out; the evil of employing non-Christian teachers, and the impossibility of finding a sufficient supply of Christian teachers; the discontinuance in some schools of public prayer and relaxation of thorough Christian teaching, out of deference to the supposed feelings of the students; and, lastly, the economical question, whether the schools repay their net cost, after deducting the grants in aid and the school fees, from an evangelizing point of view.

Let something be done directly to influence the intelligent and educated youth in the State-Colleges. We have special missions to the Jews, and the Mahometans; why not also to the enfranchised and enlightened Hindu, who has learnt to despise the religion of his forefathers, and has to be taught the better way? Let a beginning be made with the small, yet intelligent, company of Indian law-students in this city. Amiable, gentle, and social, they might be impressed with the friendliness of Christian people during their temporary exile from their country, instead of being left quite to themselves.

They frequent the meetings of learned societies, and are able to address audiences in the English language; and I have heard a Mahometan of Bangál with singular simplicity speak up for the purity of his religion, and, with startling paradox, for the happiness of Mahometan women. A society called the London Moslem Mission has been formed to look after the Arab and Turkish visitors to this city, but the natives of India are unnoticed, and yet some of them might, if brought under proper Christian influence, be powerful auxiliaries to the cause of Christian Missions on their return to India. The Oxford University Mission to Calcutta has attempted, but on extremely Ritualistic lines, to make an impression on the classes educated in the State Colleges in that city.

The existing policy of Religious Neutrality is sometimes attributed to the strong prejudices of men of the old school, who distrust the Natives whom they despise, and the Missionaries whom they dislike. Such is not the case. I, and those who think with me, have a very sincere attachment to the Natives, and a feeling of gratitude and respect to the Missionaries for their unselfish labours, which everywhere I loudly proclaim: and yet no person can oppose more earnestly than I do, any attempt to place the education of the people of India in the hands of Missionaries uncontrolled by the State.

I have heard a Missionary say:

Only place under my influence the younger generations, and free them for a season from the baneful influence of their homes, their priests, their bad family customs, and associations, and I could do much.

The State system of education has done this work: it has swept the Augean stables: the mischief of centuries is undone: the link of tradition is snapped: the great giant Pagan is killed: the Missionary can meet such trained intellects on a common platform of argument. It will scarcely be urged, that the curriculum of study, which is analogous to that of a British University, necessarily leads more to infidelity at Calcutta than at Oxford. The eternal truths of Christianity are based upon Reason, as well as Faith. In dealing with a Brahmin or Mahometan, the Missionary has to combat prejudices, social sanctions, fears, and perhaps honest belief. It surely cannot be desired, that the *standard of right* or *objects of reverence* of a Hindu and Mahometan population should be maintained. It is for the world's advantage, that they should be weakened and die away. Education is the advance guard and pioneer of true religion.

I am not one of those, who can find no substratum of good in the two great religions of India. I believe that, since God in His infinite wisdom has permitted them to exist, there must be some deep-laid human element in the systems, which has given them such a strange vitality, in that they have outlived kingdoms

interpretations put upon difficult passages : the awfully familiar way, in which the Divine name would be handled : the sceptical tone in which the Miracles would be alluded to. What profit could come of such teaching ?

It is with surprise, that I read in the pages of the *Missionary Herald* of the American Board for July, 1888 (placed in my hands while I am correcting this Essay), such expressions as the following :

It is bad enough, that the Gospel is ignored in Government Institutions in India.

While we profoundly regret on Missionary grounds the course so largely adopted in the Colleges and Universities of India.

What does this mean ? Can the citizens of a free Republic wish, that we should levy taxes without representation from a heathen people, and then by legislation without the concurrence of popular assemblies try and convert by the means of State Education the children from their ancestral faith ?

I have carefully perused the Recommendations of the Commission on Education in India held in 1883, and the Resolution passed upon it under the Viceroyalty of Lord Ripon. That it has brought the practice of the Educational Department into conformity with the principles of the great Charter of 1854, has encouraged the system of Grants in aid, and insisted on a much larger extension of Education to the Masses, I rejoice ; but I fail to see what possible advantage Missionary Associations desired to obtain, or have obtained, from this inquiry. On the contrary, I anticipate a very contrary effect, as it was obvious to the Hindu and Mahometan, that Proselytism was the object, which induced a certain section of the Missionary bodies to take up the matter. They had little worldly interest in India, and it is not obvious, why they should press an extension of the Education of the masses, unless they wished to obtain facilities for doing so themselves, or why they wished the State-Colleges to be closed, unless they wished to supply their places with Propagandist Institutions. If a Council, consisting of Jesuit Priests, had pressed a measure of this kind upon Lord Ripon, the Protestant Jealousy would have been roused. The Roman Catholic Bishops of British India knew the policy of the British Government too well to be at all alarmed at the possibility of their departing from a policy of sympathetic tolerance.

The proportion of numbers of the non-Christian to the Christian population in British India is overwhelming. What chance would a small Hindu or Mahometan colony in London have against the School Board in London ? It is with the greatest difficulty, that elective Guardians of the Poor can be brought to treat the religious requirements of their Roman Catholic fellow-subjects in London with ordinary justice.

I imagine that the Missionary will find in the School-Boards consisting of a great majority of Hindu, Mahometan, Brahmoist, and Atheist, much bitterer antagonists than he has found in the State-Inspector of Schools: they will find King Stork has succeeded to King Log. Already in some of the great towns we hear of symptoms, that Young India will not submit to any insidious way of converting their children. The Lord's battle must be waged openly, and directly, not in the form of a somewhat cheaper secular Education. The Gospel must not be sandwiched betwixt Moral Philosophy and Mathematics.

The Viceroy of India, Lord Dufferin, has this very year, 1888, published a Resolution on Discipline and Moral Training in State-Schools and Colleges. Ordinarily Morals rest upon the Sanction of Religion. In educated India that fulcrum is wanting. In Aided Schools there is entire freedom of religious instruction, and it is anticipated, that the number of such institutions will be indefinitely increased, whether Christian, Mahometan, Hindu, or severely Secular and Atheistical. In State-supported Schools Religion is positively forbidden. The Education Commission recommended, that an attempt should be made to compile a Moral Text-Book, based on the fundamental principles of Natural Religion, which underlies all Dogma, and the Secretary of State has ordered, that this shall be practically enforced, notwithstanding the acknowledged difficulties, and danger of offending the feelings of the different sections of the population. Coupled with this is the duty of maintaining proper school-discipline, or, as the Viceroy's Resolution puts it, a system of teaching, having a direct bearing upon personal conduct.

As no doubt Western civilization is sapping the framework of Indian Society, endeavour must be made to lay the foundation of reconstruction: the old order of things must be replaced by a newer and a better. Western Education is not wholly destructive, for it brings with it in the long run Western principles of discipline and self-constraint. The intellectual part of the Educational process has made good progress: it remains to produce that moral element, which forms the most prominent factor of the European theory of Education.

Such sentiments as the above I collect from the Resolution of the Viceroy. Scores of men in Europe, and North America, are totally devoid of the Religious element, though educated in schools, and colleges, and yet they discharge the functions of good citizens. The duty of the State as Educator goes no further. The moral sentiments of such men have not the sanction of Religious convictions, and yet such moral sentiments unmistakably exist. The moral conscience of Young India during the transition Period must rest upon the intellectual and moral

training of the State Educational Institutions, supplemented by such portions of the Aided Institutions, as are managed upon Christian principles. If they do good, the Aided Institutions managed by the Hindu, Mahometan, the Agnostic and Theosophist, will do infinite mischief. What moral sentiments can be inculcated in such schools, though they may exist independent of all schools from the contact and social environment of fellow-men? The more Protestant or Roman Catholic Aided Schools that are started, the greater will be the number of the Rival Non-Christian Establishments.

I cannot recommend the great Protestant Missionaries to enter upon such hazardous enterprizes on the chance of a chance convert coming out: their funds would be more profitably spent in direct methods of Gospel-teaching. If, as time goes on, it be deemed a necessity to counteract the annually increasing power of Educated Anti-Christendom, let a separate Christian Education Society be established in London on a Catholic basis of all the Protestant Churches. Such action would be continuous, and intelligible: if it be possible to stem the stream of Educated Atheism, by such means success might be obtained. Considering the phenomena presented by Great Britain and France, it seems doubtful.

A craze, or fantastical notion, is never so thoroughly exposed as by the statements of the extreme party of those who hold the opinion. I commend to notice the following extract from the *Times* Correspondent at Calcutta, in May of this year, 1888:

At the last criminal sessions, after a long trial, a Bangál youth of good position was found guilty of murdering his father, a well-known doctor practising in Calcutta. Parricide is a crime almost unknown among Hindus, and this trial has therefore created a feeling of profound horror, especially among the more conservative sections of the Hindus. These men have been complaining bitterly for some time of the demoralizing influences of the present system of education. While the ethical sanctions of the Hindu religion are being loosened or destroyed by a purely secular and scientific education, no precepts, either religious or moral, are permitted to take their place. The urgency of social reform in this and other respects is becoming day by day a question of paramount interest to that portion of the Hindu community which views with dread the growing immorality of the younger generation, and this case has had the effect of focussing native opinion on the subject.

This reminds me of Pope, the poet's, famous satirical lines:

What filled the Butchers' shops with large blue flies?

The punishment of a parricide in ancient Rome was to be sown up in a sack with an ape and a viper and thrown into the Tiber. The crime is so abnormal, so contrary to human nature, that I fear that no kind of education would provide against it. Archdeacon Johnson, the Negro Superintendent of the Upper Niger, told me that a man knocked his mother on the head,

because she was troublesome, and could not understand that he **had** done wrong. On the other hand, the terrible stories of the **Houses** of Pelops and Atreus, testify that the early Greeks, Pagan **as** they were, had a right conception of the crime. A few years **ago** I heard a Sermon in the pulpit of St. Paul's Cathedral **attributing** the immorality of a portion of the female population of London to the Board-Schools, and I imagine that the **allegation** of the connection of the crime of Parricide with the **system** of Secular Instruction in British India is as possibly real, or probably as grossly false, as the Sermon !

Notes on Missionary Subjects.

Part III.

RELATION OF MISSIONARIES TO THE OUTER WORLD.

I. MISSIONS AND SCIENCE.—II. BOARD OF MISSIONS IN A NATIONAL CHURCH.—III. ERRORS TO BE AVOIDED.—IV. RELATION OF MISSIONARIES TO GREAT EUROPEAN AND ASIATIC GOVERNMENTS.—V. RELATION OF MISSIONARIES TO BARBAROUS SOVEREIGNS AND PETTY CHIEFS.—VI. RELIGIOUS TOLERATION.—VII. THE LIBRARY OF THE MISSIONARY.

BY

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*TO THE
COMMITTEES OF MISSIONARY SOCIETIES*

*These Pages
ARE DEDICATED
AS A WARNING AND AN
ENCOURAGEMENT.*

PREFACE TO PART III.

I AM seated in front of a Bookcase, on which the Reports of all the most important, and a great many of the less important, Missionary Societies in the World are ranged in different shelves by Nationality, and Denomination. In the carton-boxes of my Cabinet are arranged cuttings and Manuscript-extracts, the result of many years' reading, exceeding thirty. Many thoughts come over me: the memory of scores of good excellent men, who have gone before: admiration for the work: love for Christ, love for the poor Heathen, love for the Missionary. My notebook is filled with extracts, memoranda, and reflections, jotted down long ago. The subject is not a craze of my old age, but the serious work of my life, since Bishop Daniel Wilson of Calcutta taught me my first lesson in 1843, and I made my first Missionary friend, John Newton of Ludiána, in 1844, who is in the field still, for I heard from him last month, working on, till his summons comes.

The Missionary goes out as a very young man: a large majority have never undergone the discipline of a Public School or University: they find themselves face to face with gigantic problems beyond the conception of their stay-at-home friends. Many of them do not recollect, that at least in the dawn of their powers of usefulness the Lord requires an undivided consecration of heart, and talents, and have blindly entangled themselves with earthly ties, and human affections, which distract them from the absorbing duty of saving souls. Some, just as,

after undergoing a long pupilage, they begin to be useful, owing to the illness of a wife or child, or the prospect of a comfortable parsonage or manse at home, forget their first love, and turn their back on the plough. Some few glorious old men remain, refusing to leave their bodies out of the country, to which they have devoted their earliest, unbroken, and lasting affection. The Metropolitan of Canada closed his memorable speech in St. James's Hall, London, on July 10, with the words: "God helping me, I hope soon to return to my Diocese, and, in the spirit of Ruth, there will I be buried: the Lord do so to me and more also, if aught but Death part thee and me."

The tendency of all Missionaries is to be narrow-minded, and form superficial opinions, from want of opportunity of all-round study, a wider observation, free discussion, and sharp intellectual rubs with all sorts and conditions of men, men of a turn of mind, and experience, differing from their own. Some Missionaries are very superior men, the giants of their time: the great majority are not so, but they are good Evangelists notwithstanding.

Bringing Indian experience to bear upon circumstances in other countries, I have tried to discuss certain matters impartially, and invite downright criticism. We can no longer treat Missionary operations as above or below candid criticism, when they are forced upon the public notice in the public papers, in Parliament, on Platforms, and an abundant literature. Missions, like those of the Moravian Missionary Society, or of the American Societies to their indigenous wild tribes, might be conducted for centuries without public notice; but the Evangelizing warfare all round Africa, all over Oceania, into the heart of India, China and Japan, by at least two thousand Agents, at a cost exceeding two Millions annually, cannot escape notice.

When the *Duff* sailed with the first British Missionaries in 1792, to the South Seas, nothing was heard of it for a year, and information came at such uncertain intervals, that the fact of the Mission existing was forgotten : but Missions are now a Factor, a Power, and a Science : every Steamer is crowded with Male and Female Missionaries. There is a dark side in the narratives of Murders and Deaths, that reach the Public Press, and a darker still, that never gets beyond the Committee-Room.

It must needs be, that mistakes are made, but they need not be perpetuated. If some of the objectionable practices of Roman Catholic Missions were faithfully commented upon by an observant Roman Catholic community, they would not be persisted in. I instance as one the systematic purchase of Negro children described in Part II. Essay II. : if I live to complete Part V., I shall have something more to describe. Hard words are often spoken against Missions, and whole classes of the community from deep prejudice hold back from their support. It is in their interest, their positive advantage, that the phenomena arising should be explained, that the tendencies should be exposed, that the blots should be hit, and the dangers pointed out. The Jesuit Mission of last Century in Paraguay would not have persisted in the course, which led to their ruin, if some faithful Priest had cried out in time, and warned them against the dangerous policy of arming their converts, and waging war against an European Power, the Portuguese. Does not History seem to repeat itself? The eternal laws of Toleration, of doing unto others what we wish that men should do unto us, require appealing to each Century. I read, and listen, to proposals made in good faith by benevolent men, which, with what seems to me certainty, would lead on to deplorable consequences. Is every white man to domineer over every dark-skinned in every part of the world, simply because he is a white man, and usurp

a secular jurisdiction in the heart of a great Continent, because he is commissioned by pious men in a distant country to preach the Gospel of Christ?

The last two decades have been exceedingly propitious to the extension of Missions: the expansion has been marvellous, but much of it very imprudent. The next two decades may prove periods of trial and peril: by the close of that period the European octopus will have closed over the Continent of Africa, as it has already over Oceania, and America. Many enterprizes have been commenced with light-heartedness, which it may be difficult to maintain without bloodshed. I took part in my youth in the annexation of vast provinces in British India, but careful arrangements were previously made: posts occupied, which supported each other, and an overwhelming military force kept in hand by a fixed and settled policy. Missionary Societies, on the contrary, have settled down here and there, without fixed policy, without any conception of the policy of having supports in the rear; they have been, like the down of a thistle, blown here and there by the wind: they have roused the antagonism of desperate and bloodthirsty men, and the suspicions of ignorant and reckless Chieftains: in their platform-speeches in England they have allowed themselves full licence of speech in abusing European, Asiatic, or African Potentates, quite regardless of the diffusion of information through the Press. They have tried to induce Governments to be drawn into their difficulties. They must not be surprised, if they have a more difficult game to play, than if they had gone into the country, like the humble and peaceful Moravian, or some of the better managed Roman Catholic Missions, where the Missionary has settled down amidst the people, and become of them, submitting to the authority of the country, by whose permission they had gained an entrance. And this is the true type of a real Missionary, who knows nothing but Christ.

I.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS AND SCIENCE.

NEARLY three years ago my lamented friend, Dr. J. O. Means, Secretary of the American Board of Foreign Missions, Boston, United States, sent me the *Ely-Volume, or the Contributions of Foreign Missions to Science and Human Well-being*, by Dr. Thomas Laurie. It was compiled, and published at the expense of Mr. Alfred Ely, a friend of Missions, who felt, that the amount of scientific information given to the world *incidentally* by Missionaries was not fully known. The goodly volume before me is a treasure of information, and is worthy of notice. It relates chiefly to the work of American Missionaries; but “ex uno disce omnes.” A similar volume might be compiled of the incidental contributions to Science, and the well-being of the human race, by the Missionaries of every Missionary Society, for the Missionary is by the very necessity of his existence a benefactor to mankind.

The Missionary's first *duty*, and sole *duty*, is to preach the Gospel, and evangelize the non-Christian, and he should never for one moment let go of this leading and paramount object: still, in spite of himself, he finds opportunities to do other good things, and by so doing he is able to conciliate to himself the favour of those, whose eyes are darkened, and to whom the grace has not been conceded to know, that to preach the Gospel to the non-Christian is the highest duty and greatest privilege of all, who call themselves Christians. Thus many messengers of Gospel-truth have developed scholarly aptitudes, have shown themselves to be great philologists; have been ardent champions of the rights of an oppressed people, and bold denouncers of bad customs and laws. Governors of Provinces, and rulers of Native States, have had the fact forced upon them, that in their midst there was an unselfish, and yet dauntless, man, who seemed to know some things better than his neighbours, and who had established an

influence over the Natives, of a different kind to, and yet not less strong than their own, and after some hesitation *their* co-operation has been accepted, or solicited. It is obvious, that in British India the Missionary element is frankly recognized, as a factor in the body politic, and utilized as such. In independent States, such as China, their power is daily increasing, and amidst the tribes of Africa and Oceania they very soon acquired a power, which it requires prudence to wield properly.

In the Ely-Volume chapters are devoted to the work of Missionaries in the Departments of Geography, Geology, Meteorology, Natural Science, Archæology, Philology, Ethnology and Religious Beliefs, General Literature, Bible-Translations, Education, Medical Science, and General Philanthropy. In the Appendices are tables of the copious literature, which has flowed from their pens. Those, who are connected with the Management of Missionary Societies, or have lived for years among Missionaries in the field, scarcely need to be informed on the subject, but to those, who scornfully ignore the existence of such Societies, or undervalue their labours, and think poorly of their agents, such a book as this must come as a revelation. The civil and military services of British India are notoriously a body of men of marked talent and accomplishments, but it may be doubtful, whether the out-turn of their combined labours within a given period would surpass that of an equal number of Missionaries.

In considering the subject of contributions to Geographical Science the compiler enumerates, with just pride, in great detail, all that the American Missionaries have done towards the exploration of America, Oceania, Asia, and Africa. No one, who has watched the progress of Geography for the last quarter of a century, can fail to acknowledge, how much directly, and indirectly, the Missionary has done to extend our knowledge. He is not a mere traveller, hurrying through unknown regions, and unable to communicate with the inhabitants; but he is a sojourner in those regions, able to test the accuracy of his information, to map down the routes actually traversed, and to record, with a certain degree of approximate accuracy, routes taken down from the lips of Native merchants. The Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, and of kindred European Societies, teem with narratives compiled by Missionaries. I have myself prompted and encouraged the preparation of such papers, more especially in Africa. To those, who have their eyes fixed on the world, as on a chess-board, the name of Livingstone stands conspicuous above that of any other Missionary of ancient and modern times, from the epoch of Rubruquis the Franciscan in 1253 to the date of Krapf, who mounted a high tower at Mombása, and looked out over Eastern

Equatorial Africa, and set the ball rolling, which led to the unveiling of the great Lakes of the Equator. It is without any feeling of boasting, or undue rivalry, that the Missionary Societies read the names of their agents amidst the successful explorers of the age. Nor do the Committees consider the money misapplied, which popularizes in the eye of the learned world their efforts to evangelize, and at the same time opens out new vistas of usefulness, and gives to new tribes the opportunity of hearing the Gospel.

The contributions to the Science of Geology, quoted by the compiler of the Ely-Volume, are not numerous or important, nor am I able to add to them as regards other Missionary Societies. The tables of Meteorological observations, recorded by the American Missionaries in Western Asia, seem to be of the highest value, and it would be worth the consideration of the Royal Society, whether the assistance of all the Missionaries of Great Britain, scattered as they are in hundreds all over the face of the globe, in regions of extreme heat and of intense cold, at considerable altitudes, and again on the sea-level, could not be utilized. The trouble would be very inconsiderable, and the record of the temperature and the climatic changes would be of the highest interest to the Mission, as conducive to the choice of the healthiest stations, and the adoption of suitable precautions and appliances. I am not aware, whether any registers have been systematically maintained in any of the stations of any Missionary Societies. The subject is worthy of attention.

The American Missionaries appear to have been contributors to Natural Science. It is not pretended, that a Missionary can have the leisure, or the technical knowledge, to be a thorough naturalist, but some gifted men have been accurate and intelligent observers. Science is now prosecuted too thoroughly to admit of much untrained help, and it has been remarked, that the contributions of Missionaries on Natural History lacked that accurate knowledge and detail, which are now requisite. It is remarkable, that among the American Missionaries there should have been men devoted to their proper work, and yet zealous ornithologists, naturalists, and conchologists, taking the latter work by way of restful and healthful recreation, without which they would not have retained cheerfulness and vigour. When I read of 800 specimens of birds, and many hundred specimens of shells, and essays contributed to scientific journals, I begin to doubt, whether it is wise to yield to the fascination of inquiries, so wholly alien from the work of teaching the Gospel. No conscientious public officer in India would, I think, be able to lend himself to such pursuits without dereliction of his secular duties. I have heard a Viceroy condemn a man, because he had an absorbing passion for some inquiry alien to his duty, and I

remember the circumstance of a man being passed over for promotion, because he was too devoted to his photographing machine. These were not the acts of a Philistine, or of a man without sympathy for Science, but of a wise ruler, who knew, that it was dangerous for an administrator to have a taste for anything but the trade of ruling men, and caring for the men ruled. For twenty-five years I had to roll up, and put away, one or two particular talents in a napkin, and I should recommend faithful Missionaries, who have a single eye to their blessed vocation, to place away such talents, if they have them. I should not think highly of them, if I came upon them in the act of stuffing birds, or transfixing butterflies.

Under the next head of Archæology much is said of the contributions to Science made by American Missionaries; and the circumstance of their having large and important Missions in Turkey in Asia, a country teeming with records of the past, has enabled them to advance knowledge. One positive addition to our knowledge was made by the discovery and the careful description of the famous Nestorian monument of Singán Fu in China; but even this falls into the shade, when brought into comparison with the magnificent discovery of the Moabite Stone by one of the Church Missionary Society's agents, and the discovery of the Hittite Inscription by a Presbyterian Missionary.

"Paulo majora canamus." When we come to the chapter on Philology and Bible-Translation, we recognize the imposing results of the work of the Missionary in his own legitimate field. Leibnitz, when he formed the plan of the National Academy at Berlin, anticipated this phenomenon. He made it a prominent object of the National Association for Literature and Science, that a zeal for extending the Gospel to the Heathen might be encouraged over the whole earth, for Literature and Science were according to him to be an important means for attaining this object, since Christian and Heathen would reap mutual benefit. Literature and Science would aid the Missionary, who in his turn would send home knowledge of new facts from distant fields. The name of Leibnitz had great influence in introducing the same idea into other continental academies. The least efficient of the agents of a Missionary Society should be able to converse with, and instruct his people in their own vulgar tongue. Anything short of this is a mockery. I hear with great mistrust of Missionaries to aboriginal tribes in India, or to the barbarous tribes of Africa and Oceania, making use of an interpreter, or insulting a tribe by educating the children in a language not known to their parents, but which the Missionary happens to have learnt. Imagine the process of a Sunday-school in England, in which an interpreter was used to explain the words of the teacher to the children, or the children taught

indifferent French and German so as to be able to understand their teachers. Imagine the difficulty of arguing upon the most solemn truths of man's Salvation, which a Missionary must feel, who has not mastered, not only the leading language, but the *patois*, of his flock. I repeat then, that the least efficient of a Society's agents should understand and speak the Vernacular. But from their ranks at all periods, of all nations, and belonging to all Societies, have come forth linguistic giants, who have compiled grammars, and dictionaries, and text-books, who have rendered teaching possible by reducing the unlettered words of the tribe to writing. The compiler of the Ely-Volume takes credit for the great work performed in this department by the Missionaries of the American Board. All honour to them! Their labours are known in the fields of Asiatic, African, American, and Oceanic Missions, but they are but a unit among many, and in some instances they had the advantage of the preceding and contemporary labour of others, though in several they stand alone. So great a subject can only be handled collectively, treating the Missionaries of all Societies as one body. When this is done, it can safely be stated, that no Government, no secular Association, and no University, have done one tithe towards extending our knowledge of the living languages of the world, that Christian Missionaries have done, without hope of profit or distinction or personal advantage, but simply in the legitimate and single-minded desire to render possible the work of evangelization. Scientific bodies, and scholars in their studies, must be dead to all sense of feeling, if they do not rise from their chairs, and gratefully thank the Missionary, the Society, and that wonderful Missionary feeling, which is the life of all living Churches, as each wonderful grammar and vocabulary finds its way to their library, revealing new forms of vocables, new rules of syntactical arrangement of ideas, new and marvellous and symmetrical developments of the logical brain-power of barbarous tribes, who out of their own consciousness, or rather unconsciousness, have evolved new laws of vocalic euphony, and new methods of differentiation of meaning, and delicate shades of expression.

But there is a loftier level still, to which we must rise, when we consider the work of Bible-Translation. Hitherto the Missionaries of the Church of Rome have run on parallel lines with their Protestant brethren, and have shared their linguistic honours, besides being centuries earlier in the field. But the glory of Bible-Translation rests, with most minute exceptions, with the preacher of the Gospel, a title to which the Roman Catholic priest can scarcely lay claim, as an attentive perusal of the weekly issue of the *Missions Catholiques* for many years has convinced me, that, with the exception of the worship of the Virgin

and St. Joseph, and the enforcement of a higher morality, there is but scant teaching, certainly no Gospel *preaching*, in the Papist Missions. The Fetishism of the savage is varied in its outward form, but retains its inner meaning, and the crucifix and the beads are but substitutes for ruder objects of magical potency. The chapter devoted to Bible-Translation in the Ely-Volume is indeed magnificent, and the compiler, standing on a catholic platform, takes cognizance of the great work done by all Missionaries all over the world, though noticing in detail only the work of the American Board. It is nobly and boldly stated "that the first object of a Protestant Mission is to give the Word of God to a people in their own tongue, wherein they were born, and in which the family converses at home." It cannot be too often and too distinctly asserted, that the first, the continuous, and the latest, object of the Missionary of the Church of Rome is to withhold this Bible on their own part, and to destroy it, if it finds its way to their flocks from other quarters.

The work of the Missionaries of the American Board has been of the highest order, but by far the largest portion of Bible work has been accomplished through the agency of British Missionaries, and under the patronage of the British and Foreign Bible Society of London. The difficulty of the work has been repeatedly stated, and no doubt in the case of cultivated languages exaggerated; the necessity of repeated revisions is obvious; to some Missionaries the work seems to come naturally; to others either the capacity, or the industry, or the leisure, or the opportunity, have been wanting. Talent of the highest order is required, and persistent labour. Perhaps of all evangelizing works it is the most blessed, and remains for ever as the best of monuments; Luther's words, that he uttered, have been forgotten, but Luther's Translation of the Bible will live for ever.

In his contact with his people the Missionary necessarily has his attention turned to the Ethnological features of the tribe, and to their Religious Beliefs. The old idea, that a simple ignorant Missionary could work the conversion of a people by a mere statement of Gospel truths, accompanied by a general abuse of idolatrous practices, is exploded. True it is, that the Missionary by himself can do little, and that it is God's Grace, that worketh through him; but that Grace works through human means of all kinds, and gives life to human endeavours, knowledge and appliances. The fortress of time-honoured customs, and of supernatural beliefs, in which the soul of the heathen is, as it were, entrenched, must be explored and studied: if any atom of natural and adamantine truth has survived, it must be respected, and the assault against ignorance and falsehood must be made by the united forces of wisdom and truth. This necessitates

either original studies of ethnology and religious beliefs, or of the treatises on those subjects, prepared by the former labourers in the field, who have passed away. It may be a question, whether the Missionary is entirely a fair chronicler of customs and tenets, with which he is no way in sympathy. He may be led to credit the whole of the complicated machinery to the direct agency of the Devil, and from this standpoint I sometimes read of the great countries of India and China being the Kingdoms of Satan, against which sweeping condemnation in the name of the gentle and lovable people of India I must protest. It requires a large supply of pity for, and sympathy with, fallen races, and a wide and impartial survey of the Book-religions, and forms of Nature Worship, which have survived, to arrive at a right judgment in this matter, and the statements of Missionaries in my opinion err on the side of intolerance, from the absence of philosophic impartiality.

In General Literature, whether of a periodical character or solid contributions to knowledge, the work of the Missionaries of the American Board is stated to be so voluminous, that anything like a catalogue is out of the question. And the same may safely be said of the agents of all the great Societies. They have been great and good book-makers, or contributors to periodicals. Their labours have extended to the Vernaculars of the people, among whom they laboured. In many cases they have first reduced the vehicle of thought to literary fitness, and then illustrated the newly-developed power by a copious, useful, and popular literature, which indeed is one of the marvels of the age. Other colonizers may have caused cities to spring up in what was lately a waste, and turned virgin prairies into a garden of cereals, saccharines, and oils; but to the Missionary alone has it been conceded to go among a savage people, who had no alphabet, and had never heard of the ink-bottle and the reed-pen, and in a few years lead them across a gulf, which other nations have only traversed in the slow progress of centuries, fashion for them a literary language out of their own vocables, teach them to read and write, to join in prayer, praise, and song, to start a printing-press in their midst, and to make use of the people themselves to work it, so that the barbarous tribes of Asia, Africa, America, and Oceania, have taken in, adopted, and practised, within twenty-five years, under the guidance of a Missionary, what it took the Greek and Latin peoples twenty-five centuries to accomplish. When the influence of Christian Missions upon the human race is fairly considered, these amazing facts must not be lost sight of. They are but fragments, and comparatively unimportant fragments, of the great edifice of Christian Belief and Life, which it is the object of Missions to erect, and yet no other conceivable earthly agency could have

effected it. Even in British India, with all the appliances of a great, high-minded, and enlightened Government, without the help of the Missionaries a Vernacular literature would not have come into existence, which was fit to be read by women and children. It has been well said, that in measuring the extent and power of the agencies at work it is not sufficient to count the Missionaries and the schools; the prolific outcome of the Mission-presses, scattering broadcast portions of the Scriptures, and a miscellaneous religious, semi-religious, and healthy secular literature, is a factor in the great world-revival. The cheap periodical literature, published monthly and weekly, and sold below cost price, is an amazing lever, and supplements in this busy age the waning power of the pulpit among the Native Christians, and aids the efforts of the preacher in the towns and villages among the heathen. The greatest and most experienced of Missionaries of all countries and denominations regard the printing-press as worth many Missionaries, and more especially in those countries, where education is spreading. If the agents of the American Board of Missions have a longer catalogue of works to show, it is that the subdivision of labour has not been carried out so entirely in the United States as in Great Britain. The Religious Tract Society, and the Christian Knowledge Society, and the Christian Vernacular Education Society, in London, relieve the Missionary Societies of these subsidiary labours, profiting by the experience of the Missionaries, and repaying the benefits by grants, and cheap editions. I was much impressed at first sight by the busy work of Vernacular literature in progress in the American Bible House at Constantinople, when I visited it, until I reflected that much of this work was done better and cheaper in London, or at the Mission stations scattered over the world.

Under the head of Literature, the periodicals published at head-quarters, the Annual Reports, and the separate histories of different Mission-fields published from time to time, cannot be passed over without a notice. If any historian continues the history of the British people, commenced by the late Mr. Green, the wonderful phenomena of energy, wisdom, and benevolence, evidenced for a long series of years in these pages, cannot be overlooked. What is the conquest of India compared with the quiet and unobtrusive conquest of the whole world, which the Christians of this century calmly contemplate, and have done so much to advance? Some twelve years ago I was invited to assist in preparing one of the series of Reports on the Moral and Material Progress of British India. I agreed to do so on the condition, that due notice was taken of the wonderful progress of Missionary effort from a secular point of view. My condition was accepted, and care was taken at my request not to omit

mention of the Roman Catholic Missions. The religious world was gratified, and those paragraphs were quoted from many a pulpit ; but the secular world was astonished. Now throughout the British Empire and the whole world, the Missionary element is recognized as a factor in the body politic, which cannot be overlooked by the Statesman in Parliament, by the Plenipotentiary, when he makes treaties, by the Historian, when he writes history, and by the writers of general literature.

The next heading, "Education," embraces a portion of the essential duties of a Missionary, and great and successful as the discharge of this duty has been, both in the Missions of the American Board and of other Societies, no special notice is required, as I am not alluding now to the essential, but the *incidental*, advantages of Missions. The following heading, "Medical Science," is passed over for the same reason.. The Medical Missionary, male or female, is now a recognized and requisite member of every fully-organized Mission, and many ordained Missionaries have a certain amount of medical training. It is no longer an *incidental* advantage of Missions.

Under the heading General Philanthropy may be classed all that Missionaries have done for the saving of whole races from certain destruction, and their national regeneration as decent and flourishing, though not necessarily Christian communities. The very existence of many of the communities of Oceania is owing to the Missionaries. To this may be added the bold opposition to the Slave-trade, Slavery, employment of slave-labour by office-holders of the Christian Church (which, except in the case of the Madagascar Mission, is a rule absolute), and the kidnapping of men under pretence of service-contracts. Missionaries have not been found wanting to resist their white brethren in their attempts to injure morally or physically the people committed to their charge. Not always judiciously, yet still always in good faith, they have stood up against kings and men in power, against merchants, and against agricultural speculators. At the risk of their lives they have saved widows from the burning pile, and victims from sacrifice, or the jaws of the cannibal, or the poisoned cup of the medicine-man, or the yawning grave, ready to receive them alive. They have taught the gentle arts of peace, introduced new modes of culture, new articles of commerce, new methods of manufacture ; they have opened asylums for the leper, and in some cases dauntless men, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, have given themselves up to the risk of the deadly contagion in their love for the bodies and souls of the sufferers ; they have opened hospitals for the opium-smoker, and homes for the famine-orphan ; have worked their way by the help of their wives and sisters into the secluded retreats of the female apartments to

get at the women ; they have taught both sexes in many parts of the world the decencies of life, showing men how they can be strong without being cruel, and giving women elementary lessons in modesty and purity. Not in vain have been these blessed labours : wherever there was oppression, or suffering, or an appeal for help, or a craving for advice, the Missionary has not stopped to ask, whether the cry came from a heathen or a Christian. He has taken the highest view of his sacred calling, and given the succour without asking who and what was the party succoured. So, also, when famines have raged, the Missionary has appeared with food to save the starving, with orphanages to receive the abandoned children. He has always been ready to prevent bloodshed by arbitration in case of quarrels, and in some cases has arrested war by timely advice, or brought about peace amidst savage combatants by words of wisdom, and forbearance, and love.

The Missionary should not meddle in politics, or in the culture of the soil, or in commerce : where he has done so, it has been to the injury of his proper work. The idea of self-supporting Missions by means of commerce, manufacture, and agriculture, is a dream of Utopia. The Missionary was meant for better things than to manage ostrich-farming, gather in cocoa-nuts, or superintend filatures. Nor should he be tempted under any circumstances to try his prentice-hand at ruling men ; for such purposes a stiffer clay is required than the material, of which he is made ; the matter is too high for him, or rather he is too high for the matter. For in spite of all the lofty ideal of Christian Statesmen, the government of Natives, specially of those in a low state of culture, is a compromise of low motives, and it is of the essence of our poor humanity, that it should be so. The governor, the judge, and the magistrate, must touch pitch, and in their official capacity take cognizance of tendencies, of customs, of ideas, of religious worships, and of professions, against which their souls revolt. The Missionary in his death-grapple with the awakened conscience, and the darkened soul of men opening to the truth, comes indeed into contact with the sad ingredients of human nature, but *his Gospel admits of no compromise* ; he rises above conventional morals and local customs : to him the polygamist, and the worshipper of idols, is not a subject of her Majesty with guaranteed civil rights, but a sinner, who must be persuaded to amend his ways. The Missionary is therefore in a false position, when he attempts to hold the reins of Civil Government. And, in my judgment, when he goes out of his proper orbit, and meddles with such tangled questions, as a gigantic commerce betwixt two such great nations as India and China, he fails in his object, being unable to measure the surrounding forces, and in the end causes greater evils by his

ill-judging, though well-intentioned, endeavours. Let him leave Cæsar's business to Cæsar, and keep his mind on the affairs of God, who for a short season permits the existence of Evil in different countries, that He may prove the Faith of His Servants, and work His Sovereign Will, leading on through temptation and suffering to Perfection and Holiness.

Missionaries and Mission-Societies have reason to be grateful to the American Board for this volume on Missions and Science, which I have passed under review; it tells a noble story. A few years ago I met at Rome a young surgeon from Chicago. He had all the brilliant charm and vivacity of a young man, belonging to a young city and a young nation. He expressed his opinion, that he could have saved President Garfield's life, had he been called in, and that only the second or third-rate men of his country, who had failed in a home-career, went out as Missionaries. This Volume is a sufficient answer to this sneer, not meant maliciously, but representative of the opinion of too many. The American Board has during the last fifty years had the good fortune to find, and the wisdom to value, as their agents, men of consummate ability and unaffected piety, who would have achieved greatness and wealth in secular employment, but who have had the Grace given to them to consecrate their opening, middle, and closing years to the service of their Lord, and, while striking hard on the anvil of their own proper work, the evangelization of souls, have let in side-lights into many obscure subjects, and thus incidentally conferred honour on themselves, and their sacred cause. An all-round study of Mission-work does indeed make us freethinkers, but in the best and highest sense of that often misapplied phrase. We know, that the Word and the Work of the great Creator must be in harmony, though we cannot always, through the weakness of our intelligence, reconcile them. We approach the study of the Word, a treasure in the earthen vessels of perishable vocables and sentences, with the same reverence and reserve, that we touch the skirts of our mothers. We adore the great Creator in the study of His manifold Work, and, if we demand more air, and more breathing space, than the timid and cramped interpretations of our forefathers allowed, the reverend Missionaries, whose works are recorded in this volume, teach us how to handle the Word of Life, and yet gaze exultingly and trustfully into every vista, opened in the labyrinth of human Science, nothing doubting, that to the faithful the end will be Light. True Science is the handmaid of true Religion, and will never raise up her hand against her mistress, if each keeps itself within its own proper sphere, and revolves in its own orbit. They are not antagonistic, but co-ordinate powers, illustrating, and illustrated by, each other. Standing as I do midway betwixt Science and

Missions, and flitting daily from the assembly of the Scientists to the Committee-room of the Mission, I feel, that I can take a part in both without religious or intellectual compromise, and glory in the strange pleasure of seeing Science subserve so much to the advance of Missions, while Missions pay back the debt by subserving so much to the advance of Science.

Church Missionary Society Intelligencer, SEPTEMBER, 1884
(with additions, 1888).

II.

A BOARD OF MISSIONS IN A NATIONAL CHURCH.

WILL IT ADVANCE THE CAUSE OF MISSIONS TO THE NON-CHRISTIAN WORLD?

THE duties of the Board of Missions are thus laid down in the Resolution of Convocation of the Canterbury Province of the Church of England.

1. To impress upon all members of the Church, in such ways as from time to time may seem desirable, their responsibility as to Foreign Missions, and to set forth the principles, which ought to govern the Missionary-work of the Church;

2. To issue reports from time to time on the spiritual wants of heathen countries, and to direct attention to the openings providentially placed before the Church;

3. To give counsel, when applied to by any Colonial, or Missionary, Church;

4. To act as Referee upon questions, which Missionary-Societies may desire to refer to the Board;

5. To collect and tabulate, as far as may be found desirable and practicable, the Acts and Canons passed in the various Synods of the Church at home and abroad;

6. To undertake any other work in connection with Missions, which may from time to time be entrusted to the Board, either by the Archbishop, or by the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury;

7. To co-operate with any similar Board of Missions, that may be appointed by the Convocation of the Province of York.

The following is part of a letter, addressed by the Primate to the address of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge:

They hope in this way to help the Societies, to collect no money themselves, but to press the cause as a religious duty, irrespectively of either receiving or administering funds.

They wish also to set before the Church, so to speak, more of a *science* of missions, believing that hitherto we have been obliged to live from hand to

mouth in promoting Mission-work, but being convinced, that a literature might be collected, and principles deduced by able writers and thinkers, which would save labour and means in the best way by pointing out directions, in which to work, and methods, and opening out the necessities for various treatments of races.

The points are numerous, which rise out of these two main lines, but there are many members of the Committee, who could instruct me, rather than I them, in this matter.

As we have *no* funds ourselves, it being our object *not* to have any, and as the S. P. C. K. is really a Missionary-Society in the highest ways, and expressly so in its origin, I have ventured to hope, that the Standing Committee will see fit to make us an annual grant for our expenses in working. There is, of course, much work to do, and many expenses to incur. We believe, that we shall be ultimately able to serve the S. P. C. K. by the interest we hope to enlarge; but I do not in the least degree put the request on that ground. I simply state the objects, with the belief, that it is a body able to carry them out, and I venture to ask the Committee to make us an annual grant of from £150 to £200 a year, as they shall think fit.

A grant was made of £600, or, in other words, a grant of £200 per annum, guaranteed for three years. Two remarks must be made on the form of this grant. Just as Prince Bismarck secures the grant for the German Army for a Septennate, in order to prevent annual discussion, this grant has been made for three years, but no promise is made of a grant beyond that period. It is presumed, that the Board by that time will have collapsed, or be self-supporting. At any rate, £600 has been withdrawn from the evangelizing fund of the S. P. C. K. to be added to the vast sums already spent in England on the office-establishments of Missionary-Societies. This is deplorable, as the S. P. C. K. is doing an excellent work, and has by no means a sufficiency of funds for its manifold branches of useful work.

Let me now examine the Constitution of the Board. The Resolutions were passed by the Convocation of Canterbury; the Province of York, and the Church of Ireland, and Scotland, are neither consenting nor represented. And yet the funds of the Missions of the Church of England are largely supplied from those quarters. And the vast Provinces of the Colonial Metropolitan Sees, in whose area much of the Mission-work is prosecuted, have no voice or part in this Board. It is possible, that the Pan-Anglican Synod may adopt this measure, but it is possible that it may not, for some of the Colonial Bishops may have objection to it. As it is now, it is a distinct usurpation of authority.

Let me examine the *personnel* of the Board. Bishops of the Province of Canterbury are upon it, but the Bishop of Carlisle, the President of one of the most efficient Missions, that of the Universities to East Africa, is not; the Bishop of Manchester, with his wide experience of the Missions in Oceania, has no seat. Distinguished peers, commoners and clergymen, make up the Septuagint, for that number is just exceeded for one Province.

With the exception of Bishop Abraham, and the Bishop of Exeter, I doubt whether any English Bishop has practical knowledge of Mission-work, either in the Committee-room, or, what is more important, in the field. The conduct of Missions in Heathen and Mahometan countries has already risen to the dignity of a Science, only to be learnt by long and continuous practice, discussion, reading, and reflection; it is the occupation of the whole life, and of many hours of each day, of many able men, selected for the particular purpose by the turns of their own minds, and the conviction of their colleagues, that they have a special fitness for the duty. If they are unable to give continuous, intelligent, and approved attendance and service, their names are quietly and without offence omitted, when the list of the annually-elected Committee is made up. Will this rule be applied to the members of the Board of Missions? Will not the retention of great names on a deliberating and executive Board, while a majority take no part in the business, be a mere blind? Will the name of a noble peer, who has never attended one meeting, be removed? Will not the Members of the Board be insensibly supplied from one extreme party of the Church, because the others will decline to act upon it?

But how are the members of the Board of Missions of the Province of Canterbury elected? By the two Houses of Convocation, which are unable to pass a single law without the concurrence of the Houses of Parliament, and do not comprise a single layman; in fact, they are a survival of mediæval institutions, shackled by the State, and deficient in organization; the Convocation name twenty-four Bishops, twenty-four clergymen, and twenty-four laymen, and these again appoint an executive committee and secretaries. Pending the erection of the Church House, the Board is homeless; by its very constitution it appears to be objectless, and, unless my anticipations are falsified, it will prove profitless. The Primate in his letter to the S. P. C. K. states, that it is not the object of the Board to have funds; if it continue in this mind, it will be the most remarkable Board, that ever existed; and, unless some rich layman, or pensioned Bishop, undertakes the current duties of correspondence, it must depend permanently upon the alms of the S. P. C. K., or a rate in aid must be levied on the Missionary Societies, or collections made from the members of the Board themselves. The Secretary might possibly be provided for by being made Rector of one of the empty London churches, or one of the Canons of St. Paul's Cathedral, who appear to have a great amount of misapplied leisure.

It appears to me, that the Board of Missions, as it is presented to us, is but an embryo of a much more powerful and formidable organization; it is born as a harmless jelly-fish, but, if it finds

itself in the proper environment, it may develope into an octopus.

The Church of England, as established by Act of Parliament, may, like the ostrich, hide its head in the sand, and refuse to recognize the facts of the nineteenth century; but round it, and its vicinity, are aggregations of Christians, who call their legal co-existence a "Church," and as a fact the phrase, "as a Church," occurs oftener in Nonconformist periodicals than in those of the Church of England. The very same arrogation of authority is put forward by the Nonconformist Churches to control the Missionary operations of the members of their nationality and denomination, as lies at the bottom, however disguised, of this new move of a Board of Missions. In all these cases there are some persons, who have not got power, and some who have got power, and those, who have not, desire to possess themselves of the power, which is possessed by those, who have. This is the naked truth. There are two parties: the Church and the Missionary-Associations; if true-hearted Christians desired only what would more speedily extend the Kingdom of the Lord, and accelerate the coming of the time, when Jesus would reign without a rival, they would allow the work to go on in the way, and on the lines, on which the Spirit of Jesus had led the early founders of the great movement to move, and rejoice and marvel at the Wisdom of God, which had worked out His Sovereign-Will in spite of the supineness of the Bishops of His Church, for the greatest Missionary-Society in England came into existence under the frown of Lambeth, and the averted eyes of the Bench of Bishops with two holy exceptions. The Church will thus be glorified by the missions, which have sprung up like wild, yet beautiful, plants around the old stem. But, if blinded Churchmen wish to arrogate to their Church-organization work, which neither they nor their forefathers ever did, and at this late hour put forward claim to an authority, which has slipped from their grasp, they greatly err, if they imagine, that they will succeed. Our forefathers in the State lost the United States of North America by their want of sympathy, and arrogation of power, at a critical moment. Our forefathers in the Church lost all the good and earnest Wesleyan congregations, in their thousands in England, and tens of thousands in America, by their want of sympathy and negligence. So the Church of England, as a Church, seems to me to have lost for ever its control over the Missionary ardour of the nation, which has settled down permanently into the channel of voluntary Associations, jealous of Church-control, recognizing Bishops not as administrators, but as Fathers in the Church with strictly legal and limited powers. The scheme of a Mission-Board has long been talked of, and dreamt about; during the primacy of Archbishop Tait,

it seemed to have disappeared. That venerated and sagacious Prelate once remarked in Exeter Hall, that the voluntary system was the soul of Missionary work, and (as a corollary) that it was natural, that those, who gave the money, would wish to have a voice, and a potent voice, as to the way, in which that money was spent.

The Bishop of Kentucky, in North America, most opportunely informs us, that the late Bishop of Lincoln (Dr. Wordsworth) expressed to him in 1881, "his longing desire to see a consolidated agency representing the whole Church established in England." He might as well have desired to see a blue moon, but the recorded desire of the deceased Prelate (so honoured and beloved in his Diocese, and so worthy of that love) marks the object of this measure, however much it may be toned down by the assurance, that the new Board has nothing to do with collecting funds or administrations; in other words, it is not to have the power to spend a shilling, or appoint a missionary, and yet it is to be called a Board of Missions! The desire of the good Bishop of Lincoln is as much out of harmony with the existing Church of England in the strong, efficient, and powerful new life, which it has attained in the reign of Queen Victoria, as the mitre, cope, and crozier, which are so conspicuous in the portraits of the dear Bishop in many Lincolnshire churches.

The experience of the Episcopal Church in the United States of North America will not help the supporters of the new Board. I refer my readers to the Bishop of Kentucky's letter to the *Churchman*, a paper published in the United States. It is the desire of the Presbyterian Churches of Great Britain and North America to subordinate their Mission-Boards to the general assemblies of their Church, but the contentions, arising from this tendency, have caused much scandal in the Mission Field in India. It is of no advantage to turn to the wily Church of Rome for a precedent; all Mission-work is entrusted absolutely to different great congregations, such as the Jesuits, Capuchins, Marists, Notre Dame d'Afrique, etc. So long as they recognize the Pope, and put forth no heretical doctrines, they have entire administrative independence, publish no annual reports, make no rendition of accounts. I visited a few years ago Cardinal Lavigerie, the Bishop of Carthage, at Tunis, to beg him not to plant his Central African Mission-Station in direct proximity to the Protestant Mission-Station, as there was room for all. Nothing would have surprised His Eminence so much as the idea, that he was in any way responsible to a Board, or a Church, or even the Pope himself, as to the details of his vast missionary operations, and the scores of Missionaries, ordained and lay, whom he trains, educates, sends out, recalls,

and out of whose numbers he selects, with the sanction of the Propaganda, his Bishops and Vicar-Generals. There is no ground therefore for the assertion, that the dogma of Missionary operations being conducted by the Church in its corporate capacity, has been *semper, ubique et ab omnibus*.

Let me now consider what the new Board is to do. As to Clause I., I submit, that the venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, during its existence of nearly two centuries, itself the creation of Convocation, has done the duty described nobly and well, and is doing it still. The Colonies and the Heathen and Mahometan world owe a debt of deep gratitude to this Society, of which I am proud to have been many years an incorporated member. The sister Society works on a different method, but within strictly Church-lines, over a much wider sphere of action, with a constitution as democratic as any Church-association would dare to be, for every ordained clergyman, who subscribes 10s. 6d., every layman or woman, who subscribes £5 5s., have a vote at the general meetings, and every subscribing Bishop is *de jure* a vice-president. The Church Missionary Society has a power and influence both at home and abroad, which no Bishop would venture to despise, and no Board of Missions could hope to control.

Clause II. would merely intensify that "Kakoéthēs Scribendi," which is already the bane of all British Associations. It is not obvious, whence the Board of Missions could get information except by pillaging the excellent, but perhaps too verbose, publications, monthly and annual, of the existing Associations, or by pumping the brains of missionaries at home, who have already told their tale to their own Society, and who will be reserved, being honest men, in their communications to strangers, who come upon them like newspaper-reporters. The moon can hardly be expected to supply light to the sun. On the Committees of the great Societies are men of various attainments, sojourners for many years in different parts of the world, retired soldiers, merchants, civilians, bishops and missionaries, men of science, men of literature, great travellers, to whom the world is an opened oyster, who can tell you off-hand about the tribes, the languages, the customs of any part of the world, not already occupied by Missionaries of their own or sister-Societies of the different denominations, with whom by Rule XXXI. of the Laws and Regulations of the C.M.S., and under the influence of long-trying mutual respect and good feeling, they hold friendly intercourse. The very wording of Clause II. indicates an imperfect knowledge of the phenomena of the Missionary world. A few years ago the great Missionary Board of Foreign Missions at Boston in the United States received a legacy of a million of dollars, or £200,000, and sent

a secretary over to Europe to consult friends, and myself among others, as to an opening for new missions in Africa. I went carefully over the map with him, and with difficulty found two openings, for under the comity of Protestant Missions no intrusion is allowed on regions already occupied.

Clause III. seems to imply an ignorance of the great principle that, when a Church is constituted, the work of the Missionary Society is done, and the function of the Bishop commences. Time will show, whether Bishops in their Synods will submit to Boards of Missions, any more than Committees of Missionary Societies will submit to Bishops. I doubt it.

Clause IV. is a surprising one. Questions of delicacy may arise, which a Committee would willingly submit to the Primate, or a Bishop of trusted and experienced wisdom; but I cannot conceive any pure Missionary question being profitably referred by a Committee, which has full experience of the work, and which is jealous to a fault of its independence, to a body of a nondescript character, which has no experience whatsoever, and is not in the way to acquire it; for, be it remembered, that the administration of the affairs of a great Society, such as the C.M.S. (which cannot delegate its power to any one), is one of the most difficult and complicated problems possible, requiring continuous, intelligent, experienced, and prayerful labour, with entire independence of any external influence, prejudice, or bias, and a hearty and willing obedience to the well-understood principles, upon which the Society was based, and any divergence from which under a sudden gust of passion would threaten dissolution, or secession of a large minority of the supporters. I have been from my earliest days occupied with the administration of a great empire, but the problems were less difficult, inasmuch as there is always in things secular the *ultima ratio* of the Sovereign Ruler.

A great point is always made by some of the supposed superiority of a Bench of Bishops to a Lay Committee. I doubt it. All the Bishops are my contemporaries or juniors in age: with some I was at Eton: I have been cognizant of their lives and actions, as I have been of the lives of all the great Statesmen and Public Men of the Reign of Queen Victoria. I have no manner of doubt, that the lay and ordained members of the Lay Committee are far superior to the Bench of Bishops (including Suffragans and Archdeacons) in the conduct of human affairs, and how large a portion of the duties of a Missionary Society is included in that term! And on the spiritual side let me add, that "ora et labora" is the motto of the Societies, to which I belong. At the late reception of the Bishops at the Church Mission House it was well and truly said by one of our oldest members that:

If the walls of our Council-Chamber could speak, they could tell, how discussions were often stopped while the Committee knelt down, and prayed over difficulties, that were perplexing them. All their deliberations were conducted in a spirit of weighty and dependent prayer, and God has blessed the Society far beyond the expectations of its founders, because the attitude of the Society was an unceasing waiting upon God.

And again :

Be stiff and stubborn in necessary things.

On the Clock of History it is in vain to attempt to put the hands back. You might as well attempt to tinker the British Constitution. From the prayerful enterprize of a few, while the Church of England was dormant, stagnant, scarcely worthy of existence at the beginning of this century, a few seeds were dropped into the soil, from which, by God's Grace, have sprung several trees overshadowing certain portions of the world. The Church in its collective capacity never cared for, or watered, them, when they were young and tender. Many Parishes in every Diocese are still devoid of a spark of Missionary spirit, on account of the neglect of duty of the Rector of the Parish, and the Bishop of the Diocese ; for the duty of Evangelizing the Heathen is part, parcel, and even one of the chief duties, of every Christian. The presence of Bishops in a great number would greatly impede the freedom of debate : speaking frankly, as I *do* speak at a Lay Committee, I should be loth to pass my rapier through the apron of a Bishop, though I should not hesitate to do so through a General, or an ex-Governor, or a Missionary, or a Presbyter. In a lay Committee we look at things, as they are, and not through Ecclesiastical lenses. I attend regularly at other Church Committees, and I know from experience the difference. When I, at a regular Monthly Meeting of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, brought forward the question, "that the appointment of a Mission Board would not advance the cause of Missions, which we all had at heart," before I was permitted to state my case, it was announced by the Secretary, that the Standing Committee were of opinion, that my Motion should be met by the previous question without discussion, and this was accordingly moved by a Member of the Standing Committee, and carried. Some of those present expressed to me their regret, that they were not allowed to hear more. A few years ago, when I and the late Sir Bartle Frere brought a charge against a Missionary of the S. P. G. in Madagascar, of using Slave-labour in his Mission, the Father of this very Missionary took the chair at the General Meeting of the S. P. G., and it was decided by a majority, that no change should be made. I mention these cases to show the necessity of a Lay Committee, where there is no respect of persons.

Clause V. may be useful or not, but it is beyond the province

of a Missionary Association, and its introduction again indicates the hazy notion of the drafter of the Resolutions; he was thinking of the Church of England and its affiliated branches. The Missionary Society thinks only of the Church of Christ, the salvation of the souls of the non-Christian world, and in full confidence leaves the development of the human constitution of the nascent Church to the Christians themselves, when they are strong enough in their own Synods to form their own canons. Clause VI. allows the cloven foot to protrude from under the pacific mantle of the preceding clauses. "Obsta principiis" is a wise maxim. Here we see the small end of the wedge, which was the desire of the late Bishop of Lincoln, as communicated in 1881 to the Bishop of Kentucky. The Board is clearly an inclined plane, down which the ball will gently roll.

It is remarkable, that the tiny Church of Sweden, which is admitted by the Bishop of Winchester to be a Church in the same sense as the National Church of England, has missions of its own, conducted by itself, but has not been able to prevent the establishment of an independent Missionary-Association. It is equally remarkable, that, while the Convocation of Canterbury is forging this new weapon for the purpose of weakening the independent voluntary actions of Churchmen, which has done such wonders since the beginning of the century, the Bishop of Kentucky tells us, that, in his opinion, the wisest action would be to repeal the Mission-Canon of the American Church, and let cease, for a time at least, the ideal organization, and descend to the lower plane of practical common sense, wherever by natural affinity men of like views and feelings will aggregate themselves into organizations for work along the line, which they believe to be best. He suggests, that American Churchmen should adopt the system of separate and independent missionary organization, *which has given such wonderful life, vigour and experience, and success to the Foreign Missionary Societies of the Church of England.* It is a comfort to think that, outside the Church of England our existing practice is appreciated.

The Convocation of Canterbury might, in its wisdom, or lack of wisdom, appoint a Board of Lay-Patronage, and pass a series of clauses, analogous to the above-mentioned clauses, and no doubt a very serious evil has to be grappled with, unknown to any Church but that of the Church of England. But the Lay patrons would snap their fingers at such a Board; the trustees of such trusts, as the Simeon-Trust, would refuse to listen to it. I submit, that the trustees of the magnificent alms, collected from the congregations of England, cannot do this or that, because a body, which has no legal authority, jumps, as it were, out of a box, and asks them to do it.

A Bishop remarked to me, that his idea of the Committee of

the C.M.S. was, that it was a tranquil sea, undisturbed by any current or storm. This is not the case: like every popular assembly it is extremely sensible of atmospheric influences, and nothing but the Christian spirit of forbearance, which is the prevailing feature of the assembly, prevents trouble. An unlucky letter from a self-appointed Board would not be favourably received by the Committee of the C.M.S. any more than by the House of Commons. If any question arose in Committee as to a complication in the Mission-field (and most difficult questions do arise), it is scarcely probable, that a collective body, in which many are experts, would consult another body, scarcely any of whom had ever left England, and to whom the problem would be as new as the erection of a bungalow in an Indian station, or the design of a steamer to navigate African waters.

One of the most important duties of a Missionary Committee is to select their ordained and lay Agents, male and female. It will not permit any other authority to interfere in this, as it alone represents the friends, who supply the resources. A Committee will not accept an ordained Agent, because the Bishop has ordained him. It has, within the wider circle of the principles of the National Church, a narrower circle of its own peculiar principles, and will not send out or maintain an agent, who departs from them, whatever may be the wishes of the Mission-Board, or the Bishop of the Diocese. The very existence of the Association depends upon the unhesitating maintenance of this prerogative.

If it were proposed to publish a first-rate periodical, edited in a thorough large-hearted Christian spirit, to lay before the world quarterly the progress of the holy war against false religions, nothing would be better. Such a periodical is much to be desired. Something like it is published at New York, *The Missionary Review of the whole World*; but such a publication cannot be expected from the nominees of a Convocation of the Church of England. That body, about thirty years ago, woke up from a peaceful slumber of a century and a half, and scarcely realizes, that the face of the world is changed since it fell into a torpor, and that the regions of the Mahometan and Heathen, still misdescribed as Turk and Infidel, are no longer unoccupied by Christian Missionaries. In this year 1888, in Exeter Hall, has met the Second Decennial Congress of the Missionary Societies of the world. Great Britain is justly proud of her Missionary prowess, but of the Societies, which belong to the Church of England, some refused to join in this magnificent gathering, although Germany, France, Switzerland, Holland, Norway, Sweden, Russia, and the United States of North America, were fully represented. It is very well for a portion of the Church of England to ignore the action of the Foreign

Missions of the British Nation, of the Continent, and North America, but they exist for all that. Our Lord in Mark ix. 38-40, seems to give all Christians a rule of guidance, which is read in some churches, but not acted upon.

If the increase of volume, weight and influence is as great in the next decade as it has been in the last, the ill-judging majorities of the Committees of English Missionary Societies, which declined to send delegates, will feel, how small they are, in comparison with the Missionary Hosts of the Period, and that they have made a mistake in abstaining from taking part in a great movement, which has united the holiest aspirations of the British, American, and Continental Protestant Nations to advance the Kingdom of Christ. They have stood aside, and will not share the outpouring of the blessing. Nothing more convincingly proves the anachronism of a Mission Board of the Church of England, than the fact, that a minority of the Missionaries of the Church have abstained from Union of God's people, which has been the glory, delight, and prayerful effort, of a majority.

It is very difficult to arrive definitely at any accurate enumeration of the agencies at work in the year 1888 to spread the Christian religion among non-Christians, but something like the following is an approximation, the result of long and serious study and careful analysis, but by no means final, and the Colonial Diocesan Organizations, which are part and parcel of the Church of England, are included :

A. Great Britain :	Church of England...	...	...	...	...	25
	Nonconformist	...	...	...	...	36
	Catholic, or belonging to both the above					
	united	...	...	...	...	27
	Colonial	...	...	...	...	26
	Total...	...	...	...	...	114
B. United States of North America	...	...	...	...	...	56
C. Germany	...	...	...	...	...	20
D. The Netherlands	...	...	...	...	...	14
E. Other Nationalities	...	...	...	...	...	20
						110
	Grand Total	...	...	...	...	224

Some of these enterprises, or Associations, are very small, and some very large; some have lasted nearly, or entirely, a century, and some are mere mushrooms, dependent on the lives of those who conduct them. Some would not be missed, if they collapsed and disappeared; the weakness and failure of others would cause dismay in Asia, Africa, America, and Oceania.

Some, like the Missions to the Jews, work in a narrow world of their own, and on their own methods; others go into the regions beyond, and fight Hindu, Mahometan, Buddhist, and Pagan. Some Associations are mere satellites of the greater Associations, round which they revolve, being medical, female, educational, or missions in aid. After making every deduction, the enterprises of the Church of England, conducted in Great Britain, are the following only: Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Church Missionary Society, the Mission of the Universities to Dehli, Calcutta, and East Africa, and the Cowley Fathers; the Melanesian, and South American, and the Christian Knowledge Society; in all nine, and what are they among so many?

Church Work, MARCH (with additions), 1888.

While these lines are passing through the Press, the Pan-Anglican Synod has assembled in Lambeth, and at the Annual Meeting of the S. P. G. in St. James's Hall, the Primate expressed himself, in my hearing, as follows:

They had not voices from Heaven and signs and direct indications, but they had before their eyes constantly the deep need of humanity, and it was for them assuredly to gather that God was calling them. They would hear that day the witness of sixteen men, most of them Missionaries, and when they had heard them, they would say how was it possible for England not assuredly to gather, that *the Lord had called her above all nations of the earth*; and yet they knew too well that there were whole classes of the community, and not the most uncultured or uneducated, but whole classes of their wealthiest, best educated, most cultured people, who scarcely heard spoken of, from one year's end to the other, the work of Missions, who had no idea whatever of the magnificent principles, which were being developed, who had no notion at all of the facts which came crowding in about human nature and human society, which assured them with a thousand-fold increasing witness that the Gospel of Christ was that which was needed to mould humanity itself into a true civilization, much more into fitness for the eternity to which they hastened. It was with that conviction that quite lately, and *even now*, they were forming a Board of Missions. They felt that there were very many people, who turned a deaf ear to the application of Missionary Societies, and they wanted to constitute a Board of Missions, consisting very largely of Laymen of the highest and most cultivated ranks, which should not make it its business at all to gather money, or to send out Missionaries, but which should support the two great Societies and other Mission Societies by bringing home to the knowledge, as well as to the hearts and consciences of the people, what a glorious and encouraging work was to be done, was being done, and could be done in an infinitely multiplied ratio.

It is remarkable how two fundamental errors underlie this statement: (1) That *this Country* was called above all countries to the duty of Evangelization: of this there is no proof. (2) That by "*this country*" was meant the Reformed Episcopal Church of England, established by Act of Parliament. No one, who has studied the subject, can ignore the vast amount of Missionary work done by Christians in America, and as their

population amounts to sixty millions to our thirty millions, it is probable, that within the next decade their work will far exceed British work in volume; and the Continent of Europe cannot be forgotten. And as regards Great Britain itself, how can a monopoly "of the Lord's calling" be asserted by one Church out of many? The Baptists, the Congregationalists, and Presbyterians, were in the field of Missions to the Heathen, before the Church of England had put forth the least effort, and all, that the two great Chartered Societies, the S. P. C. K. and S. P. G., could do in that stagnant period, was to assist the Danish Mission in India. The Board of Missions would comprise twenty Laymen and forty Ecclesiastics, and the kind of Laymen chosen would be more ornamental, and influential, than men acquainted with the subject, and prepared to throw themselves into it. A democratic constitution is the very essence of a Missionary Association, and in this Mission-Board there would be all the elements of a close Corporation, and the excessive number of the Members engenders a fear that the conduct of affairs would fall into the hands of an irresponsible Secretary, or one or two pushing, self-asserting members.

At this same meeting the Bishop of Calcutta, the Metropolitan of India, laid stress on the necessity of a Board of Missions. Had these remarks been made by the Metropolitan of Australia, or Canada, or New Zealand, they would have carried weight. But the Bishop of Calcutta is a paid servant of the Government of India, appointed by the Crown: his Clergy consist partly of Military Chaplains, appointed by the Secretary of State for India for purely official duties: but mainly of the Agents of independent Missionary Associations. The great bulk of the Mission work of India, however, is done, and done well, by British, American, and German Nonconformist Associations: it is difficult to say what a Board of Missions could possibly do in British India, except add another item to the existing elements of difficulty and disturbance. It is necessary to speak out plainly at this conjuncture, and not to allow a false notion to become current from the use of vague general terms. It is to be hoped, that by God's guidance the different Native Churches of India will coalesce, and of their own accord, and in their own way, and at their own time, form an Indian Church, consisting of bonâ-fide residents in the country, speaking their own languages, ministered to by their own Pastors. It is obvious, that this must be quite outside of the alien Church of England, as Great Britain may possibly lose the Empire of India; but the Kingdom of Christ is independent of the political changes of Empires, and will last for ever.

JULY, 1888.

III.

ERRORS TO BE AVOIDED BY MISSIONARIES.

THE work of the Missionary is becoming a science ; the operations are on such an extensive scale, that Mission work is a factor in politics. Hundreds of young men are scattered upon the face of the globe without possibility of supervision, and the ravages of the climate render it necessary, that there should be a constant flow of very young men ; high-spirited, devoted, unselfish, above all suspicion of motives, but very inexperienced, and possessed often of zeal without knowledge. It is more incumbent on the Society, which sends them out, to put its foot down, and state distinctly, what must *not* be done. The conduct of Missionary agents is open, like all human actions, to truthful and sincere criticism, and it is better, that the critic should be a friendly one, and one who is well acquainted with the circumstances and difficulties, that surround the Missionary, and therefore I speak out, having just completed my review of the Missionary operations of the world as reported up to 1887.

A. The Missionary must not raise his hand against a native, or restrict his natural liberty.

B. The Missionary must not usurp judicial, magisterial, or police, powers.

These propositions seem so simple and self-evident, that it might appear at first sight waste of time to discuss them ; but there is no doubt, that natives, male and female, have been flogged, placed in durance, and even been killed, by Missionary agents, sometimes out of mere impetuosity, sometimes in the exercise of usurped powers.

It need scarcely be said, that in settled countries like British India, acts of the first kind would not remain unpunished, and acts of the second kind would be impossible. If any Missionary in British India were to strike a native, he would be prosecuted in the nearest Court of Justice. I myself sent an English

discharged soldier twelve hundred miles from the Panjáb to Calcutta, to be tried on the charge of shooting a native, who would not sell him a sheep; he was tried by one of the Queen's Judges, found guilty, and hanged. A young Officer of the Royal Engineers had tied up his native servant to a tree, and flogged him in order to extort a confession, and the man died. On my report, the Officer was tried by a Court Martial, sentenced to a term of imprisonment, and dismissed from the Army. I mention these two cases to show, that such licence is not permitted to subjects of Her Majesty: the Missionary would have no benefit of clergy.

Dear in the sight of the Empress of India, and her Officials, is the life and liberty of the humblest of Her subjects, and of any alien living under Her protection. Under the rule of the old East India Company, the principle was driven home to every one of its servants, that there must be no respect of persons in the Civil and Criminal Courts, and a great respect for Life and Liberty. Hence springs the feeling of disgust, with which I regard what happens in other countries.

But it is in those parts of the world, which are governed by native chiefs, without any regular form of law, and through which the Missionary has to travel with his caravan, that the difficulty arises. He has to deal with a long train of hired porters, who are ready to tarry, to stray, or even decamp with their burden. He has to deal with the natives, always ready to steal secretly, or plunder openly; his temper is sorely tried, the weather is hot, the distance to be traversed great; the interest of the work, and the character of the traveller for efficiency, seem to depend upon his being able to get to the fixed halting-place; thieves are caught red-handed; property mysteriously disappears; then comes what is deemed the necessity for, and *the right*, to tie up, and flog real or supposed delinquents. A case has occurred of a man being left tied up, with a view to induce a confession, and dying during the night. Then comes a scandal, an outcry, and perhaps a justification in the following terms: that it is impossible to travel in such countries without power of flogging the porters, and thrashing the villagers, and that all Missionaries are compelled, whether they like it or not, to do so.

But is it so? The young Briton out on a shooting expedition may, and probably does do so, and in his narrative he is loud in his outcry, that his camp subsequently is attacked, reprisals attempted, and one of his party killed. The experienced leader of an exploring party does *not* do so; he carries out the policy of conciliation with the inhabitants of the country, through which he passes, and as to his own party he settles with them beforehand in what manner delinquents on

the march are to be punished. Joseph Thomson, one of the most successful and yet the gentlest of leaders, tells us, how his men preferred, that delinquents should be punished by strokes of the rattan, rather than by fine. Thomson in both his expeditions brought his party safe back in good condition, and Bishop Hannington, who traversed his route through Masai-land, found no stories current against him, but plenty against the Swahili traders, who had followed the same route.

But the question before us relates to a Missionary, the preacher, and practiser, of the Gospel, who has been sent out to convert a heathen people. It seems to go without saying, that such men should never raise their hand against the people, except in the extreme case of protecting life or female honour, and of course the ordinary discipline of boys in a school, or a home for released slaves, made over to them by the British Government. That a woman should be flogged, however evil that woman may have been, fills me with amazement; that a man should be tied up to a tree, with a view of extracting a confession, and should die in consequence, fills me with horror. I do not in the least indicate the part of the world, Asia, Africa, America, or Oceania, in which these things have happened, or the Missionaries, to whom such acts are imputed. My intimate knowledge of Missions extends to every Society and every Mission-field. Let me assume their possibility only for the sake of argument, and to enable me clearly to grasp the question of how Missions are to be conducted amidst wild races under such circumstances.

A dear good Missionary, who gave up his life in his Mission Field, a tender-hearted, loving man, has still left the following entries in his journals, made from day to day, and not intended by him for publication; we cannot doubt their exactness; these journals are now *publici juris*, being printed and sold for sixpence.

Page 3. Up twice and boxed some of their ears (the porters).

Page 9. Mild measures were in vain, and shouts of no avail; kicks and blows alone got them together once more into the spot marked out as camp.

Page 10. The disobedience of my men is fearful; I have had to administer some tremendous blows; people may say what they like; it is a matter of life and death.

Page 11. I seized my gun, and rushed back in time to see one of the sick men pursued with spear and shield. Without a moment's hesitation, *to spare his life*, I gave them a charge of No. 2 shot at about 100 yards, and magical was the effect; they fled right and left.

The first case is quoted to indicate the liberty, which Europeans consider themselves entitled to take almost in a friendly way with inferior races, with whom they come into contact. A Malay, after such an insult as having his ears boxed, would have run his dagger into his assailant. The African has to grin and bear it.

The last case illustrates the painful necessity forced upon the traveller to protect the life of his party from violent attacks. The two intermediate cases can under no circumstances be justified. If the natives had joined together, and returned blow for blow, the Missionary would have lost his life; it is a dangerous game to resort to blows, unless you are supported by a superior force.

We have to consider also the miserable consequences of a party led by an European passing through a village and committing acts of violence. Reprisals are taken from the next innocent European traveller. Some years ago, a Frenchman named Abbé De Baize (not a Missionary, but a scientific traveller) behaved in U-Gogo with great violence on his way to Lake Tangányika. A British Missionary was killed in revenge a few days after.

I do not of course allude to sudden outbursts of anger under cases of great provocation; these are to be deplored, wherever they occur, and no one deplores them more than the offender himself, when he recovers his calm. The above quoted journal supplies us with an instance of this weakness, page 5: "Sorry to say that I lost my temper with men." Such confessions as these appear in the journals of many of God's saints; the heat of the weather, the anxiety of the journey, the excitement, and the really provoking characters of the people, lead to such regrettable outbursts, which are repented of in tears, and are atoned for by acts of considerate kindness.

The Missionary by his very *raison d'être* should carefully refrain from such things; he must be no striker; he must not strive, but be gentle to all men, and must take joyfully the spoiling of his goods; conciliation must be made use of to its utmost extent; if it is agreed, that an expedition cannot be carried on, unless the leader of it commits day by day acts of brute violence, the reply is, that *Missionary expeditions had better not be undertaken*. If Missions can only be worked by methods, which no supporter of the Mission would dare to state in detail on a Mission-platform, then Missions had better not be undertaken. It cannot be imagined, that our Lord's disciples, who were sent out two and two, or the Nestorian Missionaries, who penetrated with slender resources as far as China, or the humble Moravian Missionaries, acted in this way. The line of duty is very clear, and I can indicate Missionary Societies, which recognize, and practise, this duty.

I seem to hear some Missionary cry out, who has been driven wild by the heat and insects:

Oh! if you only knew the difficulties, you would not write like this; if you were in similar circumstances, you would flog your men, and thrash the villagers, like everybody else.

Now I have heard very young men on their first arrival in

India talk in the same way, and yet no experienced Anglo-Indian ever allows himself to strike a servant, or ill-use a villager; he finds out that it is not necessary. I never heard of a charge against a Missionary in India of any act of this kind. It is more important to draw attention to the subject in Africa, as the natives have discovered, that Europeans are not the benevolent angels, which they once appeared to be; it has got about that one nation at least, the German, is "eating up" the country, and we may expect a period of difficulty and violence, and much hindrance to the great duty of the Missionary.

Nor should the Missionary usurp, without any licence, merely by his own arbitrary will, judicial, magisterial, or police authority; the facts are *publici juris*, so it may be stated, that in one Mission the Missionary tried, sentenced, and executed an offender, and was very properly dismissed for so doing. But that the whole story is in print, it would seem incredible, that a Missionary should suggest to husbands to flog their wives for infidelity, in the presence of witnesses. The air of Africa seems to have an astounding effect on the intelligence and consciences of Christian ministers, and English gentlemen. In the absence of any constituted ruler, there is always some chief, or village elder, to whom criminal and police jurisdiction belongs, and who would no doubt consult a friendly Missionary, and gradually build up a system of Government. Every British subject is liable to be prosecuted for certain offences in the Courts of Great Britain, although such offences were committed outside of the British Dominions, and no one is authorized to exercise any sort of jurisdiction, unless he has been duly authorized to do so by Her Majesty, and it is exceedingly inexpedient, that any Missionary should be vested with any such power. His weapons are not carnal. I lately heard a Missionary of great experience, at a public meeting, strongly deprecate the idea, that a Missionary should assume the position and the duty of a Chieftain, or put forth the appearance of a man with secular Authority: he has no power to enforce his orders, and as a Christian he could not use the methods adopted by a Native Chief.

There is one blemish, from which British and American Missionaries are entirely free; that is, making the Mission a stepping-stone to and a motive for political aggrandizement. But it is the *raison d'être*, and avowed object, of the French Missionary, to extend the influence of France, and the French Government thoroughly understands this, and makes use of it. The French Government is confessedly free from any religious sentiment, and makes short work with the Jesuits, and other Religious Orders, when it appears advisable, but it tries in China to maintain its right, not only to be the protector of French Missionaries, which would be natural enough, but of all Roman

Catholic Missionaries, British, German, Italian, and Spanish; and although the Pope offers to take charge of the Missionaries of his own Church, and the Chinese Government greatly prefers this arrangement, the French Government is still striving to maintain this right *as the legitimate political influence of France*. In every report of a French Missionary, allusion is made to France, as if the religion which they wish to extend were the French religion.

I quote a report from a French Missionary in British India, dated May 2, 1888 (*Missions Catholiques*, July, 1888), this very year:

Lorsqu'un évêque fera la consécration de l'Eglise de Chetput, l'Immaculée Conception descendra du ciel avec sa cour, et dira en souriant à ses anges: "Mes enfants de FRANCE m'ont élevé ce sanctuaire en ces pays lointains, qu'ils en soient à jamais bénis." Et les anges répondront: "Oui, oui, à jamais bénis" !

We see that the impudent Priest not only knew what the Virgin Mary would do at some future unknown period, but what she and the Angels would say.

Large sums were voted to Cardinal Lavigerie, Bishop of Carthage, for the political influence exercised by him in Tunis, before and after the annexation. Even Protestant French Missionaries are not free from this snare, for the Legion of Honour has been conferred on an old French Missionary, M. Casális, "for extending the interests of France in Basútoland," in the sphere of British influence in South Africa, where the French can have no legitimate interests whatsoever. There are British Missionaries in Italy, Spain, and Portugal. It would be hard to imagine a Companionship of the Bath being conferred upon them for advancing British interests in these countries. It is to be hoped, that the British and American Missionaries will never lend themselves to become political instruments, or meddle in any way with the affairs of earthly administration, as their kingdom is not of this world.

A new difficulty has arisen within the last year. Practically the French Government render the establishment of a Mission of any other nation in a French colony impossible, by allowing no schools to be opened, unless the French language is the vehicle of teaching, and the teacher holds a French certificate. The object of this precaution is their jealous fear, lest other nations should get any influence in their colonies, for they attribute falsely to other nations the practice of their own Missionaries. The firm conviction of the French governing classes is, that Christian Missions are only a kind of machinery for extending national political influence, and the French Roman Catholic Missionaries thoroughly realize these views, and, although they hate the Republican Government, and are cordially hated in return, they are tolerated and protected, because

they are of use. From this point of view a British or American Mission is not only of no use, but, if animated with the same principles, a positive danger; consequently the conditions, under which they are admitted, are such, that they amount to exclusions. The difficulties in Madagascar were very much stirred up, and aggravated, by the desire of the French Priests to get rid of the Protestant Mission. In Tahiti the famous British Mission, which converted that Island, has sorrowfully been obliged to leave that field. The strong objection felt in Great Britain to the occupation of the New Hebrides by the French is the certainty, that all the British Protestant Missions would be destroyed. In the Loyalty Islands they are being crushed out. On the Gabún in West Africa, the American Missionaries are being driven to the necessity of leaving.

This is a very important case, as illustrative of the principle involved. The Presbyterian Missionary Society reports, that they have been compelled to withdraw from their Mission on the Gabún and at Korisko, because the French Government insists, that all instruction should be conducted in the French language, and this was impossible for the American Missionaries to do. So their Schools were disbanded, and all prospect of teaching the children to read the Scriptures in their *own native tongue*, and of *training Native Ministers*, was destroyed. The Mission was offered to the French Protestant Missionary Society at Paris, but their limited resources did not allow them to take it up: they have, however, helped the American Presbyterians to get competent teachers of Evangelical views and a Missionary spirit to labour in connection with them, and *nearly entirely* at their cost.

Russia and Austria are more consistent, and allow none at all in their conquered provinces. The German Missionary has hitherto had the free run of the British and Dutch Colonies, and in British India has enjoyed precisely the same advantages as the British Missionary. Since however the German nation has gone in for colonies, the cry has gone forth for German Missionaries and no other, in German colonies. There was some show of reason perhaps in not allowing the French Jesuit, with his known proclivities, to establish himself in a German colony, but the British also are to be excluded in full confidence, that the idea of reprisals and the ejection of the German Missionary from India and the African colonies, would never be thought of by an Englishman, who loves free religion as much as free trade. The French people, under the idea that French is in fact the finest language in the world, allow the use of none other in their colonies; the natives are taught to speak French to save the trouble of the French functionaries' acquiring a knowledge of the language of the people. They realize too

late the tremendous mistake, which was made two hundred years ago, in not compelling the inhabitants of Alsace and Lorraine to adopt the French language at the time of their conquest. It is singular that the Germans are falling into the same error, and are sending out German Missionaries and State-teachers of the German language to the Kamerún country, whence they have ejected the English Baptist Mission, to try to efface any knowledge of English, which the people may have acquired, and introduce the German language. It remains to be seen whether this is possible. At any rate, it is a narrow view to take of colonial policy, and a wrong view of Missionary duty.

Another topic remains. When a Missionary is in danger from the tyranny of a Native Ruler, the cry is for the interference of the Arm of the Flesh. If there is one thing, which the Missionary puts forward more than another, it is, that he has counted the cost, and carries his life in his hands. He asks no leave of Cæsar; he would resent any interference of Cæsar, if he attempted to arrest his progress; great dissatisfaction is always expressed against the Government of British India, because it will not allow any Missionaries to cross the boundary into Afghanistan. Under what possible circumstances then can those, who thoroughly understand the theory, upon which Missions are based, talk about sending armies to rescue Missionaries? The Geneva periodical, *L'Afrique Exploré et Civilisé*, tells us, that Cardinal Lavigerie, Bishop of Carthage, has pressed upon France, Great Britain, Belgium and Germany, to take measures to insure the protection of British and French Missionaries at U-Ganda; and yet, if any Government had attempted to restrain his Eminence from sending his agents to that country, there would have been loud cries of intolerance, and the duty of trusting in the Lord of Hosts, and obeying God rather than man. As is well known in the Chinese Empire, the French Minister is in constant hot water for his interference in Missionary troubles, and the Native converts are encouraged to appeal to France against their own National Government. No wonder that the very name of Missions is unpopular, when conducted in such a manner.

The Missionary must recollect, that the service of the Lord is not limited by nation, language, or race. Even the good American Missionaries sometimes forget this, for I read in the *Missionary Herald*, that in the little Island of Ponapé, a mere speck in Mikronesia, and part of the group of the Caroline Islands, which belong to Spain, the Sunday-School children of the native converts kept the "Glorious Fourth of July" with great ceremonial. How people would laugh, if the converts in the British Missions of New Guinea and the Solomon Islands

were to celebrate the anniversary of the Battle of Waterloo, or the Queen's Jubilee. Why not have their rejoicings on Christmas Day and Easter Day, in anticipation of the day, when Ephraim shall not envy Judah, and Judah shall not vex Ephraim? The French religious periodicals are full of lamentable details of the destruction of the Roman Catholic converts in Tonquin, and forget, that these same converts supplied fighting-men to resist their own national Sovereign in his struggle against foreign invaders.

Another grave error is one, into which some of the smaller Missionary Societies, and individual Missionaries, or the particular Missionaries of one Field, have fallen, but from which the great Societies of all denominations have on the whole kept themselves free. It is necessary to speak out, as the error has become very serious, alienates friends, drives away those, who might join us, and, what is more sad, makes the movement, the grand desire to evangelize the world, ridiculous. It is this. As the different corners of the world are revealed to us, frightful moral evils are made manifest. Those, who are acquainted with the Mysteries of London and Paris, know, that the vices of these great cities were never exceeded in ancient times, nor are they equalled elsewhere in modern times. In Oriental towns these defects appear on the surface: the Missionary, generally a young man, totally inexperienced in the manifold forms of human vice, localized in one part of the world, is aghast at what he sees, or hears of, the sins and sufferings, and abominable customs of mankind. He is tempted to join fanatical Associations, and run a tilt against Governments, Sovereigns, Chartered Companies, Ancient Customs, Commerce in Liquors and Drugs, Slavery, Caste, and such like. In these last days Missionaries have been foolish enough to take an interest in the morals of the British Soldier, send spies into his Camp, and Barracks, and denounce the alleged depravity of the private life of the men, by whose valour and steadfastness the British Empire is sustained. This is a great departure from the example set to us by the first and greatest of Missionaries, St. Paul.

And I determined not to know anything among you save Jesus Christ and Him crucified.—I Corinthians ii. 2.

And yet Corinth and Rome were cities teeming with unmentionable abominations: in the reign of Nero Cruelty in every form was rampant. The Missionary's message is to man's evil heart: the cure of all human evils is not by deputations to the Powers that be, or by passing vain resolutions on excited platforms, which are not worth the paper, on which they are engrossed, or by neglecting the foolishness of Preaching for the supposed wisdom of oratory and invective. Let the Missionary leave

the things of Cæsar to Cæsar, and keep himself to the things of God.

I submit these subjects to the consideration of the Committees of Missionary Societies. The stream of Missionaries is ever flowing, and new men succeeding to old. It is more important that the Committee, which is permanent in its collective capacity, should be firm, and set its face like a flint against:

I. Any personal ill-usage or restraint of a native by its agents.

II. Any usurpation of authority, other than spiritual, by its agents.

III. Any tendency to put Missions forward as a machinery for political aggrandizement.

IV. Any tendency to imagine, that the nationality of the Missionary is a factor of the least weight or moment in his divine commission to preach the Gospel.

V. Any appeal to the Arm of the Flesh to protect Missions, or rescue Missionaries, or avenge the death of Missionaries. If the Missionary has no stomach for the fight, let him withdraw from a contest, to which he is not equal. Christian men and women will never be wanting to take up the Cross, whatever may be the dangers and perils.

VI. Any attempt to introduce among his converts the historical differences of the great nations of Europe and America, and any suggestion, that Christianity is limited, and that the right of preaching the Gospel is restricted by the political circumstances of the country, or the nationality of the Missionary. Evil rulers may try to enforce such restrictions, but they are fighting against God.

VII. Any tendency of its agents to take up the part of a Political or Moral or Social Agitator on matters, which lie outside the duty of preaching the Gospel.

Church Work, APRIL, 1888 (with additions).

IV.

RELATION OF MISSIONARIES TO GREAT EUROPEAN
AND ASIATIC GOVERNMENTS.

A PERIOD has arrived in the history of Missions to the non-Christian world, when it is as well to reflect calmly, whether it be wise or just, or consistent with the principles of the Religion, which it is our object to extend, to do what may be generally called "lean on the Arm of the Flesh," and permit Missionaries, and their converts, to appeal to Treaties, and solicit the protection of the Powers that be. And it is more particularly necessary for British Missionaries to reflect upon this subject, as it is not the British Religion, which they are preaching, but the Christian, and one that is equally true, whether the message be delivered by a British Missionary, who has behind him the force of a Giant, or by the Swedish, Danish, or Swiss, Missionary, who have to depend only upon the goodness of their cause, and the protection of their Divine Master.

I purposely omit any allusion to any particular Societies, or particular instances of Appeals to the British Government. Missions to the Natives of Asia and Africa and Oceania are still, as it were, in their infancy, but may be expected to assume proportions in the next generation of a magnitude far beyond the wildest dreams, and it will be an unmixed blessing to them, both in their temporal and spiritual matters, that God should have put it into the heart of Christian Nations to send out the very salt of their people to settle amidst the Heathen, not for any purpose of Commerce, or Conquest, but from motives of pure Benevolence. Now Missions may be planted, and as a fact have been planted, in countries, where Political circumstances represent two very distinct varieties.

I. Where the Political Power is entirely in the hands of a civilized European Government, totally independent of foreign control.

II. Where there is a Government established upon a basis of Asiatic Civilization, nominally independent, but circumscribed in its action by Treaties, and the powerful Logic of Ships and Gunboats of foreign Nations.

It is no longer a matter of surprise to me, why Russia, Austria, France, Italy, Spain, and Portugal, object to the appearance of a Missionary in their dominions, or their Colonies. The Governments of these countries have only to mark the conduct of the Missionaries in British India, China and Turkey. The most mistaken assertions are made in the most unscrupulous way. Every travelling Grievance-Monger quotes a Missionary as his authority. Holding as we do the Empire of British India with a very small European army, which has to be renewed within a fearfully brief period, and the control of which is an anxious problem, it might have been imagined that those, who live under the protection of that army, would have been cautious in their mode of making statements. I can recollect the time, when a portion of the British Army, the European soldiers, mutinied upon a purely Regimental matter, and the authorities were in a frightful dilemma: what would become of the Missionaries, their Schools, and their Chapels, and converts, if the British soldiers, in resentment for the hard things, said by Missionaries about them, were to mutiny: there must indeed be a deep feeling of indignation throughout Military Circles, especially when an American citizen at a great meeting in Exeter Hall is put forward to second a Resolution, condemning the British Army as vicious and disreputable, and to state broadly that the conduct of the Government of India was worse than the Bulgarian atrocities of the Turks, and that the British deserved to be turned out of India bag and baggage. A British Missionary audience received these remarks with applause, and a paid servant of the British State put the Resolution thus supported to the meeting, and was not ashamed. I am not a Soldier, but I have lived amidst Soldiers, have myself witnessed the good behaviour of troops on the march, and their steadiness in great battles, and I think it unworthy of a Missionary to creep into a Regimental Canteen, and note the amount of liquor consumed, or stand behind the curtain, and spy into the disgusting mysteries of a house of ill-fame. How much better employed would a man with such low tastes be as local agent of one of our London Vigilance-Committees!

The Empire of British India presents a unique instance of the first variety. There is no country in the World, and never has been in the Annals of History, where such entire liberty is given to the Preacher of Spiritual Truths, either by word of Mouth, or by printed Matter. No permission is required or asked for. Protection of person and property, absolute and unrestricted, is conceded. Property in land may be purchased, or leased; no law of Mortmain, no legal incapacity of any kind exists; if the Mahometan, or Buddhist, or Brahmoist, were to set on foot Missions, the Magistrate, Gallio-like, would care not

for such things. On the other hand, Civil and Religious Liberty is absolutely guaranteed to all classes: so long as the Peace is preserved, and the rights of other subjects are respected, Religionists of all kinds may erect places of worship, may ring bells, and fire guns, lead out long processions, and go upon distant pilgrimages, without let or hindrance. If, however, the preacher of one set of Spiritual Doctrines should attempt to erect a place of worship or assembly in offensive proximity to that of another; if any act of illegal provocation or insult to the feelings of any portion of Her Majesty's subjects were to be committed under the guise of Religion, the Government would promptly interfere to anticipate the destruction of property, or the shedding of blood. To the honour of Christian Missionaries in British India be it said, that no such act has ever been attempted by them; no improper applications to a Magistrate are made, or, if made, would be attended to; in only one instance do I recollect a case of a Chapel being ordered to be removed by the Government, because it was erected on the edge of a sacred Tank.

In such a Utopia of Missions are the Missionaries satisfied? Not in the least! *Quo plus habeant eo plus cupiunt*. Not even the Government of China or Turkey has been so unsparingly abused by the Missionary, as the just and impartial Government of India, which is represented in its Governors, and Councils, and Men in Authority, by Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jew, Hindu, Mahometan, and Parsi Members, not one of whom has ever been known to deviate from the line of strict impartiality in his official position. The fact is, that the Protestant Missionary in his heart of hearts desires more than a free field to be conceded to him; he asks for a Neutrality in Educational Matters, benevolent to his way of thinking, but which he would resent, if conceded to the way of thinking of others. If the Jesuits got round the Government, their influence would be denounced. The object of the Government of India is to retain the country in the peaceful enjoyment of Civil and Religious Liberty; the Missionary in India should consider the circumstances of other Heathen countries, and so use his own Christian privilege, as not to interfere with the privilege of others: if we lost India, we should lose the greatest field for Missions, that the world ever saw.

The liberties, taken by some Missionaries, are extraordinary. An officer, high in employ, sent me a copy of a letter, which I have before me, actually written by a Missionary to the Prime Minister of the Sovereign Prince, within whose territory he had with great difficulty obtained leave to open a Hospital, charging him with sending off boat-loads of people to be got rid of feloniously during the night: he admits in the letter, that he had

no proof, but could not help thinking, that there was truth in the report. In a lofty style, he writes, that he cannot pass over the matter in silence, until full inquiry is made, and he (the Missionary) is satisfied, that the rumour is false. The Sovereign Prince ordered an inquiry to be made, and naturally asked for the names of the informants of the Missionary, which he declined to give, and the matter dropped. The question naturally suggests itself, Who made the Missionary ruler or judge in such a matter? Can it be a matter of surprise, if a Native Sovereign in India does his best to keep a Missionary out of his territory?

A question of Rent arose between the Tenants and Landowners in a Province of India. It would hardly be expected, that a Missionary would take a leading part in a kind of agrarian war. My own opinion was, that his view of the case was the right one, but it was not right for him to have any view at all: in fact, he was acting precisely, as the Romish Priests are acting in Ireland now, siding with the Tenants against the Landowners. He became very popular with one party, but so unpopular with the other, that on a charge brought he had a sentence of one month in gaol. Now all this must disturb the quiet routine of Gospel preaching, which is the only cause of the existence of the Missionary.

So long as the British power is strong and unshaken, India has been open to all comers, and no passports, or permissions to sojourn, are required. But in time of peril like the Mutinies, passports are required from all foreigners. An amusing case occurred in 1857-58: the American Missionaries, as a matter of form, were called upon to take out passports, and one of them declined, thanking God, that he was an Irishman! This might have surprised any one not familiar with Missionary life. In a late visit to Damascus I find that the leading Missionary of the Irish Mission was an American, and in Egypt one of the leading Missionaries of the American Mission was a Scotchman. Returning to the main subject, it cannot be too strongly impressed upon Missionaries, that any conduct on their part calculated to weaken, or oppose, or bring disrepute upon the Government of India, is suicidal to their own prosperity. The old East India Company is blamed, because it would not allow Missionaries in India in the beginning of this Century. It is clear, that it would not have built up the Empire, had indiscreet Missionaries been at large before the Provinces were well in hand; and when the power of Great Britain in India becomes weakened, the greatest sufferers will be the Missionaries, and the Christian congregations. The Roman Catholic Missionaries have never given trouble in India: they have been chiefly Italians or Portuguese. The Protestant Missionaries have been exclusively German, American, or British.

But in South Africa a French Protestant Mission is settled in Ba-Súto Land. I understood from the late Sir Bartle Frere, that much of the trouble in one of the wars in the Cape Colony arose from the conduct of the French Missionaries. At the Congress of Missionaries at Mildmay in 1878 (Report, p. 86), I read :

Hence, when you Englishmen in 1852 came to fight against the Ba-Súto, *we fought against you.*

At the Congress of Missionaries in Exeter Hall in 1888, the Directors of this French Mission justified what they called "Missionary Patriotism"; they took a pride in following a policy of direct *hostility to the British Government*, and it was difficult to see how this was consistent with the position of a foreign Missionary in British territory. The British and Foreign Bible Society, in Christian love, supplied them with a translation of the whole Bible in the language of the tribe: the President of the French Republic bestowed upon the Chief Director the Legion of Honour for "advancing French interests" (Heaven help the mark!) in British Colonies. The British take these matters coolly, as cosmopolites, but the Germans very naturally rigidly exclude French Missionaries from their Colonies.

How do the French act in their own Colonies? The French Missionary, whether Protestant, or Roman Catholic, wherever he goes, puts his Nationality offensively forward: the Governor of the French Colony makes the Colony too hot for Missionaries of another Nation. In Algeria and Tunisia, the British Missionaries have a precarious existence: the Bible Society, however, is tolerated. In Senegambia there are none but French. From the Gabún Colony, South of the Equator, the American Mission, which has done so much good, is being gradually pushed out. In Melanesia the British Missionaries are being expelled from the Loyalty Islands, and are threatened in the New Hebrides: one of the chief objections to the French occupation is, that the free action of the Missionaries will be jeopardized. In the Society's Islands and Harvey's Islands, the French occupation has driven out, or is driving out, the British Mission, which has raised the inhabitants from the position of savages, in which Captain Cook found them.

Germany has only lately founded Colonies, or Subject States, and sets about Missions in a way peculiar to herself. One of the most experienced German writers on Missionary topics thus expresses himself:

The opinion of the German African Society with regard to Missionary Societies is, that they are not unselfish attempts to spread the Gospel, but merely handmaids to Colonial Politics, a Cow to give milk to the Mother Country.

The general conception seems to be as follows:

I. Only German Missions in German Colonies.

II. The Missionary is to be the Pastor of the German colonist, as well as Evangelist of the Heathen.

III. He is to work solely for German interests, and to make his converts good German Subjects.

IV. He is to teach the Natives to work, by giving them an industrial Education, as well as spiritual: the motto is, "work and pray, and pray and work:" but the prayers must be in German, and the work for Germans.

V. No other language to be taught but German. In the Kamerúns the English language is to be trodden down, and German State-Instructors are sent to teach German.

The first action of the Germans at Ebon in the Marshall Islands in Mikronesia was to fine the Native Pastor of the American Mission 2500 francs for wishing to protect the natives against the deceit of foreign Merchants. In the Kamerúns, where the British Baptists were got rid of, the German Government desired the Basle Missionary Society to accept the task, because it was composed of German elements, and consequently sympathetic to the interests, political and economical, of Germany. To this the Society bravely replied, that it had always maintained a position above all political considerations, and would never depart from it, all that was asked being liberty of action. I honour them for saying so.

For the present in Eastern Equatorial Africa there are two Protestant British Missions within the sphere of German influence; but to mark the cynical view of the German Government towards all Missions, a German Roman Catholic Mission has been specially invited as a kind of equipoise to the existing French Roman Catholic Mission, and a German Protestant Mission, as supplementary to the two British Missions.

It appears, that the Government of the Netherlands, a Protestant country, to a certain extent connects the State with Missionary effort in her Asiatic Colonies, and looks upon them as Political Engines. Spain has hitherto prevented any Protestant influence from penetrating into the Philippine Islands, and has caused some trouble to the American Missionaries in the Caroline Islands in Mikronesia, which were so easily composed, and seem to be forgotten, that it would appear that it was magnified. At any rate, one fact is recorded, that the American Board did complain to their own Government of the deportation of their Missionary from the Island, that the United States Government did send a man-of-war to the Island, and that it was considered a great point gained that "American Missionaries were cared for by their National Authorities," and that the Captain of the man-of-war in a letter advised "all Americans, *whether Christians* " *or not*, to get down on their knees, and return thanks for having "been born in free America." When it is recollected, that these

Missionaries were in the ancient Colonies of Spain, that the right is admitted of every Sovereign State to deport aliens at their will and pleasure, and that a man-of-war of an alien State was sent to encourage alien Missionaries apparently against the constituted authority, it may be a source of wonder, how the Gospel of Peace can be preached under such circumstances, and no wonder will be felt, if the admission of alien Missionaries is for the future steadily opposed by second-rate Powers, like Spain and Portugal. In British India the American Missionary is heartily welcomed according to the policy of the British Government, and in recognition of the well-known personal qualities of the American Missionary; yet if the Missionary disobeyed the legal orders of the constituted authorities, I doubt, whether the appearance of the United States ship "Essex" on the Hooghly would have saved him from punishment. I deeply regret the interference of ships of war, or gunboats, or the civil power, in the affairs of Missions, and shall never cease denouncing it, whether those ships are British, or American, or French, or German, or Spanish, or Portuguese. "Non tali auxilio."

The Colonies of that miserable State, Portugal, remain to be noticed. On the West Coast of South Africa the authorities of the Colony of Angola appear to have adopted a friendly attitude to the American Missionaries, who penetrate through the Colony to Bailundu. No doubt Portugal has visions of spreading across the Continent to Mozambík, and there may be troubles in future. On the East Coast the attitude of Portugal is hostile to the Protestant Missionaries on Lake Nyassa: indefinite claims of Sovereignty are made, and the desire is expressed to extend the frontier of the Colony of Mozambík so as to include that Lake. That may or may not be, and the Missionaries must take their chance, and the British Government neither can, nor will, give them any help. It would be contrary to sound policy, if any Government were to entangle Great Britain in an Annexation, Protectorate, Sphere of Influence, or Chartered Company, which *had no basis on the sea*: we have suffered enough from the Egyptian Sudán, and Be-Chuána-land, to play that game again. Like the other British Missionary Societies, which have established themselves on the Central Equatorial Lakes, they must rest upon the Divine aid only, and their agents must be prepared to die at their posts. But the Missionary interest is not the only one in the Basin of the River Zambési, and its confluent. Great Britain is a Protector of the vast territories of Ma-Tábéle-land South of that River, and can never allow a petty State like Portugal to put a cork into the mouth of one of the great Arteries of Africa, and, as the Foreign Secretary lately informed a Deputation, a Ship of War, in the interests of Freedom of Commerce and Naviga-

tion, will soon open the Mouths of the Zambési to ships of all Nationalities, and brush Portugal like a fly off the Map of that Region.

I pass now to the second variety of circumstances, where there is a Government established upon a basis of Asiatic Civilization, nominally independent, but circumscribed in its action by Treaties, and the hard logic of ships and gunboats. China and Turkey supply conspicuous instances, and both countries are magnificent fields for Missions.

I have before me a little volume, published at Rome, called *Violation du Traité de Peking*, which sets out the Roman Catholic grievances, of which France is the champion. Another small volume, *Aperçu historique sur la Chine*, also published by the Propaganda, sets forth the long history of Missions to China, the martyrdoms by beheading and strangling, the imprisonments, and the spoiling of goods, which have rendered the Roman Catholic Mission work of that Land illustrious. Its staff a few years ago consisted of twenty-one Bishops, two hundred and seventy-eight European Missionaries, two hundred and thirty-three Native Priests, scattered in every part of the Chinese dominions, amidst half a million of converts. The Protestant Missionaries number six hundred, but do not form one compact body, and upon the subject now under discussion there exist two distinct parties.

The Roman Catholic Mission, with a strange inconsistency, is the loudest in its appeals to the eternal principle of Religious Liberty, guaranteed by Treaties, and invoked by Consuls. Allusion is made with complacency, on the one hand, to a Pagoda being converted into a Church, whilst no words are sufficient to denounce, upon the other, the injustice of the secularization of a Church. Emperors are described as having been killed by lightning, and cities destroyed by earthquakes, to evince the anger of an outraged God. It seems strange, that Priests, with such a formidable arsenal in reserve, should regard as of such paramount importance, the insignificant Treaties of Peking and the French Consulate.

The French Government has ever put itself forward as the Protector of Religion in China, and the French have openly asserted in their own praise, that while other Nations, especially the British, warred with China in the interests of Commerce, they warred in the interests of Religion. Lamentable indeed as have been the British wars, still it would seem almost better to force Commerce into a country at the point of the bayonet than to force Missionaries into it after the same fashion. In the one case we have at least but a simple evil, in the other a compound one, and what might have been a blessing becomes a curse. We may rely upon it, that under all circumstances gun-

boat-Commerce is a less evil than gunboat-Christianity. It is well known, that it is only in the French copy of the Treaty that exists the well-known Religious clause, which could only be extended to British subjects by the application of the "most-favoured Nation" clause. Successive British Ministries have refused to adopt the French clause as the measure of our Treaty Rights in the matter of Missionary work. One of the chief occupations of the French Legation consists in pressing claims for redress, and making reclamations on behalf of Missionaries. It is always in hot water, and with any but satisfactory results; and it is this constant source of trouble and anxiety, and the difficulty of giving effective protection in the interior, that has caused the indisposition of the British Government to press for similar rights.

It is notorious, that the Chinese Government, anxious to get rid of the semi-religious, semi-political claims of France, offered to accept the Pope as the representative of all the Missions of the Roman Church, and the Pope was quite ready to accept the duty: but France would not agree to it, and by threats of the repeal of the Concordat in France, compelled the Pope to withdraw from this arrangement: the Chinese Government in consequence issued a Proclamation of Universal Toleration of the Christian Religion, thus reducing the possibility of French interference to a minimum.

The French Government urges the cases of the Roman Catholic Missions only. I have yet to learn, whether Republican France would extend its protection to French Protestant Missions also. Under the ægis of Great Britain are many different Churches and Missions, and no one Missionary body has a right to go up to the Foreign Office, as the general representative of Protestant Missions in China. It is as well to hear the views of one Missionary Society on the question:

RELATIONS TO GOVERNMENTS.—Too great caution cannot be exercised by all Missionaries residing or journeying inland to avoid difficulties and complications with the people, and especially with the authorities. All the agents of the Mission must fully understand that they go out depending for help and protection on the LIVING GOD, and not relying on the Arm of the Flesh. While availing themselves of any *privileges* offered by the British or Chinese Governments, they must make no *claim* for their help or protection. Appeals to Consuls to procure the punishment of offenders, or to demand the vindication of real or supposed rights, or indemnification for losses, are to be avoided. Should trouble or persecution arise inland, a *friendly representation* may be made to the local Chinese officials, failing redress from whom, those suffering must be satisfied to leave their case in God's hands. *Under no circumstances must any Missionary on his own responsibility make any appeal to the British authorities.* As a last resource, the injunction of the Master can be followed, "If they persecute you in this city, flee ye into another."

Those engaged in the Lord's work must be prepared to "take joyfully the spoiling of their goods," and to "rejoice they are counted worthy to suffer

shame for His name." Let them be imbued with the same spirit as Ezra (Ez. viii. 21—23).

In preaching and selling books, the collection of large crowds in busy thoroughfares should as far as possible be avoided ; and where it can be done, any difficulty should be arranged, without reference to the local authorities. The carrying about and display of unnecessary property is also to be deprecated ; it may lead to robbery and loss, in which case no *demand* for restitution should be made. As little intercourse with local authorities as possible should be attempted ; and if their help on any occasion become necessary, it should be asked as a favour, and never demanded as a right. On no account should threatening language be used, or the threat of appealing to the Consul be made. Great respect must be shown towards all in authority, and must also be manifested in speaking of them, as is required by the Word of God.

Where prolonged stay in a city is likely to cause trouble, it is better to journey onward ; and where residence cannot be peaceably and safely effected, to retire and give up, or defer the attempt. God will open more doors than we can enter and occupy. And in conclusion, the weapons of our warfare must be *practically* recognized as spiritual and not carnal.

How noble, how true to Bible teaching, how expedient even from a worldly point of view, are such sentiments ! Nor is it an empty boast. In 1879 Lord Shaftesbury quoted with satisfaction the statement, that no Missionary of this Society made any assumption of national superiority, or any undue insistence on Treaty Rights, and he remarked on the contrast, which this offered to the old scandal, that "*with the Missionary there was always the inevitable gunboat.*" A Missionary, who had traversed China, on foot and unarmed, remarked, that all application to the British Foreign Office, or pressure upon the British Consul, with a view of intimidating the Chinese authorities, would be a mistake, would do no good, and probably do great harm. It may be accepted as a fact, that the Chinese authorities are quite impervious to any argument, unless they anticipate the will and the means of the Consul to enforce redress, and this means to move up gunboats. It is of no use for Missionaries to protest, that they do not wish to lean on the Arm of the Flesh, or seek the aid of Gunboats ; they must understand that there is no medium. If they could persuade the Foreign Office to set the ball rolling (which they will never succeed in doing), it must mean the application of threats, and possibly bloodshed. Any amount of suffering, or loss of property, were preferable to this sad alternative.

The sentiments expressed by this Society are shared by other Missionary Societies in China. During the whole course of the history of some Missions, the Missionaries have never requested the aid of their Government ; their only weapon has been kindness, and a spirit of conciliation. And this line of conduct is more especially necessary in China, where other questions have been so inextricably mixed up with the policy of the British Government. The Missionary might suffer temporary injury and discouragement, but in the long run he would be the stronger by

letting the people and authorities feel, that as Missionaries they were not connected with the compulsory measures and the overbearing provisions of Treaties, whose stipulations rankle in the breast of every subject of that ancient kingdom.

The subject is of such importance, and I do so desire, that young Missionaries should understand the problem, that I quote extracts from the Secretaries of some of the leading Missionary Societies :

I discourage our Missionaries from holding property in China outside the Treaty Ports, and then only the houses they occupy. When Natives were willing to make over places, and even family temples, to the Mission, I always urged them to leave such properties in Native hands. In all our Missions we try to avoid all reference to the British authorities : they hamper more than they aid.

There are peculiar difficulties in one Province, owing to the policy and conduct of the Romanists : their constant reliance on the Civil Power, and frequent unhappy use of it, have the tendency to embitter the heathen population, and also to encourage injustice and a singular kind of arrogant *terrorism among those who become Christians*.

I am persuaded that official remonstrances do not help in the long run, Patience is our strength, when we are in the right.

During the whole course of the Mission's History our agents have made their way, and found safety and acceptance among savage tribes, quite independently of any aid from gunboats, or otherwise from Government. The power, which they exercise, is that of kindness, and an evident desire to deal justly, and to benefit them. Their response has almost always been one of confidence and friendly bearing, the healthful product of kindness, and not of fear of a gunboat in the background. Treaty rights invoke Treaty wrongs, to the injury of the people, and the hindrance in the most fatal manner of Missionary effort.

More especially at this conjuncture it behoves the Missionaries in China to act with great restraint. In the Edict of Toleration lately issued they have scored a point, and, inasmuch as this Edict has been issued voluntarily, it is not likely to be recalled, but the reasonable demands made by the Chinese Authorities some years back, and not conceded, should be remembered, and acted up to, especially as the Missionaries in British India have no choice but to conform to similar demands.

I. Missionaries should confine themselves to their proper calling, and not set up an independent style and authority.

II. They should not interfere in the Criminal trials of Native Christians.

III. That bad characters, and notorious ill-livers, should not be retained in their communities.

IV. That they should not use official seals, nor write official despatches to the local Courts, as if they were Officials.

Possibly it is only the French Roman Catholic Priests in China, who take the liberties complained of : at any rate, they do nothing of the kind in British India, and it would be impossible in an Oriental country to allow private individuals to act in such a way.

It is a common expression at Missionary meetings, and a positive fact in some Committee-Rooms, that God's guidance is prayed for and sought for. God's mercies are recognized in success, and traces of His controlling wisdom should be recognized in disappointment and failure. God speaks no longer in dreams and visions, or by the voice of Heavenly messengers, but His guidance can be seen by those, who seek Him faithfully, in the Persecution and the Destruction of Churches, in Imprisonment and Martyrdom. By these is the sincerity of the converts tested, and the faith of the survivors strengthened. Both China and Madagascar have passed through this ordeal. If we use the Arm of the Flesh to combat those leadings, we may haply be found fighting against God. Strange to say, the same reports, which tell so sadly of the suffering of the Missionaries, tell also of the steadfastness of the Native Church, and of additions to its members. We are apt to set too great a value on the bricks and mortar of our buildings. What matters it whether they are consumed by a fire, as at Hakodati, or by incendiaries, as at Fu-chow? We must recognize the chastening hand of the Lord in both events, and be thankful.

In one district there had been *persecution*; several converts were *beaten*, and one or two *killed*, others *imprisoned* and *tortured*; these last were released at the earnest request of the Consul, who, however, had no lawful grounds of interference. *These troubles may prove beneficial* in keeping the Churches clear of *insincere* Members, and by giving the Converts clearly to see that *foreigners cannot protect them*, either from their own people, or officials, and may teach them to look more *directly to God*, and to trust in Him *alone*. It is profitable to read the accounts of the sufferings and the steadfastness of the early Christian Martyrs in the first and second centuries, and the persecution by the Church of Rome in the fifteenth and sixteenth. The blood of the Martyrs is still the seed of the Church. The British Missionary should read the stories of Columba of Iona, of Aidin of Lindisfarne, of Boniface of Exeter, and try to bear hardships, like good soldiers, and not to call for gunboats, and Platform-Resolutions.

And when we plant the Church in China, we must seek to plant it as a Chinese Church, and not as a Semi-Anglican one. Such a Native Church can only be solidly based on National self-respect, affected, it may be, by National weaknesses, and perhaps by National independent treatment of Christian truths. It will then last long after the Gunboats of Great Britain have fallen into decay, and her Commerce has shifted to younger Nations. The Governing Classes reflect the general feelings of the People: the Literati and Gentry, who are credited with all the opposition, are recruited from the ranks of the people, and fairly represent the Clergy and Landowners in Great Britain, who

are, as a rule, extremely Conservative. The objection of the Chinese to Fung-chui or "Luck" is not fictitious, and, as regards lands and houses, these sentiments, however ridiculous they may seem, indicate the actual feelings of the people, and no doubt of the Native Christians also. Missionaries must deal gently with the prejudices, which they encounter. To occupy a sacred site, and build upon it a Missionary Residence, or School, under any view of the case, is an act of extreme indiscretion, to which no lapse of years can give a sanction. To convert a Pagoda into a Christian place of worship is one of those acts, which may be resented for centuries. We have instances of the evil consequences of such a policy written in blood in every country. If Mahometan, or Brahmoist, or Buddhist, Missionaries, were to appear in London, and erect a place of worship under the shadow of the Abbey, or appropriate a Proprietary Chapel of any denomination to their purposes, would a London Mob tolerate it, however much Religious Toleration be the law of the land?

The conclusion to be arrived at seems to me this: that a Missionary should try to win his way to the hearts of the people, and should under no circumstances invoke the Arm of the Flesh for the protection of property, or accept compensation for property lost. He will find it more profitable in the long run to exhibit the patience, and charity, and unselfishness, which will disarm his antagonists. If his life be endangered, he must save it by timely flight; if imprisoned, there can be no doubt, that collective intercession will be made for him in such a manner, as to secure his liberation; if he fall, he falls a blessed Martyr. Such deaths are great victories: they convince the doubting: they stimulate the faint-hearted: they astonish the worldling. Peradventure for a good man some would even dare to die, but Christ died for sinners, and Christians are ready to die for Christ. How our hearts beat high to think that we have known, and loved, and conversed with, and have letters from, men, destined by God's Grace to die for Him; he does no more than numerous examples have gloriously sanctioned, than the Gospel predicts, and than hundreds of his countrymen have been willing to do in every part of the World, even when the prize to be gained was but an earthly one. Persecutions were not unknown in the early days of Christianity, and yet it triumphed in the end. It is idle to expect the Crown without the Cross. There are many sufferings still unsuffered, many Crosses not yet taken up, many Crowns still to be won.

I have twice visited the Empire of Turkey with a view of contrasting their system of governing conquered Provinces with the British system in India. I was sitting in the Diván with the Pasha of Damascus, when a European Consul was introduced, who hectored and bullied the Pasha while actually on the seat of

Judgment. I had myself governed large Asiatic districts, and recognized the salient features of the complaint as of not uncommon character. The Turk smoked, and bore the abuse stolidly, at least to outer appearance. I felt for him, and felt also, that, if any representative of any Power in the world had behaved in such a manner in my Office, I should have had him turned out forthwith, and, if he repeated such conduct, should have fined him for contempt of Court, and looked to my own Government to support me. The British Magistrate and Consul know, that the best Missionaries give them the least trouble, if indeed they give any at all. The argument, that the Consuls of other Nations have succeeded in compelling an unwilling Government to make concessions is an unworthy one, and not always true. In a discussion in a British Committee Room in my presence about troubles in China, a Secretary to an American Board of Missions, who happened to be present, was asked, how it happened, that their Missionaries were always backed by their Consul. The reply was an expression of surprise on the part of the American Secretary, and the dry remark, that his Missionaries complained, that the British Missionaries were always backed by the British Consul, while the American Consul refused to interfere.

I have no love for the irrepressible Turk, and I have traversed great parts of Turkey, and studied its system, which is bad, thoroughly bad; yet I cannot excuse Missionaries of gross violation of the first principles of duty of an alien permitted to reside in a foreign country. Neither Russia, Austria, nor France, nor British India, would have tolerated such conduct for an instant. It is an understood principle of International Law, asserted and practised by every Continental Power, that they have a right to eject any foreigner from their country, for reasons best known to themselves. Turkey has the same *de jure*, and some day will be irritated to the necessity of using it.

I visited a celebrated city in Turkey, and found that the Medical Missionary was in great distress, because the Governor had stopped the erection of his new Hospital. I visited it: it was on a lofty hill commanding the town, and had the appearance and reality of a fort, with walls pierced for musquetry, and embrasures for guns. Any hospital built on such a site, and in such a style, in British India, at Banáras, or Amritsar, would have been dismantled at once. In the case of trouble it would have been at once occupied by rebels, and nothing but a siege would take it. And yet the Doctor abused the Turk!

A Missionary Society bought, and got possession of a house with a title open to objections, possibly false, and was sued for ejectment, and cast: the decision was confirmed on appeal. Letters were written to London, and a certain benevolent Nobleman was induced to write letters to the Ambassador at

Constantinople : he brought a pressure on the Sublime Porte : orders were issued by the Executive to the Provincial Court to cancel the order. I have been many years a Judge in an Oriental Country, and felt ashamed of my countrymen. The humblest Native Judge in British India would decline to alter his decree to please the Executive authorities.

I have already in Part II. called attention to the question of Schools in Turkey. Clearly a Sovereign-State has the control of its own Educational Department. Austria, Russia, France, Germany, and Italy claim for the State the Monopoly of Public Instruction. If Missionaries act with conciliation to the local authorities, they can keep open their Schools, but it is of no use blustering, and claiming under a Treaty a right to open Schools avowedly to convert the Mahometans. I am not quite sure, that even in Free England large Mahometan Schools would survive the popular indignation, if opened avowedly to convert Christians.

Then again as regards the Criminal Law and the Police, the Missionaries are not the Judges, whether the local Governor is just or unjust, and it is a monstrous abuse of the hospitality of a friendly State for a resident alien to give shelter to a man, for whose arrest a warrant had been issued, to conceal him in the Mission-premises, and smuggle him out of the Jurisdiction. Yet such a case is reported with complacency by a Missionary, who thinks that he has done a praiseworthy act. In British India any Missionary, who acted thus, would have found himself next day in prison without benefit of clergy.

My opinion is, that the Missionary should mind his own business, and following the example of St. Paul, keep on good terms with the Powers that rule, whether in British India, China, Japan, or Turkey : he should abstain from writing complaints home, but get access to the local authorities, and get them over to his side by the pleasantness of his bearing, and conversation. Missionaries very rarely quarrel with the authorities in British India, as they are highly valued, and as a rule are reasonable men. The oldest Missionaries never think of complaining : they put up with little inconveniences, and get their way in the long run, when their wishes are reasonable. The difference is well known between the real Gospel-preacher, the simple-hearted Missionary, and the grievance-monger, the spy, who introduces himself into the Military Cantonments, to watch the sad weaknesses of the brave, but thoughtless, British Soldier, the frothy declaimer against the Liquor Shop, and the man, who is always at war with the Education Department. The former are loved, honoured, and always welcome. My first idea of a Missionary was in 1844, when I met, at Ludiána on the Satlaj, good John Newton, of the American Presbyterian Board. I have had my eye on John Newton for forty-four years, and he is at his work still, for I

heard from him only last month. For twenty years I was, as an official, in relation with him, and never heard a complaint from his lips ; but I marked well his consistent Christian walk : there are many others of his stamp, and I wish that all were like them ; but a great deal depends upon the character of the Missionary, the local authority, and the general population. There must be light and shade in the life of Missions, as in the life of man, but a spirit of conciliation, a practical illustration of the principles that are preached, a determination not to depart from the Law of Love, and Discipline of Patience, except under extreme necessity, will work its way at last. If it does not, let us remember, that, in all cases, it will be better to abandon the Mission, at least for a time, rather than to alienate the hearts of the Non-Christians, make Christianity odious in their eyes, and the Missionaries a disgrace to the country, which sends them out.

The Roman Catholic Missionaries (Priests and Nuns), who have now been so many years in hopeless captivity in the Egyptian Sudán, present to us a noble example of constancy, and one, which Protestant Missionaries will do well to take to heart. Like the British Missionaries on Lake Nyassa, they were guilty of the extreme imprudence of settling in the interior of a country, a thousand miles from the sea, in the basin of the Nile, the navigation of which has now been obstructed since the fall of Khartúm, and the block of the Caravan Route to Suákim. No European Power will interfere to save these poor people, though they went under the protection of Consuls. But they are safe under the shadow of the Most High.

JULY, 1888.

V.

RELATION OF MISSIONARIES TO BARBAROUS SOVEREIGNS OR PETTY CHIEFS IN ASIA, AFRICA, AND OCEANIA.

I PASS to the consideration of those non-Christian countries, which lie outside the limits of European Authority. The Missionary enters these with his life in his hand. He passes beyond all the immediate, or indirect, protection of any European Government. If he fall by the hand of the bandit, or assassin, no demand for reparation can be made. If plundered of his property, he can hope for no redress. If imprisoned, he can only hope for liberty by means of friendly interference, or payment of ransom. Worldly men would look on in greater admiration and astonishment at such self-devotion, if it were not patent to all observers, that the Traveller, the Man of Commerce, the Man of Science, the mere Adventurer, the great Hunter of Wild Beasts, had done the same in all Climes, and at all periods of History. But the majority of these last are birds of passage, and pass on, leaving no trace behind them.

The Missionary, on the other hand, seeks to make the country his home, to occupy land, erect buildings, and found a new Society among the indigenous population. Herein lies the great difference betwixt the Missionary, and any other subjects of European Governments, in non-Christian countries. The object of the Missionary is soon discovered to be, to a certain extent, subversive of existing institutions; he is indeed founding a new Polity, and propagating a new Idea. He offends the ignorant lower classes by denying the sanctity of what they have hitherto deemed sacred. He alarms the ruling classes by his strange Communist doctrines, that the lives and possessions of the meanest individual are entitled to protection. He alienates those, who were originally well disposed, by prematurely denouncing Polygamy, and domestic Slavery, ancient customs of the Oriental World, which should be allowed to die out, as they have done in Europe. He does not advance into the country alone,

for he is followed, or preceded, by the trader in fire-arms and spirituous liquors. As soon as a Native Congregation is established, unless he maintains over his feelings a strong restraint, he forgets, that the Kingdom, which he has been preaching, is not of this World, and that his converts are still African subjects of a Native State, and members of an African Community. He forgets, that the African can no more alter the customs of his race, than he can change his skin, and that in his heart of hearts he can see no evil in Polygamy or Slavery. Complications, which already exist to some extent, will be further developed, if the Consular system be introduced, with this anomaly, that, if a British Missionary kill an African, the Queen's warrant will issue against him; but if an African kill a Missionary, nothing can be done. We must face the difficulty. Either the territory, within which the Mission is located, is under some recognized Sovereign, or it is utterly outside any jurisdiction. Let me consider both contingencies.

Of the first case we have an instance in the Protestant Mission of one of our great Societies, and the Roman Catholic Mission of the French, located at Rubága, the capital of the King of U-Gánda, on the Victoria Nyanza. Unquestionably this Sovereign rules over a constituted State, with the will and power to enforce his orders. Both Missions have, apparently with a want of worldly wisdom, placed themselves and their property, and their Missionary prospects, in the hands of this Potentate, who undoubtedly has a contempt for human life, and is guided by no law beyond his own will. We have two sets of documents, which furnish unmistakable evidence of the unsatisfactory state of affairs, and of the utter absence of any fixed policy upon the part of the responsible heads of both Missions. *Les Missions Catholiques*, a weekly paper published at Lyons, and *The Record and Intelligencer* of the Church Missionary Society, abundantly enable us, in this matter, to form a judgment. The Roman Catholic Missionaries brought out most unsuitable presents to the King, viz. warlike weapons and trappings: the Protestant Missionaries allowed themselves at one time to be employed in repairing instruments of war. Both parties condescended, in the presence of non-Christians, to discuss the abstruse tenets of their respective systems, thus exposing Christianity upon its weakest flank. They have been established ten years.

It need cause no great surprise, if the priests, and conservative classes, of a country long left in spiritual darkness, should be opposed to the introduction of light coming in an unexplained way from an unknown country, and delivered by untrained and unskilled messengers, with an imperfect knowledge of the language. What are we to think of Rifles, Revolvers, and one thousand rounds of Ball-cartridge being part of the outfit of a

Christian Missionary to Africa in 1880? Will no experience make us wiser? Mr. McCarthy, of the Inland Mission, walked through China unarmed, and passed among its people uninjured and uninsulted. It need excite no astonishment, if the Arabs, or rather Arabic-speaking Mahometan natives of Eastern Africa, resent the intrusion into their domains of Christians preaching against Slavery and Polygamy. The pages of Livingstone, Stanley, Cameron, and Schweinfurth, amply testify, that the Arabs have behaved, on the whole, remarkably well to the Christian Traveller and Missionary. But they would be more than mortals, if they submitted without a struggle to the avowed enemies of their religion, commerce, and domestic habits. The Mission to the Victoria Nyanza presents a problem of extreme difficulty, and imperatively demands in the Missionary gifts of the highest order. More, perhaps, than anywhere else, are needed here, a spirit of entire self-sacrifice, a fixed policy of doing, or abstaining from doing, a sublime patience, the wisdom of the serpent joined to the harmlessness of the dove, and a complete control of both tongue and temper, and a single eye to the spread of the Gospel. Many of these graces have been entirely wanting. Precious lives have been lost: some by the hand of the assassin, some by disease; the complications of the fate of Emin Pasha, the Expedition of Henry Stanley, the Exploration of Joseph Thomson, the colonial ambition of Germany, have all added to the difficulty of the problem, which has often been aggravated by the want of judgment of the agents. Periods of great affliction and persecution, and spoiling of goods, have had to be passed through, and the labour of many years, and the enormous outlay, appear like handfuls of sand cast into the Equatorial Lake. Still, by the Grace of God and the constancy, of one man, the Fort has been held, and the Mission is *there*.

The King of U-Ganda is of Galla extraction, ruling over Bántu subjects. His kingdom is just on the dividing-line of four distinct races, the Hamitic, Negro, Nuba, and Bántu. He had heard, no doubt, that the Christian King of Abyssinia had turned all the European Missionaries out of his country, that the Empire of the Turks, which once touched, and threatened to swallow up, his dominions, had in some way disappeared beyond his horizon; but rumours reach him from the North of the movements of Emin Pasha, and of one greater than him, the great "stone-crusher," Stanley, who years ago visited Rubága. From the South his Semite, or Semitized, Arab guests tell him of the occupation of the whole country South and East of the Lake by the Germans and British: he is aware, that arms and gunpowder are becoming very plentiful, and that European liquor is beginning to be not unknown. He connects these phenomena, and not illogically, with the Missionaries. He has already killed a Bishop,

and he cannot understand, how such an act can be pardoned: he thinks rather, that vengeance would have been taken, if vengeance had been possible. The murder of a white man is an evil in itself, because, if unnoticed, it encourages a repetition of the offence. The tiger has tasted blood.

Some sympathy with, and even pity for, an African Sovereign should be felt by those, who have had experience in rule. He feels, that he is being somehow eaten up; he has to deal with a danger, the extent of which he cannot understand. The farmer of North Africa cannot cope with the flights of locusts and crickets, which eat him up: the African Chief is in the same plight. He demands presents and services of various kinds, but he finds, to his astonishment, that his wives and his pages are taking up new moral and religious ideas, positively or negatively disobeying his wishes: his advisers give him insidious advice, while his habits of intemperance make him unfit for serious counsel. If he could only read the European newspapers, he would find, that the Missionaries, his guests, describe him as a living monster, and say all manner of unkind things about his personal habits, his morals, and public policy: possibly the Arabs at Zanzibár do send him some extracts of these reports, which in a garbled form are communicated to him, and madden him.

The Missionaries are of necessity extremely young men; and totally unversed in public affairs: nor are they men of learning, or power, or high education: they are constantly changing, and quarrelling with each other: of the two main divisions, the French are ready to say an evil word against the British, and the British warn the King against the French and their doctrines: this is another cause of wonder and confusion, and both parties speak of the policy of the third, the German, with condemnation. The demand for "Hongo" is a source of endless trouble. It is at once a transit-duty, and an Income-Tax, and, if a reasonable amount is properly levied, there can be no manner of complaint, for the transit-duty is in return for the roads being kept open to travellers, and the Income-Tax is the lawful return to the Supreme Power for Protection of Life and Property. In all Oriental countries, notably British India, exchange of Presents, or payment of tolls, is part of the understood machinery of intercourse. But the difficulty arises, when the claim is unreasonable, excessive, and pressed in a hostile manner. The Missionary must submit to it: the only remedy is to take as little property with him as possible, and tempt the cupidity of the Native Chief as little as possible. It is a difficulty which must be faced, and which may possibly compel the enterprize to be abandoned. Under no possible circumstances should arms, or ammunition, or liquors, form part of these presents: in fact, the Missionary should not have such things to offer.

In the *Illustrated Catholic Missions*, the organ of the Bishop of Salford, February, 1888, p. 153, appears an article headed, "The Gospel and the Sword," which marks a new departure in Mission-work. It suggests, that the Missionary should arm his converts, so that they may be able to defend their rights against their Heathen Sovereign and fellow-countrymen. He quotes with approbation the policy of the Jesuits in Paraguay, who conducted military operations against the Portuguese. Thirty or forty Native Christians, trained and armed with repeating rifles, would be a force, which no native potentate or slaver would dare to molest. In the May number, p. 6, it is admitted, that U-Ganda is the region, in which this new departure is proposed; a Member of the Church Militant, from Colorado in America, offers to subscribe one hundred dollars, and is of opinion, that the great work of *converting* and *civilizing* the heathen will not be accomplished until the suggestion of the "Gospel and Sword" be carried out in a practical manner. At the great meeting in May of the Manchester Geographical Society, in my address I called the particular attention of a Roman Catholic dignitary, who was present, to this really abominable proposal of Missionary-buccaneering, and entire departure from Gospel-precept: "they that take the sword shall perish by the sword." The policy would lead to the extermination of the few Christians, and the slaughter of the Missionary, his wife, children, and followers. It is quite possible, that the Sectaries of one denomination would attack the other, and the Jesuit Priest would shoot the Protestant Minister. The ill-omened Mission in Paraguay has long since passed away. In the July number the Editor again returns to the subject, justifies it, but would not have the Christian Missionaries become Military Chiefs, and adds a condition, which at once places the suggestion outside of practical politics, that "the sanction of the respective Governments of the Missionaries be obtained." After the lesson taught to the British Nation by the fate of Gordon at Khartúm, it is not likely, that letters of marque will be issued to British Missionaries in Central Equatorial Africa. Unless the accounts of the fearful massacre of Native Christians in Tonquin by their enraged Sovereign is merely a device to collect subscriptions, the policy of the Roman Catholics in that country is a warning against the policy of the "Gospel and the Sword."

Wherever therefore there is a recognized Sovereign of a State, it is the duty of the Preacher of the Gospel, as of the Merchant and the Traveller, to submit to the laws of that State, or to leave it. St. Peter's utterances are very clear on this subject (I. ii. 13): "Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the King, or unto Governors." The Missionary forgets, that he is the intruder, and that, if his

entry be opposed, or his remaining rendered impossible, it may be a leading of Providence that he should retire. It is very objectionable, that he should be invested with any Secular power, such as that of Vice-Consul, or Magistrate, or Judge: he should appear solely as Christ's Ambassador, and put away the haughtiness of the Briton, and put on a little more of the meekness and humility of a Christian: it is to be feared, that Christian men do not always do Christian work in a Christian way. Patience and Humility are not ordinary graces of the young Briton in Asia or Africa.

On the South Coast of Victoria Nyanza, in the region stretching Westward to Lake Tangányika, and Southward to the Zambézi, there are no great Kings, but a great many Chiefs, some of whom, like Mirambo, Mandara, and Matáka, are well known to readers of Missionary periodicals. Hongo is of course the first difficulty: a regular supply of necessaries the second: permission to teach the third. In some portions of this vast Region two new elements of confusion arise: the invasion of professional plunderers of Zulu extraction, from beyond the Zambézi, but known by many local names; a kind of Adullamites, whose numbers are recruited by the outlaws of each tribe; and secondly the organized Caravans, or Settlements, of Arab Slave-dealers. In the midst of such a Region no less than five British Missions are working, as well as the Roman Catholics, and it is well to consider, without favour, or prejudice, and as fearlessly as impartially, the tremendous difficulties of the positions occupied, and to notice with sincerity and faithfulness, the dangers, the errors, and the temptations, of the environment.

The object of the promoters of these Missions is to locate a Christian colony in the very heart of a savage heathendom, to gather round a small number of European Missionaries, both lay and ordained, a Christian Family, which should develope into a Christian Village, and expand into a Christian Community, supporting itself by honest industry, living a Christian life, and destined to hand on the Lamp of Life further and further over the Dark Continent. This is clearly a policy of aggression against Paganism, Islám, Slavery, and Polygamy; against violent crimes, abominable habits, and bloody customs; it is a struggle for dear life between the most exalted form of Christian Culture, and Savagery, between the Gospel on the one hand, and Cruelty, Lawlessness, and Idolatry upon the other. The good men, engaged in this contest, asked no leave of their own Sovereign, or of foreign Potentates: they appealed to no Treaty; if one of their number falls, they have to bury him, and lift up their eyes to the Lord, and go on, hoping that their cry might not be in vain for fresh recruits to fill the vacant places. But the difficulty of their position cannot be ignored. It is likely to increase, as they grow more settled, and to become more urgent as their

numbers multiply. Rural wealth will accumulate, comforts of all kinds will multiply, and the plunderer will have to be kept at bay. They are sorely tempted, in spite of the prohibition of the Parent Committee, to make their Settlement a refuge to the poor slave: they cannot turn away a poor footsore woman, with marks of a flogging on her naked back, accompanied by starving children. They are in a frightful dilemma, and their heart influences their judgment.

This implies *Defensive Warfare*. When men congregate together, the necessity of some kind of Police, and of some sort of Magisterial Power, to protect the weak from the strong, and the honest man from the thief, will be absolutely necessary. In the case of a new colony of men of the same race, those public offices would be conferred by election. But, where the community consists of an aggregate of runaway slaves and converted Africans, in the lowest state of culture, it is simply indispensable that those, who brought them together, should assume controlling power. Such has ever been the origin of all Political Society. Missionary Bodies must boldly face the difficulty thus encountered, and treat their Settlements, as the decks of a ship in the open sea. They must authorize in these cases one of their Lay Agents to introduce a system of police, and a scale of punishment, the chief of which last should be expulsion from the Community. Punishment by death should not even be allowed to be discussed, as inconsistent with the position of a Missionary, but slight fines, moderate chastisement of youthful male offenders with a rattan, brief imprisonment in the stocks in some open space, and expulsion, must be recognized as lawful under the circumstances. If any member of the Community is guilty of a homicide, which in a civilized country would amount to murder, such a person must be expelled from the Community, but nothing more. In the hard necessity of a Defensive War, to protect life and honour, life may be sacrificed; but it may safely be laid down, that without the warrant of his Sovereign, no Briton can under any other circumstances take away the life even of the blackest Criminal. Neither would it be expedient to invest the Head of such a Mission with Consular Powers. This would cut both ways. The Queen of Great Britain will not entrust such powers, except under certain conditions, and, as the death of a Consul is an international wrong, such conditions would no doubt hamper the freedom of the Mission, or might lead, for political reasons, to its entire withdrawal at a moment, when Missionary prospects were perhaps the brightest. The Missionaries would be impeded rather than assisted by such powers, for they come under the head of an appeal to the Arm of the Flesh. Any such appeal will involve a Mission in a sea of difficulties. Great judgment would have to be used in

the exercise of the powers above described as lawful. Many an offender must be allowed to escape, as the least of two evils.

Those, who know the country, state, that there is no "No man's land," and that a Chieftain is always forthcoming. He must be encouraged, supported, and advised to maintain his authority. But here other difficulties arise: their crimes are not our crimes, their view of right and wrong is not our view, their rules of evidence are not ours, their forms of punishment are not ours. A Native Rájá in the Panjáb used to hamstring all thieves caught in the act of theft. In some countries adulterers are emasculated. In the narrative of an expedition up the Nile I read, that some British travellers made over a thief to the local Pasha; but when they discovered what the punishment was to be, they all went with tears to recall their charge, and beg for the criminal's liberty. Thus it is seen, that there is great danger in making over a case to a Native Chief. Reckless of the life of the poor, they have no discrimination in trial or judgment.

But this presupposes an environment of peaceful savages, but the Slave-dealer, and the Zulu Robber, disturb that peace. The Missionary, if left alone, has the bitter task of seeing a friendly village laid waste, and its inhabitants killed, or carried off, and dares not, *and ought not to* interfere. So long as no one attacks his ship, he has no warrant to attack another ship with a view of protecting a third. If he does, he runs the risk of being defeated, and sharing the ruin, or being a conqueror stained with blood, or encumbered with prisoners in fetters. How can Gospel-preaching be carried on under such conditions?

A further complication arises, when, independent of, yet in strict alliance with, the Missionaries, good and honourable European traders are occupied in a legitimate commerce, strictly excluding arms, ammunition, and liquor, and become the objects of attack from the Slave-dealer, or the Brigand, who covet possession of his wares, and whose trade he interferes with. Can the Missionary look calmly on the murder, and plunder, of his secular friend? Can he, on the other hand, as a servant of Christ, take part in actual warfare? It has transpired, that such Traders have a supply of handcuffs or fetters on board: this seems to imply that they usurp authority to imprison: it is hinted, that they intend to entertain armed followers: this looks like War, and Commercial Filibustering.

The situation of affairs on the Lake Nyassa is very complicated, and it is difficult to define what a Missionary should do, or should not. We may place the difficulty with the Portuguese on one side: there is no doubt, that the freedom of navigation of the River Zambési will be secured. The difficulty is as regards

the Arabs, who are described as Slave-dealers, and are in fact quite as much aliens on the Shores of the Lake, as the British Missionaries. But the three Societies, whose interests are affected, do not state distinctly, what they desire, or do not realize what the gratification of those desires means. There are four objects placed before the public, only one of which, in my opinion, concerns them as Missionaries, the first.

I. Evangelization of the Heathen.

The other three may, or may not, be desirable, but they have no necessary, or lawful, connection with Missionary operations.

II. Abolition of the Slave-trade.

III. Expansion of Lawful Commerce.

IV. Enlargement of the British sphere of Influence, Protectorate, or Dominions.

Then there are several schemes suggested for the purpose of attaining these objects :

I. The placing under the British sphere of Influence, or Protectorate, the Basin of the Lake Nyassa.

II. The despatch of an armed force of British Soldiers to conquer and occupy the Region, as in the analogous case of Barma in British India. This would make the whole of the British Empire, its army, and resources, responsible for the success of the enterprize. Is it worth it? Is the game worth the candle?

III. The enlisting of armed men by the Mercantile Company, who own the steamers: these would wage open war with the Arabs: they might, or might not, be victorious: in neither case would the British Empire be affected; but the Men of God would be sadly affected in the eyes of the Natives by their contact with the Men of the Sword, and it would be very difficult to distinguish one from the other.

Every one of these schemes belongs to the category of the Arm of the Flesh, and a Christian Missionary should keep clear of all. Success by such means would be more dangerous to their blessed work than defeat. I repeat what I said at the Conference at Manchester in their presence, that I would sooner see Livingstonia destroyed, and the Missionaries swept out of the Lake Region, than to have the Gospel preached with the aid and support of Rifles, and in a blood-stained Region. The Missionaries seem to take a low view of their high office, when they press upon the Government and the Public the fact, that they have sunk so many thousand pounds in the enterprize: this smacks more of Commerce than of Gospel-preaching. At how many thousand pounds can we value one saved soul? Lord Salisbury cynically replied to the Deputation, that against the Arabs he could undertake to promise no help whatsoever, but that

the Europeans on the Lake *might fight themselves, without risking the prestige of the British Empire*: this showed a very inadequate perception of the holy position and duty of a Christian Missionary. There can be no manner of blessing on work conducted under such conditions, no chance of preaching and teaching among a willing population. The Swedish Missionaries have had to leave Abyssinia: they had no Consuls or Ships to bully the Negus with: the British Missionaries must, if needs be, leave the Nyassa. The occupation of these African Lakes, so far in the Interior, was a gallant feat, but not a prudent enterprize. A sound Military or Commercial undertaking would have commenced with a basis on the Coast, and worked inwards with supporting stations.

Such phrases as the following do not read well in a religious Periodical:

It would be utterly intolerable, that all our vast outlay in men and money, in stations and steamers, in languages reduced, and a hundred and one kindred labours, should be strangled body and soul, to suit the convenience of Portugal.

And again:

It was extremely likely, that the Arabs would be very troublesome to the Mission, unless *the influence of the Government could be brought to bear, so as to restrain them.*

Now what can this mean but an appeal to the Arm of the Flesh?

And this is written with regard to a Mission, whose magnificent work is nearly entirely within the territories of the Sultan of Zanzibár, and the German Emperor, with only a few outside Stations and one steamer at the most, and a few agents on Lake Nyassa, and I am aware of only a single Lake-language having been reduced by them for the purposes of their Gospel-work to the Lake-tribes.

I am afraid of not stating the case of the Missionaries with sufficient clearness, so I quote extracts from Reports:

The Church, with which he was connected, had a Mission in the Nyassa country. The experience of its Missionaries was the same as that of other Europeans, viz. that the question was, whether the Arab or the European was to rule in Central Africa. Were the principles of Christianity or the principles of Mahometanism, with its system of reckless waste of human life, and licensed robbery, to guide that unhappy country? He thought all those acquainted with the state of affairs in East Central Africa would say, that all those who had the power, and were exercising the power there, were the Arabs. Those who had got most benefit, if benefit it could be called, from the discoveries of European Travellers, were the Arabs of Zanzibár, who had acted in a most atrocious way. The British Government would do exactly what the public opinion of this country led them to do, and the object of the present Meeting was that of educating public opinion on the subject. They did not want a British armed force in Nyassa-Land, but they wanted that the enemies of man-

kind, the slave-raiders, might be kept from molesting and killing the people, whom the Missionaries went to bless.

The real question at issue is, and we cannot set this up too clearly before us, "Is Arab and Mahometan influence, or is English and German and Christian influence, to prevail in this country?" Are we to stand by and see Mahometanism carried by fire and sword through Central Africa, and every Christian Mission and Christian influence, established by peaceful means and at immense cost of men and money, isolated, paralyzed, and destroyed? It seems to some that England has been sufficiently humbled at Zanzibár. Surely we are not going to offer the spectacle to Europe of Lake Nyassa, discovered by English enterprize, on which subjects of Britain, alone of European Powers, have settled for purposes of trade or the higher purposes of religion, surely we are not going to abandon Lake Nyassa to the Arabs and the desolations of the Slave-trade.

One very distinguished member of a governing body openly recommended British annexation: another headed a contribution to a leading Paper, "How to Fight the Slave-Trade."

Every Missionary disclaimed any wish for the Arm of the Flesh, and yet I read the following lines, wondering what they mean :

There had been great troubles on the Lake recently. The Arabs seemed to be getting tired of the restraint, which the presence of white people placed upon them, and they had made an attack on the station of the Lakes' Company. He trusted that the powerful Government of England would not so far forget its duty as to refuse to come to their aid. *He did not want any force to be used on behalf of the Missionaries.* The Missionaries knew the dangers of the life, which they had chosen, they held their lives in their hands, and if any of them were killed, he should not wish for a moment, that there should be anything like revenge or force used. But at least they might ask to be free from the *interference* of European Powers like the Portuguese, and from the people who came from Zanzibár, and who could have pressure put upon them through that Government.

Had half the insult therein detailed been offered thirty years ago to this Nation, or a tithe of the injury done to our fellow-subjects, a British Fleet with an Ultimatum would have been in Lisbon Harbour in four days.

It is settled beyond recalling, that whether it be at Lukoma, Bandawé, or Blantyre, our Missionaries must not look for "Protection" in the African acceptation of the word; nor do we think that there are many amongst them, who would wish it otherwise. Such as they go thither to experience to the full the wondrous Providence of day by day, and the clear vision is not withheld from them. The *smoke of a gunboat* under steam would leave a long trail across the landscape in such scenes, hard to harmonize!

In the Annual Report of the Free Church of Scotland for 1888 I read as follows: The Foreign Missions Committee (of both Churches) unite in asking the British Government

To declare Nyassa-land a sphere of British influence.

The French Jesuit Priests could not be more distinct in their utterance.

The Secretary of the Scottish Geographical Society, from his point of view, naturally thinks, that if the Trading Company *and the Mission* are to flourish on the Lake, it is evident that some

strong guarantee must be furnished to them of their independent position. I take the liberty of replying that, rising from a survey of the Missions of the world, I cannot find, that the blessed work of preaching the Gospel can be lumped together with bales of calico, and Manchester goods, or brought home to the heart of the Heathen by Elephant Rifles and armed Steamers, and I am quite sure, that no one will more heartily echo these sentiments than the excellent British Missionaries on both sides of the Nyassa at this time.

How thankful we ought to be that such men as Dr. Crosse, and Mr. Johnson, were the Missionaries on the spot on either side of the Lake, belonging to different denominations, but with the same appreciation of their duties. Dr. Crosse writes :

I am very much concerned at what action I should take in this affair. Up till now I have been entirely free from fighting. I am inclined to take this position, offering my services as a Surgeon, but refusing to fight unless the Mission Station is attacked. I will take no action in offensive measures.

Mr. Johnson submitted patiently to personal indignities, and tells his tale in a Christian spirit, worthy of all admiration. The example of the sufferings of his Lord and Master had not been lost on him. Both these excellent men showed true valour and sound judgment. The natives hereafter will tell of their conduct with love and reverence. For His sake and the Gospel they retained their self-control under tremendous provocation.

It is all very well to say, that Livingstone's great object by occupying the Lake Nyassa was to cut the Slave Trade into two, and paralyze it : well and good, but the Preacher of the Gospel is not sent out to attack Slave-dealers by force of arms : his duty is to trust in God, and keep the Mission free from all non-Missionary entanglements, whether of Commerce, or War, or opposition to the Slave Trade. Rebuffs, delays, disappointments, personal assault, loss of property, inconveniences, insults, should be taken patiently for the Lord's sake, and are so taken in many countries by many holy men. If life, liberty, and female honour are in jeopardy, recourse must be had to the Civil Power, or, failing that, to God's blessing on personal endeavours. It is all very well to talk of a Mission-village being the Nucleus of a State : it is really only the leaven of a State founded for secular purposes, and the Missionary should never lose sight of the simple Evangelical character of his enterprize. The remarks of the Prime Minister, in June, 1888, must have dissipated the last idea of any interference of the State in the Lake Regions, which are beyond the sphere of British Influence :

The only note in my noble friend's speech that jarred on my ear was, when he seemed to point to action, which means military action, on the part of England to assure the possession to these communities of Lake Nyassa. Has he really formed any idea of the task he is laying out for the Government of

this country? If he proposes to send an expedition, which can subdue all this territory, according to our ideas of how expeditions should be organized and what they should cost, I think he would find, that the expedition to Egypt of a few years ago would melt into the faintest insignificance compared with the task, to which he has invited this country. I will not use any language to encourage the belief, that the Government will make any attempt by military action *to support the commercial and religious efforts of the Missionaries there. It is not our duty to do it.* We should be risking tremendous sacrifices for a very doubtful gain. It is one of those tasks, which must be and will be carried through by the individual Englishmen, who have undertaken it. All that the Government can do on the sea-coast, all that we can do diplomatically within the sphere of political efforts in this country, we will do. But we are certain, that we should only injure instead of promoting these great civilized and Missionary efforts, if we were to convert them into a cause of war, of war the most exhausting, the most terrible, the least remunerative in any sense; war with the countless savages who fill these Territories. Because it is not a Civilized Power, with which we have to fight; it is a collection of all the scum of humanity, that is found over that vast Territory, which is governed principally by Arabs of the sort, with whom we have dealt in the Sudán, who combine the grossest cruelty with a species of fanaticism. We must leave the dispersal of this terrible army of wickedness to the gradual advance of Civilization and Christianity, which in these countries, though slow, seems now to be sure.

“Sphere of Influence” is a grand new word, coined in the last three years, something more hazy than a Protectorate, and a Protectorate does not create any responsibilities on the part of the Protector. Let me follow out the subject. On Lake Tangányika there are, as on Victoria Nyanza, two Missions, a French, and a British. Already, as detailed in Part II. p. 33, two Frenchmen have been killed by the tribes; but the Mission is still at work. The British Mission has a Steamer on the Lake. Evil days may be at hand. Tipu Tib, and his scoundrels, may find Stanley Falls and Nyangwe too hot to hold them, and fall back on Tangányika, and we may find the features described on the Nyassa Lake repeated, and the British Missionary crying out for British protection, and the French Missionary for French protection. And when we penetrate further into the interior, we find a small party of gallant French Protestants holding their own among the Ba-Rotsi on the Upper Zambési, beyond all human help, and yet not afraid. Beyond them is young Arnott, an Englishman, alone, among the Garaganja, a tribe dimly known from the reports of the traveller Cameron. If once the precedent is set of Missionary Societies, as in this case, pressing on European Governments to extend their sphere of influence for the sake of Missionaries, where will it end?

There is another danger. When a country is annexed, as Barma, the British Government introduces its system of management, and is responsible for the protection of aliens. In a Protectorate the responsibility is less, but the protected chiefs are ordered to pay compensation. In a “sphere of influence” no responsibility is claimed, or admitted. It is merely a device of

one great European Nation to keep other European Nations out. In the British Sphere of Influence on the Niger and in Yorubaland horrible crimes are committed, like Cannibalism, and Human Sacrifices, Crimes against human nature. Year by year I report the cases, which come to my notice, to the Foreign Office: the reply always is, that it cannot be helped. In the Report of the German East African Missionary Society, which reached me to-day, I read how the Agents of the German Missionary Society at Neukirchen had settled at Ngao within the Sphere of British Influence, West of Mombása, to evangelize the Wa-Pokómo. They were building their houses and forming a village, when the wild Somáli fell upon them. They had to fly for their lives to the Station of the British United Methodists, and everything which they had was robbed and burnt: they had lost everything, and were even in want of food. Have they any claim on the British Government? None: two years ago two Missionaries of the British United Methodists were killed North of Mombása within the sphere of British influence, and they have no claim; and no meetings were assembled at Manchester, Glasgow, or London, and no agitation made to Government for revenge or protection. Two British Missions, and one French Mission, are located within the sphere of German influence in East Africa. If any evil falls upon them, the German Government will disclaim all responsibility. It is as well, that Missionary Societies should understand this.

It is thoroughly understood, that a British Missionary will not use physical force, except to defend life and female honour; but it is not quite so clearly understood by those, who have not studied the subject, that, if a particular policy is followed, the Missionary will find himself in a very difficult position: if he lives on intimate terms with traders, gets his supplies from them, associates with them, takes counsel with them, and *they fight*, the Natives will certainly not acquit them of complicity, and lookers-on in Great Britain, and France, and Germany, will scarcely do so either. Missions have often been given up temporarily or for ever, and it is no discredit. The British Missions at U-Gánda may be compelled to retire, after having been maintained more than ten years at a cost exceeding one hundred thousand pounds: if there is a lion in the path, what can the servant of the Lord do? If the door is shut, who can open it? Abyssinia is a standing example. I am on the Committee of the London Society to the Jews, and of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and am well acquainted with the circumstances of the Swedish Mission, and remember how Krapf and Gobat and Isenberg had to abandon the country, and seek other openings. Such may be the fate of the Nyassa Missions: anything better than bloodshed. I think so strongly, as for fifteen years I lived

in the midst of Annexations, Protectorates, Rebellions, Mutinies, bloodshed on the field of battle, hanging on the gallows. These dreadful things are forced upon us by political circumstances. God forbid, that a Missionary should be the cause, or that he should bring a sword instead of the Gospel.

My note-book supplies a sad account of the different policy adopted in Oceania. I quote it as a warning. In 1865 Sir W. Wiseman, Commodore, in the Ship "Curaçoa," cannonaded villages in the Islands of the New Hebrides, because they had taken the liberty of ejecting one Missionary, and been rude to another. It is shocking to think, that on both occasions the Missionary was present on board, and begged the Commodore to spare his school-house. We do not read of anxiety expressed for the women and children. The matter was taken up by the Governing Board of the Mission, and a severe censure passed on the Missionary, who was himself killed on the Island soon after. In the narrative of the cruise of the "Curaçoa," published in 1875, the story is told by an eye-witness. The Mission ought to have been abandoned, rather than bring a Ship of War against the Island.

It is of no use denying that the arrogance, and self-assertion, of the great Anglo-Saxon race on both sides of the Atlantic exhibits itself as markedly, and as unamiably, in their Missionaries as in their Merchants, Soldiers, Travellers, and Officials. How would a Swedish, or Swiss, Mission have fared on Lake Nyassa? And yet they are the Ambassadors of Christ. We have only to try to imagine St. Paul in his trouble being protected by the United States Man-of-War "Essex," or by Consul O'Neil in the "Ilála." How different does his description of the labours of an Evangelist read from those of the modern Missionary, as reflected in the side-lights thrown upon it in the Debates of the British Parliament, or the Conferences of British Geographical Societies? What have "British Interests," as such, to do with Christ's Gospel, which existed long before, and which will out-live, the power and greatness of the Anglo-Saxon? Such a policy as the one, which I have denounced, and which all good Missionaries denounce, must make Missionaries odious to the races, among whom they work: it has made the name of the French Missionary stink in every quarter of the World, to which French ships can get near. I appeal to all the Churches to resist the insidious evil: it destroys the character of the Missionary to hear him state, that his Society has invested so much capital in this Region, or that, as if he had taken shares in a Joint-Stock Company, and call upon his Government to get him compensation. I wonder how much capital during the last century the London Missionary Society invested in the Society Islands and the Loyalty Islands: to the eye of man it seems all lost by French

occupation ; yet it has been well spent, as the most profitable of all investments is the purchase of hundreds of redeemed souls. If the Government were weak, and the pressure of the Missionary Society were strong, the country might be goaded on into Protectorates, Annexations, or Military Expeditions, to end as miserably as that of Gordon at Khartúm. When the Government turns a cold shoulder on the Missionary, it is so much the better for his cause. We should think more of Columba, Columbanus, Aidan, St. Gall, and Boniface, and their methods : we belong to the same stock : they had no Arm of the Flesh to help them, and yet they converted a great portion of Europe.

JULY, 1888.

VI.

RELIGIOUS TOLERATION.

WHAT is it? Something which we all claim for ourselves, but *which many* deny to others. Something which each person interprets in a sense, which fits his own views. Roman Catholics would, if they could, deny it to Protestantism. Protestants of the High Church would deny it to those, who do not conform to their views. Nonconformists would deny it to particular classes of Christian believers: all Christian believers are ready to deny it to Unbelievers. If the penalties are no longer Death on the Stake, Imprisonment, or Spoliation of Goods, the want of Toleration shows itself in denial of privileges, exclusion from offices, and social ostracism. Even good men allow themselves to do and say what is entirely contrary to true Toleration. Let me try and make my views clear as regards Heathen and Mahometan.

There is no necessity to be lax in Religious convictions, and hang loosely to any Church, in order to be all things to all men: that is not true Toleration, but only Indifferentism, or contemptuous disdain. A Christian must be tolerant to the Mahometan, the Hindu, the Buddhist, the Pagan: he must be tolerant of bad customs, bad habits, bad words, bad deeds, bad sentiments: he must be tolerant in what he says and what he does. It is more consonant to a Christian frame of mind to be so. And it specially becomes a Missionary to be so. The surer a man is of his own convictions, the more tolerant will he be of the conscientious convictions of others.

Let me consider the "State" first.

If there is an entire disappearance of *bond-fide* persecution, and torture, and murder, on the part of Religionists in power, it is mainly, because their claws have been clipped, and the spirit of the age has been changed. It would have been impossible for Servétus to have been burnt alive in this century: still Austria, and such like Powers, make the position of Protestants very uncomfortable. In Spain there is a good deal of caprice. Even

in constitutional countries on the Continent there is a necessity for licensing and notice to the Police, and disabilities of one kind or another, which is deplorable.

In Russia circumstances are somewhat different. There is no objection to Bible Distribution, nor do the Priests object to the Bible. Religious liberty is allowed to the Lutheran subjects, but that liberty does not include facilities for proselytising, nothing of that kind can be allowed in Russia. "Never will Russia allow the Orthodox Church to be robbed of its children. Russia's sacred duty is to keep from the Orthodox Church all that can menace her security." The Roman Catholics complain bitterly of disabilities in Poland. Dissenters from the Orthodox Church have to reckon on a good deal of persecution. Jews are grossly ill-treated. Severe punishment falls upon offenders against the Protectionist laws of the Orthodox Church. Only two years ago an agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society, a Protestant Armenian, occupied in translating the Scriptures, was banished with his wife and children from Tiflis to Orenburg, where he is permitted to continue his duties. In their attempts to convert the Non-Christian inhabitants of Central Asia they conduct their operations in the Russian language, and the literature, which they publish, is in that language, totally unintelligible to the ignorant men, women, and children.

The Sultan of Turkey appears to advantage, when contrasted with his Christian neighbour. The Christian inhabitants have for more than a century enjoyed full toleration, under the guarantee of the great Powers of Europe, and Protestant Missionaries have full licence to proselyte them : but up to the time of the Crimean War in theory, if not practice, a Mahometan, if he became a Christian, suffered death. It seems incredible, that the great Powers of Europe should have submitted so long to such an insult to their Faith.

The following letter, dated February 12, 1856, of Fuad Pasha to the British Ambassador at Constantinople, defines the existing law :

The official communications, made formerly by your Excellency, both in writing and verbally, upon the subject of religious matters, have been taken into minute consideration. The important and friendly services, which the Porte has at all times, and more particularly of late, experienced on the part of her illustrious Allies, the English and other Governments, are appreciated in the highest degree by His Majesty the Sultan, and the feeling of gratitude inspired by them will remain for ever impressed upon the heart of the Ottoman Nation. In addition to the sincere desire entertained by the Porte to meet as far as possible the friendly representations of her Allies by satisfactory measures, she is also well acquainted with the spirit of the age, and she hastens accordingly, with the Imperial sanction, to communicate the decision adopted regarding the above point. In consequence, the assurances formerly given to the British and French Governments with reference to the question of *Renegades* are at present renewed, and confirmed afresh, while an additional assurance is

declared and made known, that the terms of the decision at that time adopted will be held *absolutely to comprise all Renegades*. It is sincerely hoped, that this decision, which is a new and practical proof of the Porte's refraining on all occasions from senselessly thwarting, or opposing measures of a practical character, will meet with the satisfaction of your illustrious Allies.

MEHEMET FUAD.

Lord Stratford de Redcliffe to the Earl of Clarendon.

CONSTANTINOPLE, February 12, 1856.

MY LORD,—I have received from Fuad Pasha the note, which he had promised in reply to my representations and demands, on the subject of religious opinions, and the impunity of renegades. Inclosed herewith is an English translation of it. Your Lordship will perceive, that the Porte acknowledges and confirms its former declaration respecting renegades, and extends it expressly to all, including Musalmans, though not mentioned by name. It is an official note, signed by the Secretary of State, and given expressly with the Sultan's sanction. Taken into consideration with the article recommended by the three Representatives, adopted by the Porte, and inserted in the Sultan's firman invested with the Hatti-Sherif, it may be received, as covering the whole of your Lordship's requisition. If this impression of mine should not be confirmed by Her Majesty's Government, the door is open for a return to the question ; but, if no one is to be molested on account of the religion he professes, and no one to be punished as a renegade, whatever form of faith he denies, I do not see what room there can possibly be for any practical persecutions in future within the limits of the Sultan's Empire. The law of the Korán is not abolished, it is true, respecting renegades, and the Sultan's Ministers affirm, that such a stretch of authority would exceed even his Majesty's legal power. But however that may be, the practical application of it is renounced by means of a public document, and Her Majesty's Government would at any time be justified in complaining of a breach of engagement, if the Porte were to authorize or to permit any exception to its own official declaration. I have, etc.,

STRATFORD DE REDCLIFFE.

This, as far as regards the Empire of Turkey, puts an end to any idea of a Mahometan convert being legally assailed : of course he is still in danger of popular indignation, and social disfavour.

The Empire of China at the extreme East of Asia has for many years been in the same position as the Empire of Turkey on the extreme West. China has also advanced on the course of Toleration, as evidenced by the following Proclamation, one of a series issued in the different Provinces :

Proclamation by Wei, Governor of Cheh-kiang.

In the 3rd Moon of the present year (April, 1886) instructions to the following effect were received from the Tsung-li Yamen :

“ The protection of Christian Chinese being provided for in the Treaties, and friendly relations having now been re-established between China and France, it becomes our duty to draw attention to the Imperial Decree issued in the 7th Moon of the 10th year of Kuang Hsü (August, 1884), which laid down that wherever there was a chapel, proclamations should be issued with a view to securing harmony between the people and the converts.”

At the time of the receipt of this despatch, I gave the necessary directions, but, passing as they would through many hands, there has of course been danger of delay or error in their execution, and a possibility of the proclamation not having been uniformly promulgated.

In respectful furtherance, therefore, of the benevolent intentions of the State, I feel it incumbent on me again to put the matter in plain terms. Know, therefore, all men of whatsoever sort or condition, that the sole object of establishing chapels of the various nationalities is to exhort men to virtue. *Those who embrace Christianity are, as before, Chinese subjects,* and both converts and people should peaceably pursue their calling, and not let mutual jealousies be the cause of strife between them. If cases come before the Courts, the local authority should investigate *them impartially*, having regard only to the merits of the case, and not as to whether the litigant is a convert or not, and should give his decision quickly. Thus neither party will inflict injury on the other, each will pursue in peace and quietude his calling, and the desire of the State, to include in its kindly benevolence the men from afar [foreign Missionaries] equally with its own people, will not, I trust, be frustrated.

From the date of this proclamation, any lawless vagabonds, who make trouble, or stir up strife without a cause, shall be punished with the utmost rigour of the law. No mercy will be shown. So beware !

12th Year of Kuang-Hsü, 9th Moon, 16th Day
(October 13th, 1886).

It is notorious, that this Policy is not the result entirely of enlightenment, or conviction, but of a determination to free the Empire from the overbearing claims of France to be the Protector of all Roman Catholic Christians of whatever nationality. It was proposed at first to place their interest under the protection of the Pope: the French Government resisted this. The Emperor of China, by *declaring Toleration of the Christian Religion, so long as the converts still remained his subjects with no change in their political status*, cuts at the root of the difficulty entirely and for all time. So "per fas et nefas" I can record a distinct progress of Chinese Policy in the right direction.

In the comparatively small and unimportant Kingdom of Japan the same results have been arrived at, but in a more sound, legitimate, and commendable way. The story of the progress of Religious liberty in Japan is one of the most interesting on record. There was no bloodshed, no despatch of gunboats, no threats, or bullying. In 1860 the Missionaries were viewed by the Government with suspicion: the people, though not hostile, were timid. Christianity was dreaded as a pestilential creed, the introducers of which would bring manifold evils on the country. Spies watched the Missionaries. In 1869 a conviction began to grow, that Protestantism was less harmful than either Roman Catholicism, or the Russo-Greek Church, but the law against Christianity was enforced by the authorities. When the new constitution of the Empire was formed, new enactments were posted upon the notice-boards in every town and village, to the effect, that the evil sect, called Christian, is strictly prohibited.

In 1873, all these notifications were withdrawn from the notice-boards: but the people were warned, that the law was not changed. The Central Government had clearly adopted a liberal policy, but the local officials were slow to follow, but eventually all official opposition ceased, and Toleration became virtually complete. Buildings for Christian worship of natives began to be erected: no obstacles were placed in the way of preaching: theatres and large buildings were made use of: Christian literature was handed about by colporteurs.

In 1884, less than twelve years after the removal of the Edicts from the notice-boards, the final step was taken, and the top-stone of the edifice of religious Toleration laid by the issue of notifications in regard to registration and burial. Public Cemeteries were open to all. In fact, heathen Japan arrived at a level of Christian liberty not yet fully attained in some portions of so-called Christian Europe, where the Priests in the name of their Religion still lacerate the feelings of the relatives of the deceased in the bitterest moment of their bereavement. Thus, in Japan, within thirty years of Commodore Perry's first Treaty, and twenty-five years of the opening of the Ports, the last obstacles of Christian liberty were removed, and perfect religious equality was established, without any actual reference to Christianity by name; thus disarming all possible opposition. It must be recollected, that the Representatives of Christian States, and Christian Churches, have, throughout in Japan acted with caution and self-restraint, and thus in a perfectly legitimate manner, by the gradual change of public opinion, under the guidance of enlightened Rulers, by the overruling Grace of God, there has been secured for Japan perfect liberty of conscience in matters of Religion. Many different Missionary Societies are at work, but a gradual consolidation of Churches is in progress: the whole Bible has been translated, and perfect harmony is maintained.

It need scarcely be stated, that the whole of British India, both the dominions of Her Majesty, and the Protected Independent States, enjoy Toleration in the highest possible form. In the despatch of the Secretary of State occurs the never-to-be-forgotten passage, that "the duty of doing unto others what we wish men to do unto us, underlies all true Religion." The words of the Victoria Proclamation of November 1, 1858, which I myself had a part in promulgating in Northern India, run as follows:

Firmly relying on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with quietude the solace of Religion, We disclaim alike the Right and Desire to impose Our convictions on any of Our Subjects. We declare it to be Our Royal Will and Pleasure, that none be in any wise favoured, none molested, or disquieted, by reason of their Religious Faith, or observances: but that all shall alike enjoy

the equal and impartial protection of the Law : and We do strictly charge and enjoin all those, who may be in authority under Us, that they abstain from all interference with the Religious Belief or Worship of any of Our Subjects on pain of Our highest Displeasure.

And it is Our further Will, that as far as may be, Our Subjects of whatever Race or Creed be freely and impartially admitted to offices in Our Service, the Duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge.

How grand and knightly seems the image of Toleration thus raised before the eyes of a subject people by their conquerors in the hour of victory ! How jealous we should be of any infringement of this Charter by evil men, by Missionary enthusiasts, or by despotic Governments ! Toleration means Toleration of every form of Belief or Unbelief : it is impossible to draw any intermediate line, and to say, that such and such opinions shall be tolerated, and such and such persecuted, and that a negative system of persecution should be adopted of exclusion from office, or denial of privilege to take the place of the old and exploded forms of positive persecution. All are equally, hopelessly, radically, bad, and unworthy of a Christian man, for God is a Spirit to be worshipped in spirit and truth.

There are other countries, like Persia, where Toleration is doubtful : other forms of belief are tolerated, but conversion of a Mahometan would be followed by heavy penalties. In Savage Countries Toleration is guaranteed by no law, and is capricious : however, very often complete Toleration is experienced. As a rule the only thorough-going Religious Persecutors have been Mahometans or Christians.

The Missionaries, who enjoy Toleration, should be tolerant to others. From want of reflection they often forget this rule. They are convinced of the truth of their holy Religion, and the falseness of any other view of the matter : but so is the Roman Catholic, the Mahometan, the Hindu, and even the poor Nature worshipper. In every case the Missionary should reflect upon the principle of doing unto others what he would wish that men should do unto him, and mentally conjure up the vision of, how he would like the measure, which he metes out to others, to be meted out to himself. I need scarcely add, that there is extreme political danger in a departure from the principles of Toleration, but I would dwell not on the Danger, but on the Wrong. It is "Malum per se" in the strongest sense. I give some instances, merely as illustrations.

In a very large sacred City in Upper India is a Mission, and a learned young Brahmin had been, after a great struggle, converted and baptized : his wife's family refused to let her join him : by their law he was de jure and de facto divorced. A tumult about some matter happened to arise in that City, and I went down with troops to quell it : availing themselves of the

confusion, some Members of the Mission went to the house of the wife, and carried her off, with her consent, and fortunately without bloodshed. That same evening I met the Missionary's wife driving in a carriage with a young girl, and she told me who she was, how she had been captured, and that she had given her at once English food, and thus destroyed her caste. This seemed to me contrary to all laws, human and divine: had the parents complained, I must have passed a heavy sentence upon the Missionary party, who had invaded a Brahmin's house, kidnapped a woman, and wilfully destroyed her caste. What would they have thought, if a party of Mahometans had invaded the house of a Missionary, carried off his little boy, and circumcised him? The poor little girl died in childbed a few months after, and the husband still lives, but has never married again.

How deeply the Christian Church still resents the appropriation of the Church of St. Sophia at Constantinople to be a Mosque, the Church at Damascus to the same purpose, and the many instances of the desecration of Christian places of worship to another Religion! And yet I read of this happening in the centre of China:

The whole body of Managers of the Temple, together with the whole body of villagers, deliberating in a public capacity, voluntarily agree to make over the Temple-buildings to the Church of Christ, for the purpose of fitting up a meeting-house, in order to the public preaching of the sacred doctrine, and for the purpose of establishing a public school, that the youth of the village may become virtuous, a benefit to future generations. The whole is to belong to the Church, and subject to its control, *for a possession for ever*, and the land belonging to the Temple is made over to the chapel-keeper, Chu Sien k'o, and his descendants, to be cultivated as his own, and the Church is not at liberty to sell the same.

The destruction of the idols was to be begun to-day, and after preaching at a neighbouring fair I went over there to attend the funeral, for they had decided to bury them. The Chinese have a saying that money can move the gods, but here were about three score gods moved most effectively without the expenditure of a cash. For when I reached there about noon, I found the work finished and both Temples empty.

A long cavity was found washed out by the water, into which they were plunged headlong, and thus, dust as they were, they returned to dust. The idols often cost enormous sums, because the clay is of a peculiar kind, the materials expensive, such as oil, etc., especially the gilding. Moreover, it is usual to subscribe a certain amount of silver, which is incorporated in the body of the image, and becomes, perhaps, his heart. In demolishing the gods their hearts were not found right, for in place of the lungs of silver was found *pewter*. Thus the delusions of idol-worship were fitly typified in the frauds of the idol-makers. They that make them are like unto them. It was suitable that such divinities should end their career by sepulture in a gutter!

A large amount of lumber remains, which, once the platforms for the idols, will now become benches for our congregation. There are drums, candlesticks, incense-holders, etc., and several good bells, the largest of which is to be hung up.

In a conquered country like India this line of conduct would

be dangerous : in China it seems to be madness : but was there no other land to be purchased ? were there are no other houses to be occupied ? could no other material be used for the benches of the congregation ? Surely a day of reprisals will arrive, and who can justify such conduct ?

We all know in England of the sorrow caused in families, when a young boy or girl falls into the clutches of a designing Roman Catholic Priest, and in spite of the prayers of the Parents, is carried off to a Convent, or Home, and the conduct of the Priest is severely censured. Yet how often we read of a case equally cruel in British India ! It is not, that a man should not give up all for Christ's sake, but it is the way, in which it is done, the manner in which it is described by some Missionaries, that indicates the entire absence of Christian Toleration : the parents are spoken of unkindly as instruments of Satan ; and it is forgotten, that the sacred ties of the family should, under all circumstances, be respected. Christian men should do Christian things in a Christian manner. If the young convert has Faith, we know that, like the young Martyrs and Confessors in the early Centuries, he will be supported in his trial. The Church should now, as then, offer prayers in behalf of such sufferers for Christ's sake, but the young convert should be allowed to return to his home. The Spirit of the Lord can watch over its own children.

I am glad to note in a Report of a Missionary Society in India of this year the following wise words, and I earnestly press them upon all Missionaries. It is better to lose one poor weak convert, than to peril the good name of Protestant Christians by adopting one of the most evil practices of the Romish Priest, who delights to work like the mole under ground :

It is extremely difficult to decide what is the right course to adopt in such cases. Our practice so far has been to require the inquirer to confess his intention to his parents, and thus, while taking care, that due protection from unfair pressure or persecution should be given, to insure that there should *be no ground for any charge of concealment*, and that a sufficient test of sincerity and earnestness should be applied to the inquirer.

More zeal than Charity is often manifested, because the Missionary forgets, that the Heathen and Mahometan are men of like passions with ourselves, neither better nor worse, and that they love their offspring as much as we do. It is a terrible time for a nation, when it is shaking off its old Creed, and adopting a new one ; when its moral and religious system is in the throes and agonies of a new birth. Terrible is the struggle, through which bold spirits, and tender hearts, have to pass. It seems so simple to be a Christian, when we are born so, but, when the leaven begins to work in a non-Christian soul, and a wall of separation is built up between him and the Past, when the Gods of his Parents, and his Friends, are no longer his Gods, what

domestic misery is caused ! On the ruins of how many homes were the first altars of Christ raised ? Wives left their husbands : old fathers cursed their sons, because they dared to be wiser than their Parents. Sons waited till the death of their Fathers before they dared to own Christ. Old associations, old friendships, old greetings on the steps of the Temple, old meetings at the Village-Saturnalia, sweet memories connected with the Past, the Dead, with Groves on Hill-tops, and happy days in the morning of their career, all are swept away : the outer world loses all its poetic imagery : the very humblest trembles at the thought of being cut off from his kith and kin, at being received with a curse at doors, where, since he was a child, he was greeted with blessings, to be pointed out in the streets as a renegade, to be nicknamed as a reprobate, to be severed from all he loves. These are the trials, of which the Missionary seems to make no account : the Heathen and Mahometan are described as children of Satan, and deserve no quarter, no pity, not even gentle words of consolation. The tender Christian feels for his bitterest enemy, and would not willingly add to the sorrow of his poor fellow-creature.

I have already alluded in full to the want of Toleration shown by the Missionary in matters of State Education, how he would wish to have the Bible taught in Schools maintained by taxation of the Heathen, and Public Instruction made a Means of Conversion. There is no chance of such a policy being carried out. A great improvement has taken place in their manner of addressing the heathen. Insults are no longer heaped upon Heathen Divinities. Loving words, wise and gentle reasonings, friendly discussions, have taken the place of wholesale and foolish abuse. I myself heard in my youth a Missionary tell a crowd of Hindus, "that their Gods were dung," and they laughed at him, but this was not the way to win their hearts.

An attempt was once made in Upper India to introduce Missionaries into the Public Gaols, to address the Prisoners. I was strongly opposed to this, and it was forbidden. Clearly prisoners in Gaol are not free agents, and a Gaol is not the proper place for the preaching and teaching of the Gospel to the Heathen. What would be thought, if, in a Mahometan country, a Christian prisoner had the horrors of confinement intensified by having to listen to attempts to convert him from his Faith ? All such devices are contrary to Toleration.

It is not quite easy to find the exact line to draw. A quarter of a Century ago, when I held high office in the Panjáb, I maintained my right to attend the baptism of Native converts at the Mission Chapel at Amritsar, and the Viceroy, Lord Canning, who had called upon me to explain my conduct, admitted my right. My position was, that the Hindu and Mahometan officials

made no scruples in attending the ceremonial of their Religions, and I had the same right. I distinctly, however, admitted, that it would not be judicious in a high official to attend the baptism of a converted Soldier of the Native Army, as entirely different considerations entered into such a case. While carefully observing my duty not to interfere by my official acts in the religious affairs of any sect, I maintained my right to attend on the Religious ceremonies of my own Church, so long as the public Service was in no way affected, or the principles of Toleration compromised. This is now an admitted precedent for this class of case.

Sir H. Maine states the principle clearly :

We will not force any man to be a Christian ; we will not tempt any man to be a Christian : but, if he choose to be a Christian, it would be shameful, if we did not apply to him, and his, those principles of equal dealing between man and man, of which we in India are the sole depositories.

On the other hand, a Christian should firmly abstain from any personal concession to a false Religion. The well-known Colonel Skinner, in the beginning of the century, built a Church, a Mosque, and a Hindu Temple, as, in fact, he had no religion at all. In India I never knew of any public officer condescending to such a departure from respect to his own religion, while at the same time, cold, but unsympathetic, respect is always exhibited to the Religion of the Natives. When the Viceroy, Lord Canning, visited Amritsar, I persuaded him not to place the usual bag of Rupees on the floor of the great Temple of the Sikhs, but the Priests went afterwards to the Foreign Office, and the money was given them.

As time goes on, all these official compliments to non-Christian places of worship will be discontinued, or perhaps have been so. They had no religious, but only a political, signification. It was certainly wrong, and contrary to a just view of Toleration, to require the Christian Soldiers of the British Army to be drawn up, and salute the sacred carpet, on its road from Cairo to Mekka. This is just the one thing, that ought to have been sternly resisted. In the French Colony of Algeria I remarked with regret, that at one place a Mosque had been utilized for the public Service, and at another the Government had erected a Mosque at the public expense. Here a double error was committed. I read in the Letters of General Gordon at Khartúm, published by Dr. Birkbeck Hill, that he had a Mosque cleared, and repaired, and thought that it was a great coup, and he also paid the expenses of the circumcision of a boy ; I trust that it was not a Christian boy. Still in both cases he committed a grave error, which would have cost him his appointment, had he been in India. In Egypt Englishmen seem to forget, that they are Christians. In British India this is never forgotten. The most thoughtless always so remember their

early training, as never to lend themselves to Non-Christian worship.

It always pains me to see the idols, and objects of worship of Heathen people, exhibited for purposes of derision before a Christian audience: the poor people, who made them, believed in the existence of a Supernatural Power, greater than themselves, and tried to conciliate it. They felt after God, if haply they could find Him. They had never the opportunity of knowing better. They were not advanced in Arts or Science, but they gave of their best to their God, and generation after generation had prayed before those symbols of Divinity, returning thanks for abundant Harvests, or trying to appease anger in times of Famine and Pestilence. There is nothing to laugh at in these attempts of the Soul of Man, however imperfectly, to approach the great Controller of human events. Some, perhaps, of those, who laugh at the poor savages' superstition, have arrived at the more dangerous pinnacle of human wisdom, and doubt whether a God exists at all. Perhaps through the unlimited mercies of the Saviour the poor heathen, *who never knew Christ*, is nearer Salvation, than him, who knew Him, and wilfully dishonoured *Him by rejecting His Message*.

I sum up the result of my experience. The Public Officer should assist at no Heathen Procession (unless he is on duty to keep the peace), he should make no offerings at Heathen Temples, allow no garlands, as in old times, to be placed round his neck at heathen festivals: in no way directly, or indirectly, should he allow himself to be mixed up in the worship of idols: he should receive the Priests, if they visit him, as subjects of Her Majesty, and very jolly fellows some of them are. If he visits a Temple, or Mosque, on duty or pleasure, *if requested*, he should take off his shoes, out of respect to the conscience of the worshippers, just as a non-Christian in Great Britain takes off his hat in a Church. If he lives in the midst of the people in daily contact, he will do well to abstain from beef, swine's flesh, and liquor, not for his own conscience, but for the conscience of those, over whom he wishes to exercise an influence for good. He should not be ashamed to be seen in prayer, but should not do so ostentatiously: he should religiously observe the Sabbath, and, setting a watch over his life and his conduct, walk before the Mahometan and the Heathen, as a man, who fears and loves the Lord, and loves his neighbour also, and this includes the whole duty of man. A good Hindu and good Mahometan are praised by their neighbours, and still more a good Christian.

The Missionary sometimes speaks depreciatingly of the Christian, Hindu, and Mahometan, officials, because they will not listen to his short-sighted and one-sided requests. It would be a bad day, if a weak Magistrate were to listen to them. An experienced

Missionary in the Panjáb of forty years' standing remarked, that he had never once asked anything of a Magistrate. The Mahometan Kadi would as a matter of course befriend his co-religionist in a suit before him, because in his intolerance he looks on the possessors of any other religion as dogs; but this is just what a British official is charged not to do, but to maintain a sovereign disregard of the religious tenets of the litigants. Any other policy engenders deep discontent, and produces among the converts a crop of rare hypocrites and dissemblers. The duty of the authorities is to give the Missionaries a fair field, and free play, and to enforce equitable laws, by which crime is defined, and rights are maintained of Freedom of Education, Freedom of Religion, personal liberty of choice, and of change, when a certain age has been obtained: till then the *patria potestas* must be supported: and, when that change has been made, no loss of property, or deprivation of rights, must follow. But the peace of families must not be wantonly disturbed by fanatics, or the sanctity of dwelling-houses invaded by intruders: no boycotting must be allowed, in the name of Religion and Morality, to interfere with the rights of the humblest before God and Man, whether the offender be Mahometan, Hindu or Christian.

The proper attitude of a Missionary is that of pitying love to a dying world, that of a medical man called in to a patient suffering under a desperate disease: there is no room for blame, or abuse, or threats: it is not the fault of the non-Christian, but his misfortune: it is of no use entering into discussions on abstract questions, or quoting European authorities, or talking of the greatness of Great Britain: if the Gospel-message were brought by the Maori of New Zealand, or the Hottentot of South Africa, it would be equally true. The converts should not form a new class of citizens, but remain unchanged in dress, language, education, and lawful occupation. The Christian Religion exhibits a code of the highest Morality. The Servant of God must not use unholy means to attain holy ends: he must not steal into widows' houses, or, without the full knowledge of the Parents, set about the conversion of children in their tender years: it is better in most cases to wait, till the child is of full age, and give no occasion to the enemy for imputing fraud, or temptation, or pressure, or underhand methods. It must be thoroughly understood, that the sole object of the Mission School is to effect conversions, and that the *raison d'être* of the Missionary is the same. Christ's net is spread over the World to catch Souls, but it is not the night-line of the Poacher: it is spread in midday under the light of the Sun: "in Thy name, Lord, we will cast down Thy net."

JULY, 1888.

VII.

THE LIBRARY OF THE MISSIONARY.

FIRST comes the Idea "Guilty Leisure." Are there no men and women in the Community, for whom God has provided in His bounty an Abundance, or a Sufficiency, and who pass through a long life of ease, and health, who have unemployed gifts, who do nothing for the Lord, who bought them? This is what is meant by "Guilty Leisure." On the Continent no substitutes are allowed to exempt from Military Conscription. Personal Service is required: there is something more valuable than Gold and Silver, and every Christian is bound to render this to the Home and Foreign Missions, or to both. How do some of our acquaintances get through their long tedious days, sanctified by no labour, unenlightened by any interest? Have they not done what they could? And why?

For next comes the Idea "Inexcusable Ignorance." And yet this is an age of enlightenment, and the Missionary Societies flood the world with interesting information, but there are some, who will not read them. The Sunday School is instructed in the details of St. Paul's Missionary Journeys, but knows nothing, or next to nothing, of the great work of the successors of St. Paul. And yet the Reports of Missionary Societies, and their Periodicals, are filled with greater interest than the most fascinating Romance, and have the advantage, or perhaps disadvantage, of being true. Perils by Land, Perils by Sea, Perils by Robbers, Perils by the Heathen, Perils in the City, Perils in the Wilderness, Perils among False Brethren: in weariness, in painfulness, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst: in fastings often, in cold and nakedness, besides the care of all the Churches: moving accidents by flood and field; disappointments and successes: triumphs and abasements: all these and more are to be found. As the narrative flows on in its simplicity, the narrow walls of the room seem to expand,

and the reader is transported in thought to the great cities of Asia, the inhospitable Regions of North America, the Islands of Oceania, and the vast deserts of Africa. *There* stands an honest God-fearing man, one of the reader's own race and kin and language, sent out to preach the Gospel by his Church, and is he not something in this cold, self-seeking, material age, to be proud of? He has given up the prospect of wealth and honour, and ease, in his own country, and has gone out to endure hardship for the sake of the suffering, the oppressed, and the ignorant: nor has he gone alone, for by his side there moves a form, scattering sweet flowers round his life in those God-forsaken regions, attracting to herself hearts by the strange sight of the Beauty of Holiness: they call her in their untutored accents an *angel*: he calls her, *wife*, who like Ruth will not leave him. Are such stories as these not worth reading? Is not this "Inexcusable Ignorance" as to the continuity of the Missionary Spirit from the time of St. Paul to the present hour?

In the biographies of some great and good men we read a notice of the first conception, which dawned on his intellect, of a great idea, with which he afterwards connected himself. In the story of a Missionary's life we read of the first tale about Missions, that fell into his hands. It is because such a form of literature is deliberately shut out of certain homes, that many hearts are not touched, that to many the opportunity of serving God is not presented. A quarter of a century ago there may have been an excuse for this. A certain Bishop, with doubtful good taste, a short time ago, in the room of a great Missionary Society, described the Missionary literature of his youth as distasteful, even repulsive, and "headaching." Was the fault with the Bishop's head or heart? My years exceed his, and the subject came upon me in my youth, and admitting, as I do freely, the great defects of style, and tone, and the exaggeration of the publications of that period, yet through the imperfect human exterior I detected the inner grace. Whatever was written about John Williams, or Carey, or Henry Martyn, or Brainerd, or Schwartz, or Columba of Iona, or Boniface of Exeter, or Xavier, had been written then. And we seemed to move in the midst of men, who are now counted as Ancient Heroes, Duff, and Daniel Wilson, Morrison, John Wilson, Livingstone, Krapf, and many others.

My hearty desire is, that the youth of England should be as much instructed in the lives of the great Missionaries of the present Century, as of the great Statesmen and Warriors of the past; that in their study of Geography there should be not only the Physical, the Political, the Ethnological, the Linguistic, but also the Evangelistic branch of that great Science. It would be but an imperfect description of great Regions, if no allusion

were made to the good men, under whose guidance these savage inhabitants passed from a state approaching to that of wild animals into the ranks of Civilized Man.

My object at present is limited to the literary wants of the Missionaries. The narrowness of their vision in some matters is distressing. By the necessity of the case they belong to one Denomination of Religious thought, they acquire one or two local languages, and settle down for the term of their lives in the midst of one circumscribed Region, one people, one phase of human development and weaknesses, one method of work, and one groove of ideas. They fail in universal sympathy, except in a most general way. If in a friendly way they meet men of other denominations, the process of levelling down, and the pressure of the same environment, the similarity of the manner of looking at the same phenomena, prevents all enlightenment. The labour of the Missionary is heavy, his health is uncertain, the time of life, when he leaves Great Britain, is very youthful, all previous experience is non-existing; visits to his native country are brief, and a whirl of employment. All these are impediments against his mastering the great principles, which underlie the exercise of his noble calling, the Saving of Souls. In no other way can I explain the density of the vision of Missionaries, their persistency in the same error, their appealing to each other as authorities for the same fallacy. "Every Missionary is agreed upon this subject," some one said lately upon an Exeter Hall Platform. So much the worse for the subject, for it has never been fairly thrashed out in all its bearings. "We are assembled here, not to discuss, but to denounce," said a fanatical and one-sided Chairman in a meeting of packed enthusiasts, got together by tickets to pass a Resolution, only fit to supply paper to ignite the fires of the Government-office, to which it was presented, in which operation light for the first time would be let into the matter, obscured by prejudice, and distorted by exaggeration.

In new Missions, and new Missionary Societies, over and over again we notice the same errors of practice, the same exploded methods, the same cant-phrases to conceal ignorance. Then new forms of error spring up, notably those, which disfigure the last crop of German Missions, exclusion of other Nationalities than that of the Ruling Power, leaning upon the help of the Civil Government, blending the incompatible duties of Pastor to a Christian community, and Evangelist to Non-Christian races; attempts to associate Commerce, Emigration, Agriculture, and Manufacture with pure Gospel-teaching, forcing an alien language of the Conqueror on an Asiatic or African people: all these miserable errors have been combated, abandoned and condemned in old Missions; but like the measles and whooping

cough re-appear in infant enterprizes. We seem working in a blind circle, and the world is never growing wiser.

A Century of Missions should have taught us some principles, *and has taught us*, if we have but Grace to accept the teaching, and communicate it to the men in the field: and this is the object of my remarks.

In Missionary Colleges, encouragement and opportunity should be given to the Student to inform himself as to the progress of the Gospel-Warfare all over the world: there should be no sneering at, and shelving, the work of particular denominations: no blind worshipping of particular Schools, headed by noisy, self-confident, and self-asserting, men. If it be not possible to have a course of lectures on the Science of Missions in its many-sided aspect, at least, Missionaries on leave should detail in full in isolated lectures their own methods, pointing out faithfully the merits and shortcomings, and warning the hearers, that these are only the methods of particular fields, not, like the Bible, the accepted and revealed Truth in all Fields. In their private room Missionary Students should study the lives of illustrious Missionaries, and the periodical Reports.

The first bit of property of a Missionary should be a substantial blank Note Book of goodly size, entitled:

Notanda, Quærenda, Legenda, Videnda, Visenda, Vitanda.

And he should go nowhere without his book. In it personal adventures, and spiritual meditations, should find no place, but an inquiring spirit, wholly dedicated to the task of Gospel-preaching, will find, that each day in his reading, in his conversation, in his thoughts and prayers, something will come to his observation, his memory, his mind, and his soul, which deserves noticing: some difficulty will arise, which will require solving: some book will be suggested, which requires reading: some object or place will be mentioned, which he may desire to see, or visit, if occasion may offer: some error may be brought home, which must be avoided. If he keep such a book, and refer to it continually, he will find his information much increased, and the pages of such a book should be numbered, and dated, and an Index kept up to date. Now, if he meet a friend, who has kept such a Note Book, how grateful and profitable will be the interchange of knowledge, the solution of difficulties, the opening out of new trains of thought. What more precious legacy could an aged servant of God leave to a young friend than such a record? The narrative of admitted, or obvious, failures is quite as instructive as the vaunted success, because it has the merit of truth, and is not to be found in the glorified official Report, where everything is tinted rose-colour, and all disagreeable matter omitted. The very doubting adhesion of a wise man

becomes the conviction of the less gifted. Men engaged in secular matters have found the advantage of such a silent monitor, as it tends to produce order in the chambers of the Memory, and supplies the means to strengthen the judgment, and to point argument by apt illustrations.

Each great Missionary Station, and each cluster of smaller Stations, as well as all Training Colleges, should be supplied with Missionary Literature, of the following kinds.

The current periodicals of all the great Missionary Societies of Great Britain and America should, by courtesy, be supplied to them direct, and should be read, and an interest aroused and kept alive in other fields than the reader's own particular one. It will not only strengthen the judgment, and enlarge the Charity, but it will sustain drooping Faith, it will fill the hearts of faithful men with conviction of their great Duty, thanksgiving to God for His unfailing help, and love to their fellow-workmen, and the poor Heathen. Deep calls to Deep, praising the Lord, as the resident in India or China reads with joy the unobtrusive labours of the Moravians at Labrador, or the battle with the cold in North America, and the fierce heats in Africa: awhile with bated breath he reads the story of Hannington on Victoria Nyanza, of Selwyn in Melanesia, of Chalmers in New Guinea, of Bentley and Grenfell on the Kongo, of Johnson on the Nyassa, and the Lone Star Mission of South America. Men and Women in India and China live in comfortable Bungalows, with all the appliances of civilization, but they will with profit read of the peril, the nights of watching, the sufferings, the hungerings, the insults, which are joyfully borne by the Servants of the Cross. All the surroundings of the far-off Missions differ, the methods, the languages, the degree of culture, the degree of temperature; but one golden thread twines through the whole tapestry, of various patterns, but woven with the same woof, the suffering of Christ, the Salvation of His creatures, and the Struggle for Holiness. From the Pulpit they will tell their Indian or Chinese converts of other worlds, but the same Saviour, of other servants occupied in the same service, for the same King, linked to them by a tie dearer than that of Nationality, or Language, or Customs, viz. of Faith in One able to save.

Another advantage would be that the unlimited querulousness, and arrogant bearing, of many of the Missionaries in India and China, would be shamed into reason by the thought of what their less favoured brethren are undergoing. It would do a Chinese Missionary a world of good to have three years in Equatorial Africa, or on the Niger amidst Cannibals, with Human Sacrifices: with lawlessness of the petty chief, with attacks of Marauders, and Slave-dealers: the miserable accommodation, the solitude, the climate, the despondency. He

would return back to his decent way of life and comfortable quarters, among people in Asiatic civilization, a sadder and wiser man. Our friends in their comparatively easy life (and I speak as one, who spent twenty-five years in India, in the interior, among the people in war and peace) forget that here in Great Britain we have Reports from Missionaries in every part of the world, and are able to form comparisons.

The next division of the Library should be Missionary Biographies, the silent voice of the dead, which still speaks, calling up the forms of ancient men, who did their duty, and are now entered into their Rest, the Sufferers for the Cross, who have now inherited the Crown. Every Missionary should be thoroughly informed in this class of Literature. The names are too many to enumerate, but the selection should be impartial, and varied. Such books have a peculiar fascination, and are full of lessons to those, who come after, and know how to be taught. The figures, which pass before us are no lay figures. Adoniram Judson, and his three holy wives, are no creatures of the fancy. Carey, Patteson, Allen Gardiner, Saker, and Livingstone were real men, whose hands we have touched, whose words we have listened to, and yet who stand out, and speak to us with the same power and solemnity, as Roman Heroes, or Christian Saints. How can the young Missionary feed his soul with high resolve, how can he realize the Poetry, the romantic beauty, the exalted Spirituality, of his calling, unless he reads such books as these, and others of the same stamp, and reads with prayer to be like them, in their lives, and in their deaths. It gives a reality to his high office to feel, that he is one of a great Army, part of which has crossed the flood, and that he must tread in the footprints of his predecessors, and of One greater than they, if he wishes to do aught in this world, or attain aught in the next. When Missionaries fall to the dead level of ordinary life, and waste their time in squabbles with each other, or meddling in mundane politics, and commerce, they cease to have the power of winning souls. They should hold themselves always, as Soldiers do on the eve of a grand battle, and in humble pride venture on the thought, that perhaps, if they fall nobly, their lives will be written to remain hereafter, and establish the hearts of generations of Missionaries still to be born.

In the third class comes a great miscellaneous collection of Books, which will vary in each Country, and each Nationality, and each Mission-Field. It is impossible to prepare a complete list. I only subjoin a list of some which may be useful, and encourage the Missionary to prepare a list in each Field for his contemporaries, and those who come after him, and have pages set apart for them in his Note Book.

BOOKS FOR A MISSIONARY LIBRARY.

- A. The periodicals and Annual Reports of *all* the great Missionary Societies of *all* Denominations of *all* Nationalities.
- B. Missionary Biographies carefully selected, so as to represent *all* types, *all* methods, *all* characters, *all* periods of Christianity, and both sexes.
- C. Miscellaneous.

(a.) STATISTICAL.

DR. GEORGE SMITH. History of Christian Missions. 2nd Edition, 1887.
PROFESSOR CHRISTLIEB. Foreign Missions of Protestantism, 1880.
REV. J. STORROW. Protestant Missions in Pagan-Lands, 1888.
Handbook to Foreign Missions. Religious Tract Society, 1888.
DR. MURRAY MITCHELL. Foreign Missions of the Protestant Church, 1888.
DR. GRUNDERMAN. Kleiner Mission Atlas. 2nd Edition, 1886.
W. F. BAINBRIDGE. Around the World of Christian Missions. New York.

(b.) DESCRIPTIVE.

Evangelization of the World. China's Inland Mission, 1888.
SIR BARTLE FRERE. Indian Missions, 1873.
Report of Proceedings of Mildmay Missionary Conference, 1878.
DR. T. SMITH DUFF. Medical Missions. Lecture. 1880.
BISHOP OF OSSORY. Heroes of Mission Field, 1887.
Missionary Church of England. Six Sermons by Selected Preachers.
S. P. C. K., 1887.
REV. M. A. SHERRING. Trident, Crescent, and Cross, 1876.
REV. T. PHILLIPS. Missionary *Vade Mecum*. Calcutta, 1847.
The Ely-Volume, New York. Missions and Science.
REV. JAMES JOHNSTON. Century of Missions.
REV. J. CARLYLE. South African Missions.
REV. DR. A. THOMPSON. Moravian Missions. New York.
REV. DR. PEARSON. Crisis of Missions. London, 1887.

(c.) REVIEWS.

Missionary Review of the whole World. New York, 1888.
Church Work, late Mission Life. London.
Several Local Reviews of great value in India, China, and elsewhere.

(d.) HISTORICAL.

Descriptions of Particular Fields of Missions, specially prepared by each Missionary Society, and of extreme value.

FALSE RELIGIONS.

- DR. JOHN WILSON. Experience of Hinduism. Bombay. Hindī.
MR. PEARCE. "True Refuge." Dialogue on Hindu Religion. Hindi.
REV. MCMULLEN. Religious Aspect of Hindu Philosophy. 1860.
REV. KRISHNA MOHUN BANERJEA. Dialogues of Hindu Philosophy. Calcutta.
REV. NEHEMIAH GOREH. Rational Refutation of the Hindu Philosophical System. Calcutta, 1862.
SIR M. MONIER-WILLIAMS. Indian Wisdom. Hinduism, Islam, Buddhism. S. P. C. K.
SIR W. MUIR. Life of Mahomet, The Koran, etc., etc.
DR. MURDOCK. Indian Missionary Manual, 1870.
PROF. MAX MÜLLER. Outline Dictionary for Reading Vernacular Words.
HARDY. On Buddhism.
And many others.

Notes on Missionary Subjects.

Part IV.

MISSIONARY ADDRESSES, PICTURES AND NOTICES.

- I. MISSIONARY HEROES IN AFRICA.—II. NATIVE TEACHERS IN POLYNESIA.
—III. THE DUTY OF THE YOUTH OF GREAT BRITAIN.—IV. THE
HERO-MISSIONARY, AND HEROIC MISSIONARY SOCIETY.—V. THE
FEMALE EVANGELIST.—VI. THE NATIVE CHURCH IN INDIA.—
VII. THE CHRISTIAN SOLDIER.—VIII. OBITUARY NOTICE OF A
DEAR YOUNG FRIEND. — IX. EXETER HALL, MAY 1, 1888. —
X. A WORD TO THOSE, WHO DO NOT RECOGNIZE THE DIVINELY
IMPOSED DUTY OF EVANGELIZATION.—XI. THOUGHTS ON THE
METHODS OF EVANGELIZATION.

BY

ROBERT NEEDHAM CUST, LL.D.,

LATE MEMBER OF H.M. INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE, MEMBER OF COMMITTEES OF BRITISH AND
FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY AND CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY, MEMBER OF TRANSLATION
COMMITTEE OF SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE,
INCORPORATED MEMBER OF SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION
OF THE GOSPEL, AND HONORARY SECRETARY OF THE
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To the Memories of
*THOSE, WHO TAUGHT ME MY LESSON,
AND SET ME THE EXAMPLE OF DEVOTION
TO THE CAUSE OF MISSIONS,
IN ITS HIGHEST AND HOLIEST SENSE OF
"PREACHING THE GOSPEL TO THE NON-CHRISTIAN WORLD."*

DANIEL WILSON, BISHOP OF CALCUTTA, INDIA.

JAMES THOMASON, LIEUT.-GOVERNOR OF THE NORTH-WEST
PROVINCES, INDIA.

JOHN LAWRENCE, VICEROY OF INDIA.

BARTLE FRERE, GOVERNOR OF BOMBAY, INDIA.

HERBERT EDWARDES, COMMISSIONER OF PESHÁWAR, INDIA.

MY GUIDES, AND MY FRIENDS,

THIS VOLUME IS

Dedicated.

PREFACE TO PART IV.

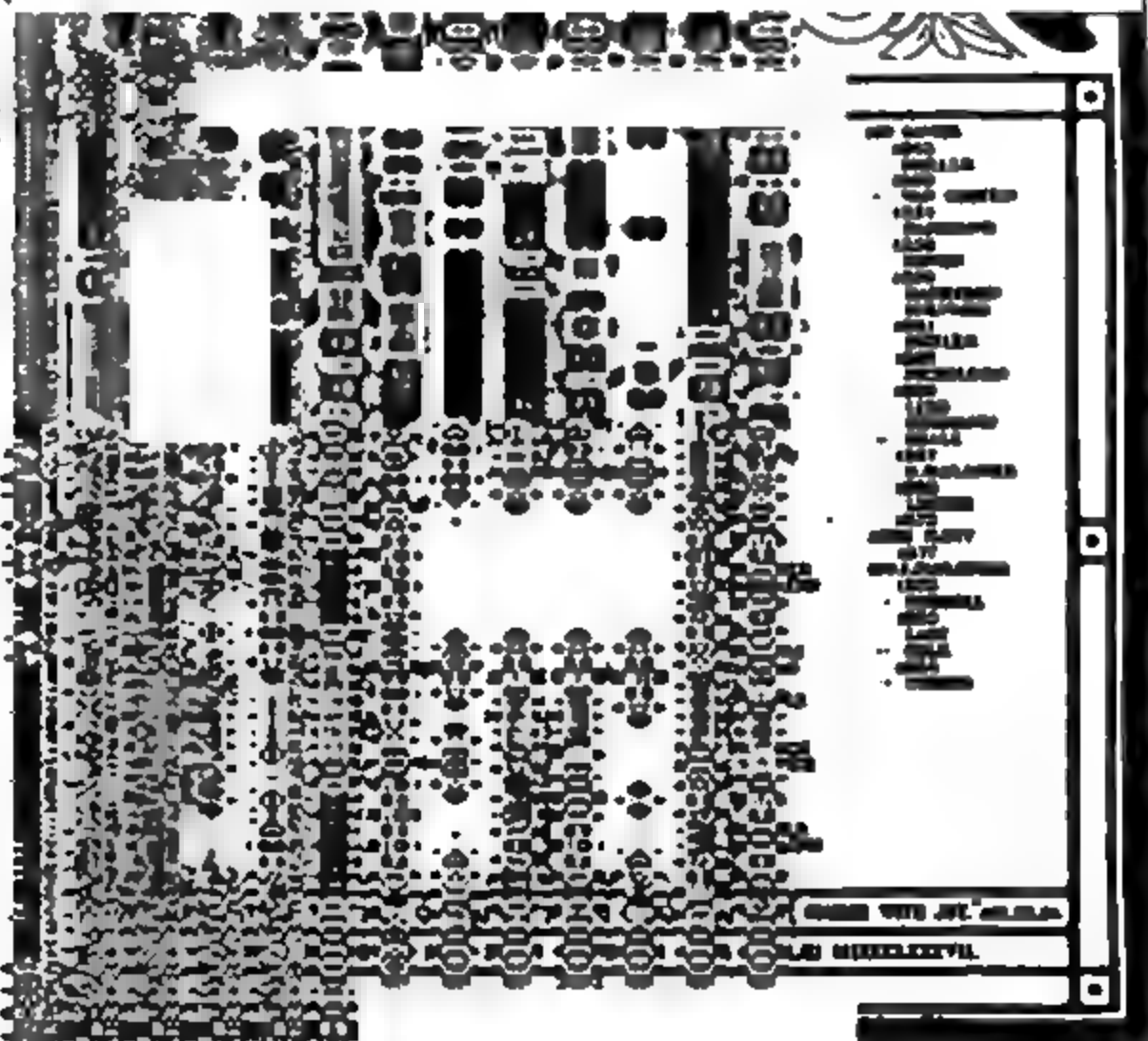
I CANNOT imagine, that my Addresses will stand comparison with the learned compositions of ordained men, familiar with the art of addressing assemblies. My life has been one of action, not of preaching, more in the saddle than in the pulpit: a layman's utterances perhaps have more freshness, eccentric variety, and daring novelty: at any rate they come from the heart.

They have been composed in the omnibus, the railway-train, the waking hours of the night; just as the ideas surged up in the brain, they have been jotted down in the note-book. Sometimes in a crowded room the idea has come, and has been noted down. I could not write a line, if a man stood over me with a stick, or if I were shut into my study on Saturday afternoons to compose my Sunday-sermon. A word uttered in my hearing, a line in a newspaper, an expression in a book, has set a train of thought into motion, and copious extracts, the result of omnivorous reading, has supplied the subject and matter.

My reward has been, that some Addresses have been reprinted by Associations, so different as the S. P. G. and China Inland: letters have come to me with thanks

from inmates of High Church Training Colleges, and Baptist Missionaries on the Kongo: passages have been quoted in such different organs as the Quarterly Review, and Regions beyond, and by speakers on platforms of different denominations. Some Addresses have been translated into other languages. Men have told me, that they have found them of use to them in addresses, which they had to give: this by itself is a sufficient reward.

My method has been a simple one, to break from the conventional formula, sink the denomination, or stereotyped surroundings, and describe the grandeur of the object in view, the simplicity of the message, "Nothing but Christ;" the necessity laid upon us of this generation; the happiness of those, who have discovered this great secret of life; the misfortune of those, who neglect the opportunity, or find it out too late. These considerations come home specially to those, whose lives have been miraculously spared during a long residence amidst the non-Christian world. What can they render unto the Lord for His mercies, if they neglect this manifest service? Why were their lives spared, if not for this purpose? What reply will they have to give to their Master for talents misapplied, or hidden in a napkin.



Church Mission House, Salisbury
 and women, who in the cause
 died on their passage home.
 Native land only to die. It
 should be forgotten.
 on the walls of the
 who fell, are inscribed
 the original
 at Platanos centuries before
 of those who have fallen.
 soldier of Christ, and do

I.

MISSIONARY HEROES IN AFRICA.

The Lord said unto me: Say not, I am a child, for thou shalt go to all that I shall send thee, and whatsoever I shall command thee, thou shalt speak.—
JEREMIAH i. 7.

My subject on this occasion is not so much Africa, its people, its customs, and its misfortunes, as the Christian pioneers and their work, and to this I restrict myself. The Missionaries cannot speak of themselves; it is the last thing that they would wish to touch upon, except to describe their shortcomings. A particular Church or Society cannot speak of the whole class fairly, as of some they know too much, and of others nothing at all. We see them in the Committee-room, when they are young and ardent for the fight, scarcely knowing the difficulties, with which they have to contend. We see them a few years on more thoughtful, more subdued and chastened, yet not less earnest; we see them still later on, broken down, unequal for further service in the field, yet still longing to laugh at the doctor, and go back to their life's work. Some we never see again, for they remain where they fell. Many of them are men of high talent, who in secular professions might have achieved wealth and fame, or in the Home-Church might have risen to dignity and influence, but, smitten with the wondrous love of saving the souls of the Heathen, they have gone forth, and fresh candidates for the holy office are never wanting. What is their motive? A simple faith in the Word of the Lord, who bought them. Wishing that my hearers may carry away something, that may cling to their memory, I ask them to think of the famous eleventh chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews, in which he traces back to Faith all the great events in the history of Israel, and I ask leave reverently to adapt his argument to the history of the pioneers of African Missions.

By Faith the United Moravian Brethren at Herrnhut in Germany, more than a century and a half ago, were stirred up

to send out a Missionary to the poor Hottentots, who were treated as dogs by the Dutch colonists. By Faith George Schmidt at once offered himself to go out, and suffered hardship with a persecuted race, and, having been blessed by the conversion of a few, was forbidden to baptize them, and summarily sent back to Europe by men, who called themselves Protestants, and who were jealous of their own liberty. By Faith, fifty years later (1792), the United Brethren sent out three more Missionaries, who founded the illustrious Mission of Genádendál, or Vale of Grace, on the very walls of the ruined house of George Schmidt, seven years after the great Patriarch of African Missions had been called to his reward, dying, like Livingstone and Krapf, on his knees.

By Faith the London, and Wesleyan, Societies, the Established Church of England, the Free Church of Scotland, and the American Board of Foreign Missions, took up a share in the blessed work amidst other races of South Africa, and out of their ranks by Faith Moffat undertook to translate the Bible into the language of the Be-Chuána, Wilder into the language of the Zúlu, and Boyce, Appleyard, and others, into the language of the Ama-Xosa, or Káfir; languages deemed at the time to be incapable of expressing simple ideas, but which, deftly handled, proved to be apt exponents of every variety of human thought, with an unlimited vocabulary, and an unsurpassed symmetry of structure.

By Faith Moffat's son-in-law, Livingstone, abandoned his home, his chapel, and his school, and started off on his great Missionary progress, which was destined to illuminate all Africa South of the Equator. By Faith he bore up under the perils, the fatigues, the opposition, and the bereavement of his dear wife, who sleeps on the shore of the Zambési. By Faith he worked his way to Benguéla, on the West coast, Kilimáni on the East, and Nyangwé on the River Kongo to the North, discovering new rivers, new lakes, new tribes, and new languages. From the drops of sweat, which fell from his limbs in those great travels, have sprung up, like flowers, Christian Missions, founded by men of different denominations, and different views of Church-government, but united in the fear of God, the faith in Christ, love of Africa, and veneration for Livingstone. To the impulse, given by this great Apostle, must be attributed the Missions of the Established Church of Scotland at Blantyre, the Free Church of Scotland at Livingstonia, the London Society on Lake Tangányika, and the Universities Mission at Zanzibár. To these must be added the Missions of the Church of Rome. In an interview which some years ago I had at Tunis with Cardinal Lavigérie, to implore him to locate his Equatorial Missions at a certain distance from stations occupied by Protestants, to

which he agreed in word, though his practice has been different, he spoke with admiration of Livingstone. But to this servant of God it was not conceded to see one single fruit of his labours. He saw no Mission spring up; like Moses, he only beheld the promised land from Pisgah; he died without knowing of the secret of the source of the Nile and the Kongo. But even after death he seemed to have power to charm, and to conquer, for by Faith his bones were conveyed by his faithful Africans to the sea-shore, from Ilála on Lake Bangwéolo, where he died, along a route never traversed before, as if the great discoverer had power to add to geographical knowledge after his death, and the great philanthropist wished to leave a lasting proof, that the natives of South Africa can be faithful and loyal, and capable of high enterprises, if they are kindly treated.

By Faith Krapf and Rebman sat year after year at the watch-tower of Mombása, waiting till the day should dawn, calling to each other, "Watchman, what of the night?" writing home descriptions of vast lakes, and snow-capped mountains on the Equator, causing themselves to be derided, both as Missionaries and Geographers; yet they lived to be honoured in both capacities, they lived to see the day dawn at last, to hear of Frere-Town being established as a Station for released slaves at Mombása, to hear of those internal seas being navigated, and that snow-capped mountain being visited. In his old age Krapf in tearful gratitude read Henry Stanley's challenge, which rang with trumpet-sound from the capital of U-Gánda, and was gallantly answered by the Church Missionary Society, and he lived to hear of the great Apostle's Street, which by Faith he had suggested, being carried out from Zanzibár to the Great Lakes, to be extended westward down the Kongo, until hands are shaken with the Baptist Missionaries working up that River from the West.

By Faith the good Baptist Society established themselves in the island of Fernando Po, and, driven thence by the intolerance of the Spaniards, they crossed over to the mainland, and found what seemed once, but, alas! is no longer, a more enduring inheritance in the Kamerún Mountains. By Faith here Saker lived, laboured, and died, translating the Holy Scriptures into the language of the Dualla, but leaving his work to be revised by his young daughter, opening out a new field for the talent and zeal of women. Hence in fullness of time by Faith Comber started to conquer new kingdoms on the Kongo, making, alas! the heavy sacrifice of the life of his wife at San Salvador, before he reached Stanley Pool, with the great heart of Africa open to his assault; for in their hands the Baptist Missionaries had carried gentle Peace, and their vessel with that name still carries them onward on their blessed and peaceful enterprise.

By Faith our good brethren in North America were among the first to send out their agents to West and South Africa, to pay back the debt which they owed, and to atone for the wrong, which their forefathers had inflicted. The Sun was thus taken back to the East, to lighten those sitting in darkness. Each and every one of their Churches by Faith have vied in the desire to found strong Missions, translate the Holy Scriptures, and to press forward the work of freedom, education, civilization, and evangelization.

By Faith the holy and humble-hearted Protestant churches on the Continent of Europe, less amply endowed in material resources, but more richly in intellect, industry, and self-consecration, have sent forth a golden stream of Missionaries from the centres of Basle and Canton de Vaud, in Switzerland; of Barmen, Bremen, Berlin, Herrnhut and Hermansburg, in Germany; from Norway, Sweden, Finland and France, to hold the fort in the most exposed situations, to suffer imprisonment, to achieve great literary works, to found living churches, and attract to themselves the affections of the African. The names of the devoted men and women, who have lived and died for Christ, may not be known to the world, but are written in the Book of Life.

By Faith Samuel Crowther was rescued from the captivity, into which he, like Joseph, had been sold by his brethren, was restored to his country, to be no longer a slave, but a teacher, a leader, a benefactor, and an example; by Faith he was set apart to give the lie to the enemies of the African, to stultify the idle taunt, that a Negro is incapable, by his nature, of culture, piety, honesty, and social virtues; by Faith he was raised up to mark an epoch in the sad chronicle of his persecuted race, and to be the firstfruit of the coming harvest of African pastors and evangelists. By Faith his son Dandison, Henry Johnson, and James Johnson, were blessed with the great Grace of being allowed to tread in his footsteps.

If any of my hearers desire to know the real worth of the African Missionary, let them read the lives of Mrs. Hinderer at Ibadán, and Mrs. Wakefield at Ribé, and of many other noble men and women, of whom this self-seeking world was not worthy, who left comforts at home to labour among the Africans; who, in spite of overpowering maladies, have been, like Hannington, unwilling to leave the country of their choice, and determined to return in spite of the warning voice of their doctor, or who, like him, have died as good confessors, counting not their lives worthy, but to fill up what remains of the sufferings of Christ. Such lives, in their simple eloquence, cannot fail to chasten the proud heart, to drive out selfish egotism, and to sustain the sinking spirit; they leave a ray of tender light behind them,

showing that the age of chivalry, and of self-abnegation, has not entirely passed away; that the nineteenth century, in spite of its worldliness and infidelity, is still able to supply crusaders to fight the battle of our Master.

We read often in Secular books, and too often in Missionary Biographies, how our Heavenly Father is supposed on some occasions to have graciously interposed to save the life of one of His poor children: in Roman Catholic accounts this benevolent interference is always attributed to the Virgin Mary, or St. Teresa. Not a sparrow indeed falls without His command; but if such interference is presumed, when a good man's life is saved, how shall we account for the absence of this Providential care, when the good man is cruelly killed, or cut off by premature disease? Such is but a narrow view of God's Providence. His ways are not our ways: He has chosen His Servants for particular services: some to honour: some to dishonour. Some are selected to live and work, to others is conceded the peculiar Grace to die nobly, and set a glorious example. Deaths are required as well as Lives to complete the picture of the New Life. Some may follow the steps of our Lord in a life of beneficence and mercy: to others is granted the sweeter lot of filling up that which is behind of His Sufferings. And in the last struggle how by Grace they have been sustained, doing nothing common or mean in the last memorable scene of their earthly passion, but sealing their Faith by their manner of meeting Death!

Hear some of the dying words of these soldiers of Christ. In the hour of death all things are terribly real. There is no room for deception or false enthusiasm there. I have selected these words without distinction of country or denomination, but their number might be multiplied indefinitely. Arrhenius, the Swede, had only a few months of labour in the Galla country after years of preparation for his duties: his last words were:

Jesus, help me! Jesus, help me! Amen.

Prætorius, the Swiss, was sent out for a few months' inspection of the Missions on the Gold Coast: he called upon me on his way out, and promised to call again on his return; but after a few weeks in Africa he fell. His last words were:

Is it true that I am going home to-day?

Of all the smaller English missions, the Livingstone-Kongo was conspicuous for its overflowing of zeal, and life, and promise, and of all its agents McCall was the brightest; but he was struck down in mid-work. His last words were recorded by a stranger who visited him. Let each one of us lay them to our hearts:

Lord, I gave myself, body, mind, and soul, to Thee. I consecrated my whole life and being to Thy service, and now, if it please Thee to take myself, *instead of the work which I would do for Thee*, what is that to me? Thy will be done!

He had hoped that his destined course might have been among the brave and strong, to toil with high purpose in the service of the African ; but God had chosen another part for him, and as a true Christian, he recognized, that God had chosen it well, and no weak murmurs escaped the lips of one who was ready to live or ready to die. Golaz, of the French Mission to Senegambia, as well as his young wife, died within the year after their arrival : his farewell words were :

Do not be discouraged, if the first labourers fall in the field. *Their graves will mark the way for their successors*, who will march past them with great strides.

Pinkerton, of the American Mission in Zúluland, was ordered to lead a new Mission into Umzila's kingdom : he conveyed his wife and children to North America, and returned joyfully to his task. He met with many obstacles and rebuffs, but at length found himself well on the road. His last written lines were to his wife :

The future will bring its needed light, and work, and solace. My thoughts turn sadly to you and our children. *All well. We go right on.*

It was to him indeed all well, for in a few days he breathed his last sigh alone in the African jungle : he had gone right on into Glory. On the other side of Africa Bagster, of the same Mission, had been sent to found a Mission among the Ambandu : a few months before his death he had proposed to write on "The Missionary's Joys." In the last page of his Journal we find :

We hear His voice of cheer : Go forward : one man of you shall chase ten thousand : the Lord your God has promised you the good land, which he has given to you : most joyous is the service of our King !

Thomson, of the Baptist Mission in the Kamerún country (that famous Mission which has during 1885-86 been uprooted and destroyed by the late German Emperor), a few weeks before his death in December, 1884, unconscious of the ruin, which was so soon to come upon the scene of his labours, on his Chapels, and his Mission Schools, wrote as follows :

I am sustained and upheld amid many and heavy anxieties by the growing conviction that the dear Master is in His great condescension using me here for the settlement of many difficulties ; and I look forward to the future with more hope than I have known for years. I believe the work here will soon assume a better and a brighter aspect, and my heart glows within me, as by faith I see the time. Oh for more and more of Grace to cast all our burdens upon the Divine burden-bearer ! Our hope and trust are in Him alone !

With such men (and these few are but types of many) Africa and the whole world can be conquered. Such deaths are great victories. Such words tell us that some portion of us is immortal. These confessors saw the promises afar off, and were persuaded of them, confessing that they were strangers and pilgrims, and desiring a better country, that is, a heavenly.

Still, they were men with like weaknesses, and cravings for love, as ourselves, and it is with heavy heart, that I read of the last moments of such servants of God, dying sometimes without the solaces of Religion, with no fond breast to lean upon, with none of the ordinary necessities of civilized life, to sustain and comfort, and smooth the path to that bourne, which Men call Death, but which indeed is the Portal to Everlasting Life. The last journal of Hannington (who was present, when I read this address four years ago) brings this point of view vividly before me. I can see that faithful Christian in the midst of his sad environment, oppressed with anxiety for the future of the work, to which he had consecrated himself, still sustained by the daily reading of, and meditation upon, the Psalms of David. We find in these pages, so wonderfully preserved, no rebellious murmuring, no cries for Vengeance, no appeal to the Arm of the Flesh. Still, as he lay tossing on his unsavoury heap of straw, before his feverish eyes, during those sad days and weary nights, would rise the vision of the peaceful home, the pleasing duties, the loved companion, the little children, whom he had voluntarily left, obeying the call to serve his Master: and not in vain, for a still voice would whisper to him:

It is the Lord's will: obedience is of the essence of true courage, and true love. The battles of the Heavenly King are fought in suffering as well as doing, and in dishonour, in prison, and in a shameful death, as truly as in the Mission Chapel, the Mission School, and the centre of a Christian Village.

We seem at this period of the history of our Missionary Churches to be living over again the trials and persecutions of the early Christians in the first Century. Do we not seem to hear the echo of the words of the Virgin-Saint, who at Arles in France was slowly let down feet-forward into a vessel of boiling oil, because she refused to deny her Master?

Jesus Christ, help me! Praise be to Thee! Lord Jesus, grant me patience! I suffer for Thy name's sake: *I suffer for a little time only: I suffer of my own accord*: Jesus, let me never be confounded! take me! take me!

Time would fail me to tell of Schlenker, and Reichardt, and Schön; of Goldie and Edgerley; of Casális, Mabile, and Coillard; of James Stewart of Lovedale, and his namesake on the Nyassa; of Grant and Wilson; of Ramseyer and Christaller; of Mackenzie, the Bishop who died on the River Shiré; and of Steere the Bishop, who sealed up the translation of the last chapter of Isaiah ready for the printer, and then fell asleep at Zanzibár; of Parker the Bishop, wise and gentle, holy and self-restrained, who was called to his rest on the Southern shores of Victoria Nyanza; of Wakefield and New; of Stern, Mayer and Flad; of Southon, the Medical Missionary, who died at U-Rambo; of dear Mullens, who could not hold himself back from the fight, and who sleeps in U-Sagára; of many a gentle lady's grave, for women have

never been found wanting to share the honour and the danger of the Cross.

I have seen and known so many of them. A few weeks before we were holding sweet converse, and then the tidings of the death of some one of them came floating back by letter or telegram. They had indeed all gone into a far country, and to me they seem to be all there still; and, when I am musing about Africa, or studying some point connected with that country, and I look up from my paper to my African library, the forms of departed friends seem to enter at the open door, and I seem to see their faces again, and to ask them their opinion. Young Rivière, a Jesuit priest, who had been turned out of Algeria, and taken refuge in North Wales, used to correspond with me about Africa. One day he called upon me in London, and told me, that he had received his orders to start at once to the Zambési Mission-field, to take the place of a dead colleague. He promised to write to me from Tété, and to clear up many questions for me; but he never reached his destination, for he sank under his first attack of fever at the mouth of the Zambési. Differing as I do from the Church of Rome in every principle and detail of their evil system, I can still recognize and thank God for the zeal, and love of souls, and total abnegation of self, which distinguishes her Missionaries. Oh, when they are such, would that they were ours!

I often think of that famous scene in one of Walter Scott's romances, where the clansman and his seven sons all fell for their chieftain, stepping forth, one after the other, gladly into the gap, and crying, "One more for Eachim!" So it is with the reserve forces of Missionaries. "One more for Christ!" And how much better to have young lives and treasure spent by the Missions in trying to save African souls, than wasted by the English nation in slaughtering the unoffending and undaunted freemen of the Sudán, for the purpose of maintaining an imaginary prestige of having the strength of a giant without the Grace of knowing, how to use that strength as a Christian. Wherefore, seeing that we are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, let us lay aside every weight, and press forward more and more upon our bounden duty and service to evangelize Africa. We owe this debt to those who have gone before, that they should not have died in vain. The Missionary is indeed the most glorious outcome of the nineteenth century; the honest God-fearing man in the darkest corner of the earth, where he is most wanted, to represent the highest type of Christian patience and morality.

Oh! that we now had there
But one ten thousand of those men in England,
Who do no work to-day!

Address at Powys Hall, LONDON, MARCH, 1884
(with additions, 1887-1888).

II.

NATIVE TEACHERS IN POLYNESIA.

The Isles shall wait on Me.—ISAIAH lx. 9.

THE speaker who preceded me has dwelt on the Lord's work in India, that country, the interests of which are so near to my heart. Twenty-five years' residence has taught me to love the people, whose languages and customs have become to me as familiar as my own. India has been indeed the joy of my youth and manhood. The speaker, who follows me, will treat of Africa, the land of my adoption, the solace of my old age, to which I have consecrated fifteen years of study. India and Africa are the popular, and best known topics of Missionary interest. Their populations can only be counted in hundreds of millions. I seek to interest you this day in the story of the Gospel in the Islands of the South Sea; the shaking of the olive-tree; the gleaning grapes, when the vintage is done: the few sheep left in the wilderness; yet God's Grace has been marvellously evidenced in these Islands, the utmost ends of the world, concerning the existence of which neither Prophet nor Evangelist had the remotest conception. Isaiah in a moment of inspiration cried out on three several occasions:

The Isles shall wait for His Law (xlii. 4). The Isles shall wait on Me and on Mine arm shall they trust (l. 5). Surely the Isles shall wait for Me, to bring thy sons from far, unto the name of the Lord thy God, and to the Holy One of Israel, because He has glorified thee (lx. 9).

Our Blessed Lord told His disciples:

That in those days the Son of Man would gather His elect from the four winds, from the uttermost parts of the earth (Mark xiii. 27).

It is only in this generation, that the magnificence of the prediction can be realized in its fullness.

The World is generally considered to consist of four Continents; but lying outside them in the bosom of the Pacific are fairy

Regions, sealed and secluded gardens of the Ocean, where Day never shuts her eye: regions which were dreamt of by the Poet Horace:

Nos manet Oceanus circumvagus; Arva Beata,
Petamus arva, divites et Insulas.

In later days Tennyson has described them in a few wondrous lines:

there to wander far away
On from island unto island at the gateways of the Day,
Larger constellations burning, mellow moons and happy skies,
Breadth of tropic shade and palms in cluster, knots of Paradise:
Never comes the trader, never floats an European flag.
Slides the bird o'er lustrous woodland, swings the trailer from the crag:
Droops the heavy-blossomed bower, hangs the heavy-fruited tree,
Summer isles of Eden lying in dark purple spheres of sea.

These regions have been marked by frightful crimes, Cannibalism, Human Sacrifice, Sorcery, and by the murders of Cook and La Perouse, the explorers, and John Williams and Patteson, the Missionaries. Yet God did not leave them for ever without a witness, and at the close of last century Missionaries found their way to Tahiti from England: later on, Hawaii and Mikronesia were occupied by an American Mission: soon after, New Zealand was evangelized from England, as well as Samoa, Fiji, the Loyalty Islands, the New Hebrides, Bank's Islands, Santa Cruz, Solomon Islands, and New Guinea. Never, since the days of Pentecost, had there been so plentiful an outpouring of the Spirit, for God chose men of the vilest to be His Messengers, and the Divine method of sending out Native teachers two and two to evangelize their own countrymen was adopted with wonderful success by all Protestant Denominations. Those, who have travelled in tropical climates, know how at night the ship leaves behind it a long and broad brilliant furrow of light, marking for many leagues the course which has been taken. Such is the light left behind in their annual visits by the Missionary Ships, the John Williams, the Wesley, the Southern Cross, and the Dayspring, the memories of unselfish acts of kindness, devotion to the best interests of the islanders, and the desire to elevate them, and protect them from their own cruel customs, and from the vicious trader and heartless man-stealer.

The region of Oceania has sometimes been called Australasia, as being a southern extension of Asia; but the name of Oceania is more suitable. With certain exceptions it is South of the Equator and North of the Tropic of Capricorn. Estimated by its land-area, it is only a little larger than Europe: estimated by the surface on the face of the Globe, over which the Islands are spread, the area occupied exceeds that of Asia, for it stretches from Australia on the West to Easter Island on the East, from

the Sandwich Islands North of the Equator to the Southern point of New Zealand. It does not include Malaisia: it may be said of Oceania, that it is entirely outside the influence of Asiatic Religion and Culture.

The four Subdivisions are, I. Polynesia; II. Melanesia; III. Mikronesia; IV. Australia. The last may be omitted from this discussion, as little or nothing has been done to evangelize the Natives, and this is a heavy blot on the Churches of Australia, which proposes to send out Missions to New Guinea, while 80,000 of the Queen's subjects at their very door know not the Saviour, and have not one translation of the Bible in their numerous languages in circulation.

Polynesia includes the Groups of the Paumotu, Society, Harvey or Cook, Marquesas, Sandwich, Ellis, Samoa, Tonga, and New Zealand. The number of Islands is very great, and the beauty of the scenery, and the fertility of the soil, notorious. Their existence may be said to have been certified by Tasman in 1642, but they were first brought to notice by Captain Cook, who, in the first of his celebrated voyages, visited Tahiti, and in his last perished at the Sandwich Islands. The population is one race, and they all speak closely connected languages: though a noble race, tall, fair, agreeable, and beautiful, they were cruel Idolaters and Cannibals; but they are now nearly entirely Christians. The London Missionary Society, the Wesleyan Missionary Society, the American Board of Foreign Missions, and the Church Missionary Society have accomplished this noble work: the Marquesas, Paumotu and the Islands of Wallis and Horn, are mainly Roman Catholic. Great Britain has taken possession of New Zealand: France of Tahiti, Paumotu, and Marquesas. Other groups maintain a precarious independence.

To the West of Polynesia lies the Region of Melanesia. The British Colony of Fiji is on the extreme Eastern flank, and a necklace of Islands extends in a semicircular sweep to the great Island of New Guinea, the whole of which is included, and has been divided between Holland, Great Britain, and Germany. France is in possession of the Islands of New Caledonia, and the Isle of Pines: the remainder are for the moment independent, but the end seems approaching. The population speak a multiplicity of totally different languages: they are black, savage, inhospitable savages. Still the Grace of God has been found sufficient to carry the Gospel to a large number, and the work is being pushed forward at different points by the London Missionary Society, the Wesleyan Missionary Society, the Presbyterian Associations of Scotland, Australia, and Canada, and the Melanesian Mission of the Church of England. Perils of no ordinary character had to be encountered; perils of the deep, for the steamship through an unsurveyed sea was the only means

of communication ; perils of the climate, perils from cruel, treacherous savages, whose worst passions had been roused by the injuries inflicted upon them by the men-stealers from Australia and Fiji, and the depravity caused by the introduction of intoxicating liquors, and foul diseases. Difficulties presented themselves of no ordinary character, to provide safe and decent protection from the weather, to provide supplies of food, to train native teachers, to collect scholars from distant Islands, and to master the strangely different languages.

Mikronesia lies wholly North of the Equator, consisting of the Caroline Islands, belonging to Spain, the Marshall Islands recently annexed by Germany, and the Gilbert Islands. The population is gentle, hospitable, free from savage and criminal habits, speaking, however, several distinct languages. The American Board of Foreign Missions have prosecuted their quiet labours with marked success.

It is not my object in this paper to state in detail the particular work done by different Missionaries. Still less is it my object to fall into the too common error of unduly glorifying individuals. In the long list of heroes above all tower the names of John Williams and James Patteson, for they were selected by Divine Providence for the honour of sealing their Faith by the offer of their lives, and I call particular attention to the fact, that no wish was expressed by their friends, nor attempt made by the British Government, to avenge their lives, though nothing in their cases could have been easier. The true-hearted Missionary trusts not in the staff of a broken reed, the Arm of the Flesh, but in the Lord his God.

One characteristic feature of the labours in all these Regions has been the translation of the Bible, or of portions, into the languages of the tribes, as they came under Missionary influence. The versions thus prepared, and published by the Bible Societies, came upon the Scholars of Europe with all the freshness of a new revelation. It is indeed wonderful to handle translations into the languages of Tahiti, Rarotonga, the Marquesas, Hawaii, Samoa, Nieue, Tonga, and Maori, in Polynesia : of Fiji, Rotuma, Mare, Lifu, Uvea, Aneityum, Tanna, Nguna, Futuna, Erromanga, Aniwa, Fate, Mota, Florida and Isabel, in the Groups of the Loyalty, New Hebrides, Banks, and Solomon Islands : in the language of the Islands of Murray, and Saibai in Torres Straits, and the Duke of York Island, and New Britain, in St. George's Strait, and Mafur, Motu, and South Cape in New Guinea, all in Melanesia. Add to this versions in the languages of Kusai, Ebon, Gilbert Islands, Ponapé, and Mortlock Islands, all in Mikronesia. Nowhere is the precious gift of the Bible more valued than by these newly-converted races : the people of Samoa remitted the whole cost of the expense of printing

their version: when a Mission-ship touches at a port, whole Editions are sold off before the ship is unloaded. Free gifts to the Bible Society are tendered by less wealthy islands in the form of arrowroot grown specially for the purpose. When the French Priests tried to wean the people of Tahiti from their Bibles, they found, that all their efforts were in vain: so firm a hold had the Blessed Book been able to lay on the souls and consciences of these unsophisticated races, who read, and believed and practised.

But another still more wonderful characteristic feature has distinguished the Mission-work of Polynesia and Melanesia from that of every other Region in the World. I allude to the universal and successful employment of Native Teachers, acting independently of the European Missionaries, who trained young men, collected in central spots, and then sent them out, two and two, to the different islands occupied by Heathen Cannibals. When the Mission-ship returned the following year, it was found, that these devoted men had either worked a wonderful change in the island, or had been killed and devoured. A few extracts tell the story with life-like fidelity.

In 1876 a Samoan teacher was left on the Island of Nanomanga, seventy-five miles N.W.: it was the third time that the attempt had been made. In 1877 the Island was visited by the Missionary with great anxiety for the safety of the poor man and his wife. A canoe came off, and the Native, being asked after the teacher, replied in broken English, "He good man," and the teacher soon came on board, and told, how the temple of the heathen-god had been destroyed, that a chapel had been built, that the king and many of the chiefs had become Christians: out of the whole island 150 were Christians and 86 still heathen.

In 1840 a party of Native Christians from Samoa visited Niue, or Savage Island, in hopes of preaching the Gospel. They were not allowed to land, but three Natives came off to their ship, and were conveyed to Samoa. One of them, named Peniamina, felt the power of the Gospel, and longed to convey it to his home. He tried in 1842, but failed; in 1846 he tried again. A chief of the island had come to Samoa, and being favourably impressed with Christianity, the two were conveyed to Niue. The chief swam ashore, told the people, that a teacher wished to come, and the chiefs agreed. The sea was so rough that no boat could be used. Peniamina put his books into a cask, and jumped into the sea, and on October 26th, 1846, stood as a teacher on his own island. He was ill-treated and robbed, but his life was spared. When the Mission-ship came back, after two years, it was found, that the work was done, that religious services had commenced, and that they were willing to receive a Samoan teacher. Paulo and his wife landed in October, 1849.

At first they were dreadfully ill-treated, but they bore it with patience. Paulo laboured thirteen years and a half, and translated a portion of the New Testament into the language: he taught hundreds to write; he taught them house-building and carpentry; he preached the Gospel, and converted a great many; he found them naked savages, he left them a community of civilized professing Christians.

After much faithful labour, the Isle of Tonga was brought to Christ. The missionary urged on the Tonga teachers the claim of the neighbouring Island of Fiji for help: two of the younger and best men at once offered themselves willingly, and were sent. Teachers from Tonga Island were sent to Rotuma Island, 800 miles distant, and were the first to learn the Rotuma language, and preach the Gospel.

The mortality among the Polynesian teachers, who had volunteered to carry the Gospel to the black cannibal races of Melanesia, was estimated by Bishop Selwyn, who had opportunity of seeing their work, at fifty, mostly from Samoa and Rarotonga; yet no better proof could be desired of the earnestness of the Christian converts in these Islands than their readiness to volunteer for the most perilous posts, in order to prepare the way for the European Missionary. Of two teachers sent to New Caledonia, long before the French occupation, one asked to be removed; he feared for his life: the other was ready to stay, or try some other island; he wished to live and die in the service of Christ. It was proposed to remove him to the more peaceful Island of Maré: he replied, that he might as well be killed in New Caledonia as at Maré.

In the Isle of Pines, close by, the lives of the teachers were in constant jeopardy. They were surrounded by men thirsting for their blood. Taunga said:

Come on, kill us; we are not afraid. Close our lips in death, but remember, that you will not thereby silence the Word of God.

The murderers were daunted, and desisted.

Teachers often had to leave, but they tried after a season to return, and with success. When killed, they were always devoured. There were some strange contrasts. In Maré there were two teachers: one died of consumption, and the Natives wept, as if he had been one of themselves, and their fear was lest the other should die also; they supplied him with food, and would not let him run any risk.

From the Island of Aniwa, in the New Hebrides, the Natives sent out three of themselves as teachers and evangelists to help to give the Gospel to a heathen island; yet about fifteen years ago all the inhabitants were heathen Cannibals, in a state of nudity; now they are all professed Christians, and conduct night and morning family worship.

On the Island of Faté four Samoa teachers were left. Some died from the climate; two settled with their wives and children at the express request of the Natives, but within three weeks they were all killed and devoured. Five years later three Rarotonga teachers volunteered to renew the attempt, and succeeded, and an English Missionary soon followed. At this same Island of Rarotonga, some time previously, Papeiha and another landed with their wives; but they were so ill-treated and plundered, that they had to retreat. Papeiha volunteered to stay alone, and in a little more than a year the entire population was engaged in building a chapel. If any attempt was made to remove a favourite teacher, the men and women rose up to retain him by force.

The people of Niua Tobatabu were anxious to spread the glad tidings of the Gospel to a neighbouring island, and they sent a canoe, which foundered, and the teacher was drowned. His body was washed ashore, and his hand still grasped a bundle of Scripture books, from which he was not parted in his watery grave: we may well believe, that by the precious truths, which he was so anxious to carry to others, he himself was strengthened in his last hour: the Great Master did not permit him to accomplish his loving intentions.

The Native teachers were indeed on one side weak: they could not conduct their hearers beyond the point, to which they had themselves attained. They could read and write, and were single-minded, believing, praying, and zealous, and their labours received a manifold blessing. On the other hand, they were the best pioneers: the gap between the European and the debased savage was too great to be at once spanned. The Native teacher squatted in the hut, and told in simple words the story of Jesus: he had more opportunities of bringing the matter home to the consciences and hearts of his ignorant audience; they knew what he himself had been, and now was; he could tell them what had wrought the wondrous change. There must also be in the Polynesian race a power and a dignity, for when it came to the time, that the Papuans of New Guinea should be evangelized, they laughed at their dark congeners from the New Hebrides, but obeyed the Polynesians of Rarotonga and Samoa. There was a wonderful facility and readiness for talk among the Polynesians; they were not troubled with bashfulness, and they made very active agents. A visitor to the Mission remarked, that at first sight it appeared strange to see a man clad in some grotesque dress, such as the old coat of a soldier, or nothing but a cotton wrapper round the loins, stand up and lead the devotions of a people; but the strangeness was all on the visitor's side. These men all occupied a good position in the estimation of their fellow-worshippers,

and expressed themselves in a way, that was true to the feelings and wants of all, as is evidenced by reading many of the prayers, which they have uttered, and which have been recorded. No attempt appears to have been made to provide for their sustenance, while they were acquiring a new language totally different from their own. They had to cultivate plantations for the support of their family; all the salary, which they received, was about five to ten pounds per annum for the purpose of purchasing a stock of clothing. They suffered great privations from the climate, insufficient nourishment, and bad dwelling-houses, and, until the change of the dispositions of the people came, lived in constant fear for the lives of all, and the honour of their females. It makes the relative position of the British Missionary, with all his requirements, appear very small in the scale of consecration and devotion, when weighed in the great balance, in which all God's creatures are in His sight equal. We speak with pride of the African redeemed slave, or the first generation of redeemed slaves, standing out bravely in his new profession; but these Polynesians were something worse. It is a misfortune, not a shame, to have been a slave; but some of these teachers belonged themselves to cannibal races; they had taken part in human sacrifices, child murder, and idolatrous abominations, and yet the Grace of God had so worked upon them, that they counted their lives as nothing compared to the Cross of Christ; they gave a reality in the nineteenth century to the eleventh chapter of Hebrews; they were neither wise nor great, nor powerful, but they were faithful in life, and constant in death.

I give another story to show, that women were not wanting in this holy war. I have already noted that the wives always accompanied the teachers. In Rarotonga a Native Teacher once expressed to his Missionary his desire to get married, "akaipoipo vaine." The Missionary expressed his concurrence, and asked if he had thought of any one:

Yes, I have been thinking of Maria, the daughter of another teacher.

On being asked, if he had made known his desires to her, he replied, that he had not spoken to her, but that he had been looking at her for a long time. On being told, that something more than looking was necessary, he produced a letter which ran as follows:

I, Akatangi, have been now appointed to go as a Native teacher to the heathen in the dark lands westwards. I have been looking at you for a long time, and I desire that you will go with me. If you love Jesus, if you love the heathen, and if you love me, let us go together. Think of this, and let me know. Blessings on you from Jesus. Amen. NA AKATANGI.

A deacon of the Church conveyed this letter to Maria, who, on

being told whence it came, betrayed an expression of countenance, which showed, that his looking at her had produced no unfavourable impression, and on reading it, she was pleased to accept, with her parents' consent. They were married, went to Erromanga, the scene of the murder of John Williams, the two Gordons, and Mrs. Gordon, and lived with and converted the murderer of John Williams.

Perhaps, in some such way Timothy or Titus, or Luke the beloved physician, wooed and won one of those chaste and sweet women, who were honoured by the love of the Apostle Paul: Phebe, a "succourer of many and of myself also:" Tryphéna and Tryphósa, "who laboured in the Lord," or "the beloved Persis." A respect for the weaker sex, and the gentle ties of pure conjugal love, had been one of the earliest evidences of the new Christian life, and the women were worthy of the men, brave and faithful. We have to try to imagine what was meant in these words:

Go with me to the savages of Melanesia, to live or to die.

So they went on in the glory of their youth, and self-consecration. We hear no more of them: they may on some sad day have been killed and devoured by their Cannibal flock, to whom they came bringing life everlasting, cheerfully surrendering their bodies to Him, to whom they had entrusted their souls, in the morning of their pure and unsullied lives; or they may have lived on, to be the centres of a family, or a village, of Christian men and women, who had forgotten, as well as abandoned, their bad old customs. All these things lie in the hand of the Almighty, and, as far as poor human creatures were concerned, it mattered not, if they had given their hearts to God. But what a lesson it is to the gilded and pampered youth of this so-called Christian country, where the cost of self-sacrifice is so closely calculated, and where in many a heart the question has never presented itself, "What shall I render unto the Lord?"

Thus far I have alluded with honour, and praise, and fervent congratulation, to the labours of our brethren of the London Missionary Society, the Wesleyan Missionary Society, and the Presbyterian Missionary Societies of the Free Church of Scotland, Australia and Canada, who have laboured with such success in Polynesia, and in Fiji, the Loyalty Islands, and the New Hebrides, which last three are a part of Melanesia. As I proceed onwards I come into contact with the great and venerable names of Bishop Selwyn and Bishop Patteson, who approached the Region from New Zealand. In their conceptions of Church organization they were very far apart from their excellent predecessors, but they were both large-hearted men, and recognized good and true work, when they saw it. Bishop Selwyn writes:

I am much drawn to the L. M. S. by the Native Teachers, men, who in the infancy of their faith have left home and friends to live among men of another speech, and in the lowest depths of barbarism, as the pioneers of the Gospel, by which the European Missionary may enter and take possession. My feelings are so strong and so full of affection towards these faithful men, with whom the affinity of the Maori language to their Native idioms enables me to communicate freely, that I lose no opportunity of showing them kindness.

The Bishop, however, saw the objection, that it was not likely, that men of that class would make much impression on the Heathen mind : he thought, also, that it was lowering to the whole character of Mission-work to confide to a subordinate agency the preliminary operations of a Mission, which, by the nature of the case, involve greater danger and require more self-denial. If there be danger of life to the British Missionaries, surely (said he) this is part of the duty, which the Servants and Soldiers of the Cross, who are best acquainted with their Master's will, would claim for themselves. If there be no danger, then the chief argument for Native agency falls to the ground : it seems foreign to the high and self-denying principle of Christian love to expose a fellow-creature to danger, because his life is held to be of less value than that of his British brethren.

My reply is, that in the sight of God the life of the ignorant Polynesian Teacher is not of less value than that of the Doctor of Divinity from England. But the Admiral and General do not volunteer on the forlorn hopes, they leave it to the younger and less distinguished men : there are portions of the Mission duties, which the Native Teacher could not discharge ; they can keep no accounts, write no reports, superintend no great organization ; but they can hold the fort, they can pave the way, they can conciliate good will, they can bear up under the climate and hard life ; if they fall, their place can be filled ; when men like Selwyn and Patteson fall, the vacancy is hard to supply. And the good Bishop did not act up to the above expressed opinion. He organized a still more refined and elaborate system of Native Teachers. The maximum of success hoped for was the loan of a few lads from the different Islands, born and bred in heathenism, on whom the influence of Christianity could be brought to bear. The Bishop had a vision of groups of boys entrusted to his care, and then returning to their homes, as in some sort Missionaries, and again and again coming to the College, first at Auckland in New Zealand, and subsequently at Norfolk Island, or Sugar Loaf, *alias* Mota Island, in the Banks' Islands Group, for further training. Some would, in course of time, be ordained, and be sent back with a force, which no European could hope to possess, to impress the hearts and consciences of their heathen brethren, and to build up a Church of Christ in these Islands.

And his dream has been realized. It was set on foot by

Patteson, the son of his adoption, and brought to perfection by the present Bishop, his son after the flesh. It was rightly considered, that without training Native Teachers were quite incapable of conveying definite truth to the Natives; yet the Gospel message, if rightly understood, and freed from the hard shell of dogma and shibboleth, is very simple. Bishop Patteson expressed himself, that the careful training of picked scholars for future Missionaries was the most important part of his work, that he must provide for the multiplication of Native Missionaries to aid the permanent development of his Mission. He soon threw some of his own fire into the party of Melanesian lads, all speaking different languages, but taught to understand the one *lingua franca* of Mota. This was a sample of his catechism :

Q. What means does God employ to make His will known to us?

A. He uses men to teach.

Q. Can they do so by themselves?

A. No; but God makes them able.

Q. How have *you* heard the Gospel?

A. Because God sent *you* to us.

Q. How are the people still in ignorance to hear it?

(The scholars looked shy, and some said softly),

A. *We must teach them.*

Yes, indeed you must, replied the Bishop.

The material was supplied in abundance, as the good ship, the *Southern Cross*, performed its annual voyage of mercy from island to island. Selwyn the elder had said, *that the white corks were only to float the black net*, and so it proved. In the last year of his life (and I knew him and Selwyn, when I was a boy at Eton), Bishop Patteson writes :

The elder scholars talk and arrange among themselves plans for helping the Natives of the other islands. Edward of Mota volunteers to go to Florida; B. and his wife to Santa Maria; Robert P. and wife to Matlav; John Nona to Savo, and Andrew Lalena also. This is very comfortable to me: it is *bond fide* giving up home and country: it is an indication of a real desire to make known the Gospel to other lands. So long as they will do this, so long I think, that we may have the blessed assurance, that God's holy Spirit is indeed working in their hearts. *Dear fellows! it makes me thankful.*"

Within the year a native canoe floated out with the tide, bearing a body, marked with five wounds, and a palm-branch. The Bishop had shown the Melanesian lads the way to live and to die, and many instances have occurred, both before and after, of their readiness to take up the Cross for the spiritual welfare of the heathen, their neighbours, but still strangers to them in blood, language, and customs.

The time came, when the feet of the messengers of Good Tidings were to advance further North, and occupy the Island of

New Guinea, the greatest in the world, and the smaller islands in Torres Straits to the South, and the Duke of York's Island in St. George's Straits to the North. The pioneer European Missionaries advanced with their volunteer army of Native Teachers from the Islands of the South Sea, from Tahiti, Rarotonga, Samoa, and the Loyalty Islands, twenty-eight in number. They had counted the cost and were ready: when their labours had continued for more than ten years, they had helped to raise up a school of Native Teachers, who belonged to New Guinea. So sure it is, that the Lord's harvest is ever ready, if we only have faith enough to go in and gather it; and in Murray Island was established a training institution of one hundred New Guinea boys to hand on the lamp to the regions beyond. No more recruits were sent for from the distant Southern Islands: they had accomplished their blessed work, and, as the New Guinea staff of Native Teachers became efficient, the old men from Rarotonga and Tonga, on whom the climate had told prejudicially, were sent back laden with blessings, blessings from those, that had been once ready to perish, to their island-homes. There is still much land to occupy: the advancing lines of the London Missionary Society are but on the south-west coast: the Church of Australia proposes to occupy stations here also: the Wesleyan Society is as yet only on the Islands of New Britain, New Ireland, and the Duke of York's Island; but, working on the same lines, they will advance conquering and to conquer.

Are these things true? Are they only the fancy-pictures of excited piety? One traveller, well known as an explorer, Mr. Wilfrid Powell, passes a severe judgment on the want of tact and patience, evidenced by some of them in New Britain; but he narrates as an eye-witness, how the bodies of four Teachers were sold in pieces to the cannibal inhabitants of the village, and an attempt was made (fortunately in vain) to get hold of their wives and children. Mr. Powell took part in the rescue, and writes as an eye-witness of the perils, to which these intrepid servants of the Cross were exposed. On the south of New Guinea Mr. Lyne, an Australian newspaper-reporter, quotes the report of a Missionary to the following effect:

How valuable were the labours of the South Sea Islanders (men of Rarotonga and elsewhere). The Teacher at Fort Moresby is one of the foremost men; when the European gold-seekers were sick, he went inland to carry them in and tend them; yet his father was a Cannibal. At the east end of New Guinea, where cannibalism still flourishes, the Teacher is a Loyalty Islander, and has himself been a Cannibal. These cases show what the Gospel can do. The perils, to which they are exposed, are very great. The murder of a number of them is still fresh in our memory, and they have perils from wild beasts also.

Mr. Lyne had accompanied the expedition, which was sent to annex the Southern part of the Island, and he knew what he

was writing. Mr. Romilly, the Special Commissioner for New Guinea, writes, that the Missionaries commenced a system of planting Native Teachers along the South coast of New Guinea; some died of fever; some were murdered by the Natives; but their general success in establishing a firm footing, and gaining an ascendancy over the Natives, wherever they have been, shows clearly, that they are intelligent and courageous men, with a great aptitude for languages. It is to them that the *white man in difficulties always turns for protection*, and it is always accorded him.

Time would fail to tell of other Missions and other countries; the short of the matter is, wherever Missions have flourished, it will be found that Native Teachers have been employed; wherever they have been trusted, they have never disappointed expectations.

Round the inhabitants of the poor islands of the South Sea still hover the phantoms of dying Heathendom, the gods of the water and of the land, which their ancestors had blindly worshipped. In a remarkably practical way the early Missionaries had learnt the Grace to wait God's time; to be rebuffed, but not cast down; to be persecuted, but not abashed. As their own coral zoophytes went on slowly and slowly building their reefs, which last for ever, so the Grace of God was found working out of sight; but the fruits were visible. From Island to Island the fight went on, until the whole of Polynesia was conquered to Christ; each Island had its martyr-tomb, its first Christian, the forlorn hope that invaded the Island. The Natives devoured the saint, and yet the doctrine preached by that saint fed them with a new life, and passed into the flesh and blood of their children. The fight in Melanesia will still last many a long year. To some Islands the message will have come too late, for the man-stealers and liquor-dealers, aided by European diseases, previously unknown, will have done their fatal work. The weak new Christians cannot entirely rid themselves of the old idea of Nature-worship: the fearful hurricanes, the famine, the epidemic, the blight, suggest to them that, though their temples and worship were destroyed, the God of Nature still hungered for human sacrifices, still claimed their hecatombs. In some Islands, notably Easter Island, the gigantic idols cut out of the rock cannot be effaced, except by blasting the everlasting hills. So they remain, like the great statues of Egypt, in their awful solitude.

What, then, sustained this wonderful family of Teachers, ready to hand, as if they had been waiting to be sent; ready to go, men or women, wherever they were sent? The answer is, *that they were armed with Truth*. It was that alone, which could give victory in such an unequal struggle. Their strength lay in their simple, fresh, unsophisticated, virgin Christianity; a

heaven-sent reverence for a spiritual Teacher springs from the very spirituality, that is taught. There is a reality in God's embassy: Death will not kill it; ill-treatment will not get rid of it; Devils hear and tremble, but the savage children of Nature listen, and are astonished, accept and believe. These Teachers were not wise, nor highly educated; but they had the free gift of a beautiful language, and a marvellous gift of acquiring new languages, and in their simple faith in what they had been so lately taught themselves, they took their hearers back to the hidden, hitherto unrealized, sources of human existence. They found a standing-room for argument behind the altars, behind the idols, behind the shibboleths, and led on to the fundamental axiom of right and wrong, which can be found in the depths of every human heart, if we know how to look for it. They showed to their hearers, that the service of God consisted not in words or magic forms, or ceremonies, or dogma, or ritual, or prayer-wheels, but in personal contact with the Risen Saviour; in personal holiness of thought, word, and deed; in gentleness and love to all without exception; in obedience to the everlasting law of duty, which lifts the head to the heavens, and still leaves the feet touching the hard floor of daily life. Without Christ such attainments passed all poor human strength. Christ must be the motive power, for Christianity is Christ.

These examples, these touching stories, have come up from these unknown regions for our use, for the use of the nascent Christian Churches of the great and civilized countries of India, China, and Japan. The unconverted Heathen had found out, that it was well to die for the welfare of one's people: the Christian discovered, that it was still better to live for them, though this proved a much longer, more tedious, and difficult service. It was out of all human expectation and worldly experience, that converted cannibals and cruel idolaters should, under the touch of God's Spirit, not only become Christians, but become daring and constant Evangelists. God's Greatness flows round our Littleness, and His rest encompasses our restlessness. One thing is clear, that there are no more islands to discover and convert, no new languages to be found out; but in the vast populations of India and China there are millions, to whom the Gospel is an unknown thing, and will remain so, unless the Native Churches at once become the centres of Missionary effort, and send out their Native Teachers. None of the frightful perils, which attended the South Sea Teachers, need be feared. If the Native Churches rise to the level of their opportunities and obligations, they may be a ray of light in Asia and Africa, as the Polynesian Churches have been in Oceania. God is not slack in supplying His agents, if the heart of Man is roused to a sense of the dignity, and greatness of the work.

Without doubt, those who love their Master, and believe His precious promises, will rejoice, even when one poor Island, after expenditure of labour, and precious lives, is added to His Kingdom. The value of redeemed souls is not estimated in earthly balances, or by human calculations. The Lord knoweth them that are His. But it is a cause of encouragement for the future and thanksgiving for the past, to regard this blessed chain of Missions spread like a necklace of Pearls from the shores of New Guinea and Australia right up to the gates of the Morning in Easter Island, almost within touch of South America. Our knowledge of the languages and customs of these Races has been collected solely by the Missionaries. The civilization of these ends of the world was not to be accomplished by Guns or Ships of War. Commerce, Statecraft or Colonization, would not help these helpless races for the short period of existence left to them by the ruthless Law of Progress: it has rather aided their destruction by substituting Rum, Gunpowder, and Loathsome Diseases, for Cannibalism, Human Sacrifices, and Witchcraft. But the Missionary spirit of Europe and America has proved equal to the occasion, and a voice stronger than that of the Lust of Gold, Earth-greed, and Annexation, has been heard. Instead of seeking for gold, the true-hearted Missionary has given something better than fine gold: instead of sending out foreign Governors and Captains to rule over these tribes, a domination for good has been established over their souls by men of their own colour and race, but who have been transformed into Angels of Light by the life-giving influences of the Holy Spirit. Instead of attempting to annex these far-off Islands to an Earthly Kingdom, the Messengers of Good Tidings have given to these inhabitants of the ends of the world an inheritance in the Kingdom of Heaven. A stream of light has been left on the waters to mark the course of the Mission Ship, the light of Human Knowledge, Christian Culture, and Divine Pardon. The one great object of Human Existence is to discover the knowledge of God's dealings with his Creatures, and the one great duty of those Creatures is to love, honour, and worship that great Creator, no longer unknown. This object has been obtained: this duty has been performed.

Address at Strangeways, Manchester, Nov. 1886
(with additions, 1888).

III.

THE DUTY OF THE YOUTH OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento.—VIRG. Æn. VI.

I HAVE been asked to give an address on the subject of Christian Missions to the Mahometans and Heathens. You will understand, that I am neither a Missionary, nor an ordained Minister of any Church; yet perhaps I have a greater and a wider practical and acquired knowledge of this subject than has fallen to the lot of any but a few; for my study has been ubiquitous, and in the Map of the World I can lay my hand down on any point, and tell you, what are the people there, what language they speak, and what Mission is working among them, if any is working at all.

I am not in the least blinded to the numerous defects of the systems, and of the individuals. When critics from the outside attack Missions, Critics from the inside can only rejoice, that so many of their weaknesses are concealed, and time is given to correct, improve, and modify: in fact, the great work of preaching the Gospel was not entrusted to angels, but to weak, erring men, who have done what they could, and earnestly desire to do better.

The very idea of Missions on the scale, on which it is now conducted, is a new one. In 1838 and 1839 I came up to this College to try for the Balliol-Scholarship. Lord Chief-Justice Coleridge, Bishop Mackarness of Oxford, Canon Furse, and Dean Bradley of Westminster, were with me, and Archbishop Tait was one of our Examiners: now, if anybody at that period had asked about Missions, or, if the idea had been suggested to any of us, that the career of a Missionary was a grand and worthy one, we should have been astonished: we knew as little of Missions as of Chinese Music.

I learnt my lesson in this way. I left England in 1842, and had never heard of the subject, though my father was a Clergyman: but in Calcutta I made the acquaintance of Bishop Daniel Wilson: it so happened, that I had a sum of £80, awarded as a prize for proficiency in an Oriental Language, to dispose of, and

Bishop Wilson suggested the profitable investment in the different Missions, and he told me all about the Church Missionary Society, and I took his advice, and a profitable investment it has proved, paying me cent for cent: for I had a new world opened out to me, and in the course of my service I visited every Mission of all denominations in the North of India, and for a quarter of a century the subject became a joy to me, and, since I have left India, it has become the leading object of my very existence, for independently of its intrinsic value to my soul, it has led out to various studies, notably Language, and Comparative Religion; it has taught me Geography, Ethnology, and the Study of Customs of the World; it has introduced to me scores of friends and correspondents, it has opened out rich mines of study, and unlimited vistas of thought. In such occupation there are no Rivalries, no Jealousies, no seeking of Pelf, no Ambition, no Disappointments; the very atmosphere is elevating: the environments holy and pure. Without alluding to the deep spirituality of the work, the intellect, the talents, and the power of application, and organization, find free scope. The Platform, the Press, and the Council Chamber, present an unbounded field of interest. Enter one of our great Committee-Rooms in London, such as that of the Church Missionary Society, and the Bible House, and you will find an assembly of men of all ages and callings: the Banker, the Lawyer, the General, the Governor of Provinces, or the Heads of great State-Departments, the Merchant and the Man of Business, intermixed with Bishops, and Deans, and Archdeacons, and the Clergy of the Metropolis, and of the Country, and aged Missionaries. What are they doing? They are administering the affairs of a Kingdom greater than that of Queen Victoria. Despatches come in, and orders go out to the ends of the World, to Japan, India and China, to North America, Vancouver's Island, New Zealand and Africa, Regions differing from each other *in toto* in Language, in Customs, in Religion, in Culture, in their Political situation, but united by one holy girdle.

Now do you think, that any of these laymen in the period of their lives, when they might enjoy well-earned repose, would thus from week to week, until absolutely debarred by increasing infirmities, spend hour after hour in a room in the City of London, distant many miles from their homes, if they did not consider the work real, profitable, and elevating? I need scarcely say, that there is no remuneration whatever, or pecuniary advantage. I know that I should not. I have abundant employment for my time in various fields of Literature and Science; but I share in the feeling, entertained by many others, that the least return, that we can make for health, and strength, and life marvellously preserved, is to dedicate our remaining powers, and

unexhausted talents, to the Service of Him, whose hand has protected us, and brought us safe home again. No one, moreover, can have attended such Committees, who does not feel himself stronger as a Christian, and better as a man, from the wholesome contact, and ennobling environment. The Indian official has spent his life in the midst of realities, and anything, approaching to a sham, or an amiable job, or a deception, is to him intolerable, and the greatest evidence to the reality of the work in India is, that those, who have seen it in the Field, are so willing and eager to support it in the Council-Chamber. I am notoriously very bold and outspoken, and never afraid to call a spade a spade, and expose an amiable delusion, as well as a pestilent fraud, or an abominable crime.

In one particular the Missionaries resemble each other: in others they are totally different. They do not work for stipends, or honour, or the praise of men, but impelled by higher motives, the Service of their Master: and in every part of the World they have shown themselves to be the Champions of the oppressed, the reprovers of evil acts and evil customs, the protectors against bad laws: the Missionary is never popular with the British Colonist, or man of Commerce, because he stands up for the Natives: it is his duty to do so, and the hearts of Britons are with him in his often unequal and unsuccessful struggles.

As to the Methods, they vary. Jesus Christ is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever; but the mode of presenting Him to the non-Christian must vary according to the environment of the particular tribe: injudicious conduct would hinder the work: it can be done by Preaching, or by Teaching, by distributing Tracts, or portions of the Bible, by House to House visitation, by Hospitals, by Orphanages. All that Science can suggest, all that Art can supply, the stored-up wisdom of the Past, and the vaunted intelligence and forethought of the Present, are well consecrated to this Holy War. We offer to the Lord the first-fruits of our intelligence, the choicest of our flocks. The treasury of the Lord is for ever full, for it is the Souls of His People. It is a privilege to belong to such an Association, for it brings back rich blessings: it is thrice blessed, blessing the poor Heathen, blessing the Missionaries, and blessing the Members of the Church, which supplies the means and men, in their hearths, and their homes, in their bodies, and their souls.

Prayer, faithful, continuous, and nothing doubting, is the lever, which moves a Mission. Every Meeting of the Committee is begun, continued, and ended in prayer. If the walls of the Committee-room could speak, they would tell how, when any question of sore difficulty, acute difference of opinion, humbling of spirit, or sad despondency, arose, recourse was had to the Throne of Grace, and often, before the call was made, has come

the answer. Like the dew, which rises up to Heaven, and descends in fructifying showers, so the Prayers have brought down rich blessings on the work and workers. Those, who manage the affairs of evangelizing the Heathen, must themselves live, as in the continual presence of the Almighty, striving day by day to qualify themselves to be chosen instruments of His Will: they, and their Missionaries, must be converted men themselves first, before they commence the task to convert the Heathen!

Another thing must be remembered: the Missionary must be brave as well as good: he must have counted the cost, and be ready to offer his life, if it is called for. We may feel for, and pray for our Missionaries, who are in peril, but we dare not invoke the Arm of the Flesh in their favour: our weapons are not carnal. And again the Missionary must not raise his hand under any provocation against a Native, except in the extreme case of Life, and Female Honour. Whatever the Traveller or the Merchant may do, he at least must remember, that he came to save the souls, not to flog the bodies, of the Natives. That Missionary must have imperfectly read the Epistles of St. Paul, who would thus forget his holy calling.

The Missionary-cause is now a great and powerful one. Nothing is more remarkable than the history of the *cause*, the biography of the great *Movement*. It was first conceived by earnest (shall we say inspired?) men, who conveyed the notion to others: they prayed over it, and at length some bolder one attempted it: these bolder ones were the "Moravians." The first attempts were small, and therefore in the eyes of men contemptible: the period of derision had to be passed through: but strange to say the infection spread: a great gust of opinion passed over the country: more and more were convinced.

Truth sinks into a man by its own weight. Perhaps in the petulance of Youth some one may have sneered at Missions: but, as he grows older and wiser, he thinks over it, and some day he wakes up like a man converted in his sleep: there is something in it. The earnest man talks of it with his fellows, and at length it becomes the law of his life, the one object of his existence. He ascends a tower in his mind, and looks out upon the world, its nations, its tongues: Geography, History, Ethnology, Reading, Travel, Conversation, all drive the fact into him, that he is in possession of a Treasure, which has made him and his people wise and strong, and *that this Treasure is denied to others*. The generous feelings, that underlie the character of each one of us, are aroused, and set into motion.

Forty years ago there was a deficiency of facts; now there is an abundance: not the heated and coloured accounts of

enthusiasts, fanatics, and pietists, but the testimony of Governors, Statesmen, Men of Science, Men of Commerce, who have seen with their eyes, touched with their hands, not in one part of the world, but all round the Globe; not only among the civilized races of Japan and India, and China, but the savages of North America, Africa and Oceania. It is brought home to our consciences, that in this Nineteenth Century there are still some races in the lowest depths of degradation, others in a low round of culture: cannibals, polygamists, sacrificers of human beings: slaves of frightful lusts, and abominable customs: murderers of their parents, murderers of their own children: murderers of their wives, lending themselves to horrible magical rites, tortured by the wildest of ideas. Still God has not forgotten them: no sooner does the Missionary land among them, than he is able as it were to exorcise them, to bring out their natural goodness, to teach men to be brave without being cruel, and the women to be loving and tender, and yet not immodest. I have such a deep conviction of the goodness of our Heavenly Father, that I cannot admit the idea, that He has made such a difference betwixt the races of the Human Family, that all cannot come to Him, if the call reaches their ears. The Soldier cannot do this great work, nor the Merchant, nor the Emigrant, nor the Governor; there must be a class of men, sent out with the wondrous desire of saving souls, who count not their lives worth having, if they fail in doing their best to accomplish their great desire.

The annals of our country tell us, that for the last eighty years this has been going on, and has now assumed enormous proportions, that cannot be overlooked by the Statesman, or the Scholar. The two great Universities have not been wanting. I do not speak for one shade of the Church of England, or one denomination of the Church of Christ. I am bold to say that, if there could be found a motive power outside of Christianity, I should hail it: *but it is not to be found*. Search History, ancient and modern, and you will find, that for such peaceful Conquest, such benevolent warfare, such soul-controlling Government, the only motive power is the Love of Christ, the only armoury, that can fit you for the Battle, is in the Bible. The true-hearted Missionary does not approach these Savages with dogmas, and rituals, and shibboleths, and canons of the Church. He is dressed as an ordinary white man, and his Native Assistants as ordinary Natives, but he sets an example of a Christian life: he astonishes them by words of kindness and love: his wife gets access to the women: they collect the children: suspicion gradually disappears. Nothing so entirely astonishes the Savage, as the fact, that men and women undergo suffering and peril, and are ready to die, not for their own profit, but for the welfare of

entire strangers. It seems to their untutored minds, that gods, benevolent gods, and not like their own gods full of malice, have come to the Earth: and as the Missionary masters the language, he communicates to his hearers the first elementary notions of Christianity: respect for human life, continence, and purity of morals, sanctity of the Marriage-contract, the existence of a God, the unity of the Family of Man, and the proper worship of God. In due course follow Prayer, and Praise, and Reading of the Scriptures, and the great Mystery of the Incarnation, and the Atonement.

Schools, and Chapels, Public and Private Prayers, a sensible improvement of the moral tone of the community, a destruction of Idol-temples, an abandonment of bad customs, are the sure and certain consequences. Search and read, and in Germany, in the United States of North America, in Great Britain, you will find the same story, narrated with impossibility of collusion, or mistake: the light is not hid under a bushel: the story is not of sanctimonious deaths, but of consistent lives. The object is not to make Britons, or Germans, or Americans, but Christians, still wearing their own dress, adhering to their own ancient customs, living after their own way, called by their own names, managing their own churches, ministered to by their own countrymen, but living new lives, in temperance, soberness, chastity, and Faith in the Redeemer, by which Faith alone they can be converted, and sustained in their new departure.

But neither the Native Pastors, nor their flocks, are angels: they, like the Missionaries, are only erring men: if we wish to seek out Christians, who do not live up to the level of their faith, we need not go out of our own Island. We read and hear of much, which we deplore. St. Paul in his Epistles to the Corinthians has told us what we are to expect; there are spots on our vestments, there are terrible failings, which remind us, that we are mortal. But the proportion of Evil is as nothing as compared with the amount of Good, the steady Progress, the gradual elevation of character, and softening of manners under the marvellous influence of the Grace of God. In my old age I can testify to the mighty change, which my eyes have witnessed.

And even, if all, that is narrated, were a fable, a dream, a mere beautiful Poem, like the *Odysseé* and *Æneid*, there is another consideration. *We have done our duty.* It was our bounden duty, and service, to plant: it is the Lord, that giveth the increase. Why have we at this period of our National life such a vast expansion of our direct and indirect influence? Why are the ends of the world, Regions which Cæsar never knew, of which the Prophets and Evangelists never dreamed, laid open to us? We go out and come in like Kings and Rulers. I myself at the age of twenty-five ruled over a District with a population

of a quarter of a Million, alone without guards, clothing the iron hand in the velvet glove, and swaying men by a moral influence. Our Merchants have a sweep far exceeding that of Tyre: wherever our cottons can go, our Bibles must go also. Each ship and each camel must have its due proportion of clothing for the body, and clothing for the soul: wherever our soldiers and sailors can go, our Missionaries *must* go also: it is not a question of policy or possibility, but of Duty: it must needs be, that we preach the Gospel: woe unto us, if we do not! Some nations have the will, but not the means and the opportunities; other nations the means, but not the will: but God be praised, that we have both: it is no effort to us to send out one thousand Missionaries, and to maintain and support them: it elevates, it spiritualizes, the Church that sends them. A Missionary spirit is the *articulus stantis aut cadentis Ecclesiæ*, and Now is the Time. We cannot say, how soon our arm will be shortened, and our Sun begin to set: our Commerce may fade like the Tyrian dye, and our ships moulder like the Venetian Palaces: if we are driven out of India, we have left in our independent, self-supporting, self-governing, Native Churches, a monument more enduring than brass, and breathing stone, and it will be said of us hereafter, that Great Britain in the day of her might gave of her best, her very best, to her subject-people, and that best gift is the most enduring one.

And do not grudge the loss of life. Death rides behind us in every Profession at home or abroad. Our young men perish, and perish proudly, in our battles. We hear of the last words of some

Dulce et decorum pro patriâ mori !

And Missionaries male and female are never wanting for the holy war. Some die early: so it is with our Statesmen, our Scholars, and all that are really great. No true life is long: their career reminds us of the half-hewn stones, which we find in quarries, just about to be used for some great Temple, when the work was broken off, and the workmen left the quarry: but there is this difference, that our Work is not broken off, for it is continuous, and the half-hewn stone, left in the Lord's quarry, has done the work assigned to it: and no one can do more.

It seems a bathos to descend from the high prowess of the Missionary, and to allude to Science, but let us reflect, how much Science owes to the Missionary, how much Philology, Geography, Zoology, Ethnology, Medicine, have been advanced by the Missionary. It was not his proper work, but incidentally in his progress he has let light into dark places. Where would our knowledge of the 2000 or 3000 languages of the World be, but for the Missionary? In his luminous path through the

forest, or the swamp, and the desert, he leaves a trail of light: he sends home some precious Text, or Vocabulary, or Grammar, revealing new forms of structure, new word-stores, new and wonderful combinations of the logic and symmetry of the savage man, that cause astonishment in the study and the class-room of the German Scholars.

The first text is the Bible. At the Congress of Orientalists at Vienna, September, 1885, in a Hall, full of Roman Catholics, I presented to the Congress translations of the Bible, or of portions, in one hundred and four languages of Asia, Africa, America, and Oceania, spoken by two hundred millions, and all prepared at the expense of the great Bible-Societies. I told them what they were. My present was received with applause, and placed on the Shelves of the Library of the University of Vienna.

God has created all things for Himself. We take credit for the discovery of a new Island, or River-Basin, teeming with thousands, just as the Conchologist vaunts of having found a new species, a variety of shell; and yet God has had His eye on all these His children for ages past, and it is by His will and pleasure, that they are now revealed to Western Nations. The Angels of Heaven have been watching over them, as much as over us: they are as precious in His sight, and the Saviour looked down from the Cross on them, and died and rose again for them. We are but instruments, imperfect instruments, in His hand to carry the saving Truth to these races, long lying in darkness, but as strong, as capable, as noble, as brave, as ourselves. If they were Cannibals, it is because there was an absence of the beasts of the field, which were a necessity for food: if they were guilty of Human Sacrifices, it is because they believed in the existence of a Deity, and the power of that Deity, and they wished to conciliate that Deity with the offering of their best. To the persons sacrificed they had no ill-will: they considered them as their Messengers to God. If they were driven to crime by Sorcerers, it is because they were Priest-ridden, and had not learnt the true liberty of the Children of God.

In my far-off Eton days, the boys used to talk about some of our number becoming Generals, or Bishops, or Senators, or Judges, and such has proved to be the case; but the idea never rose in the mind of those ancient Heroes, Dr. Goodall and Dr. Keate, of any Etonian being a Missionary: it was beyond their conception, that there was a higher walk, that some of the Public School-Boys hereafter would be Evangelists, Pioneers of Christ, the Conquerors of new Kingdoms, and yet it has proved so: men like Selwyn, Father and Son, Steere, Patteson, Mackenzie, Hannington, and many others, have been found ready to die not only for their own people, but for the poor benighted Heathen:

a new Epoch of Crusaders has been opened out: Knights Errant go forth in the Panoply of Faith, not to rescue the Sepulchre of the Crucified, but to tell the Nations of the Risen Saviour.

Some of your numbers may achieve greatness, may administer the affairs of great Subject Provinces, as in my youth I have done, or be present in great battles, as I have been; but how can anything of this kind be weighed in the balance with the Saving of Souls? Some of our great Governors have found a Province a den of wild beasts, and left it a smiling garden; but over the grave of some Missionaries it is recorded, that, when they landed in a certain Island, there were no Christians, and, when they died, there were no Heathen: that when they landed, the people were naked, savage, and illiterate, and, when they died, they were clothed and in their right mind living chastely in cottages, clustered together in villages, learning the way of holiness in Schools, congregated together in Chapels, looking forward to a holy rest in a consecrated God's acre: they had the whole or portions of the Bible translated into their own language, with such skill, that no single loan-word was required to represent a new idea, as the unbounded wealth of combination of vocables was equal to every requirement: and, moreover, these translations were printed by reformed Cannibals, or children of Cannibals, in the Mission Press, and used in the Mission Schools, while the precious promises therein contained were twined round their converted hearts.

If any of you are destined to the Church or the Senate, consider the awful questions of the future of the populations subject directly or indirectly to the power and influence of Great Britain. Are they to be swept off the face of the Earth? Are they to be left in their degradation, adding European vices to their congenital depravity? What machinery can be applied to save them? By an inexorable law of Nature, some of them seem to be dwindling, and will soon disappear! Is their blood to be laid at our door, for in very deed we are their keepers? The Governor, the Merchant, the Soldier, the Colonist, are unable to grapple with this problem: they are rather in spite of themselves the cause of the intensity of the evil. As the Assyrians and the Babylonians and Persians and Greeks and Romans in former times, so in modern times we Anglo-Saxons in our grand march over Continent and Island displace, destroy, swallow up, and assimilate, the indigenous races: our very touch is dangerous to them, for we bring with us Rum, and Gin, and Gunpowder, and loathsome diseases previously unknown. Nothing but the Missionary, the man of capacity, devotion, and love, can be of use in such a terrible crisis. We dare not say that, because these races by the inscrutable will of Providence have been left so many centuries out in the cold, out of the orbit of the Revolution of the Sun of

the Gospel, as it were God-forgotten, for no Prophet or Evangelist ever came near them, we dare not say, that they must still have no opportunity of being saved, if they will. Some have had lying Prophets, false doctrines thrust upon them: cruel customs have sprung up, and practices contrary to Nature. Still by His stripes they can be healed.

And still the shadow of the Cross has been projected over them: we still find in their Sacred Books, where they exist, a penumbra of the truth, a constant feeling after God, if haply they could find Him. We find in every Nation under the Sun a desire to worship a Power dimly seen and imperfectly understood: we must not say, that this state of affairs can be allowed to last. God's means are not limited. There is no corner, no cellar, so dark, to which His blessed rays of Light cannot attain. His Greatness encompasses our Littleness. His Strength supplements our Weakness. The stillness of the Past is broken by the sound of a Movement, Moral, Material, Intellectual, Spiritual, and ours is the fortunate race permitted to lead it, and chosen to be the Heralds of Salvation. Perhaps among my hearers there are some, who forty years hence will have achieved a reputation greater than that of a Classic or Mathematician, and whose name will be worthy to be classed with those of Henry Martyn, Livingstone, Patteson, and John Williams.

It is not reasonable, that the Briton, in his insular angularity, and in the precisely arranged costume of his country, should despise the naked Hindu Fakír, smeared with cow-dung, who sits with his chaplet of beads repeating his Mantra; he does not well to laugh at the Buddhist with his Prayer-Wheel, and the "Om Mani Padmi Hom!": he may fail to understand the merit of the Mahometan Moulavi, who knows every word of the Korán by heart: but the subject of Religion is too deep and solemn to be lightly dealt with, and what we see is only the outward sign of the thoughts of generations, the belief of Millions, the hope of dying men, which a countless multitude have held as dearer than life from their cradles to their funeral pyre, or their grave.

We must not fall into the error, that the origin and practice of all non-Christian Religions are necessarily debased, debased beyond hope, because the outer crust, which presents itself to our observation, is so grossly contrary to Morals and Spirituality. The same might be said of the Roman and Greek Churches, though we know, that their hidden basements are founded on the Rock. The degree of elevation of the higher minds is not to be measured by the debasement of the vulgar herd of ignorant devotees. At the bottom of all, even of the Fetichism of Africa, and the Nature-Worship of the South Sea Islanders, is a Great Truth, which Man by himself has found out, and cannot free

himself from, *the Existence of a Power greater than himself*. He sees Him in different forms, according to the development of his own intellect, but he sees Him still, and he tries to conciliate Him. The hearts of all men seem to turn to God like a Sun-flower turns to the Sun, but they do not seek Him rightly, because they have never had a teacher sent from God. We must not treat superciliously their methods, their legends, and their Faith, but thank God, that we have had our intelligence aided by Inspiration.

Besides this, in those inhospitable Climates the children of Nature are brought so much nearer, and more directly in contact with the Elements, with the fearful power of Nature, which they worship: the Sea with its changeable caprice, the vast Forest, the deadly swamp, the fearful desert, the hurricane, the thunder and lightning, the earthquake, the volcano, the pestilence, the famine, and the flood: they cannot understand it: they try to conciliate the evil Spirits: even, when they have become Christians, they cannot divest themselves of the idea, that the powers of the Evil One claim their hecatombs, for Nature-worship clings to the skirts of their clothing. A belief in Witches, Fairies, and Ghosts, has hardly yet died out in Great Britain.

The Epoch for the simple-minded ignorant Missionary is past. God's battles must be fought with arms of precision: it requires the highest intellect, the profoundest knowledge of Religion in all its forms; the acutest power of dialectics to cope with error, error rendered more deadly by the fresh venom gathered in European pest-houses, and all these gifts must be seasoned with Christian love, indomitable Patience, tender Pity, and Faith able to move mountains. Think not that such contests, though with a naked Brahman, or a pig-tailed Chinese, or a painted Islander, are unworthy of the highest intellect trained in this University. In India, China, and Japan you will have to cope with foemen worthy of your steel: if your study of the words of Aristotle, and Plato, and Paul and Christ, have been of any profit, you will have occasion to use them; you will have to leave behind the palisade of the Dogmas of Schoolmen, and grapple in a Death-struggle with the great Problem of Human Existence. You will find that Secular Education is a dangerous ally. It is a fearful statement to make, but some make it, that if Religion is a Safe-guard of Morality, and such a binding of the Soul by Rules, as will make a man prove worthy of Life, and more fitted to die, a false Religion is better than the great No Religion, Agnosticism, Theosophism, and Atheism, which loom before us.

The Asiatic has no sense of Inferiority: he deems himself the heir of an ancient Civilization: it is admitted on all hands, that, if one Language can exceed another in symmetrical beauty and

multiform structure, it is Sanskrit, and Sanskrit is the type of the highest development of the Indian mind, and the vehicle of its wondrous literature. At the Oriental Congress of Vienna last September, at which I was present, Pandit Bhandarkar of Bombay, in the dress of his country, made an address on an intricate subject in the English language with all the dignity of a Professor, and an *aplomb* and absence of self-consciousness, to which few Englishmen can attain. A question arose as to the translation of a Chinese Proper-name, and a young Chinese, with his blue dress and pig-tail, stepped into the rostrum, and with the chalk in his hand explained it in elegant French, looking with fierce contempt on the assembled Scholars of Europe, who presumed to dabble with his ideographs. An Arabic School-Inspector from Egypt gave an address in Arabic on the progress of Education in Egypt from the time of the Arab Conquest until now, and no doubt proved to his own satisfaction, that the Arab System was far superior to the present new-fangled Instruction.

These are the men, with whom the undergraduates of Oxford will have to cope, if they have leisure from their Gymnasia, their Stadia, their Naumakhiai, their Hippodromoi, and their Symposia, to prepare to cope at all.

Think what a vista is opened out to those, who with reverent curiosity attempt the study of Comparative Religion with a view of arming themselves for the fight in the cause of the one true Faith. Mark the piety of the elder Races, how they attributed their victories to their God: the Monuments of Assyria and Egypt bring before us those great Monarchs trusting to Ashur and Amen Rá. In India to this day they appeal to and trust in their ancient divinities. It will not do for the European to rush in, and sweep away all these beliefs. Far better to place his foot on adamantine Truth, which is the basis of all Religion, and build upwards, removing gently the decay and accumulation of ruins of Centuries, and gently pointing out the better way. God has not left any of his children without a witness, if the Missionary is skilful enough to find it: how gently St. Paul dealt with the Athenians in the market-place of Athens! It is a lesson to all Missionaries to be merciful to the intellectual and moral failings of the heathen, to be gentle, and not press the heel too heavily on the new convert, and not expect to find angels in India of a type, which is not found in Great Britain, not to describe the great Empires of India and China as the Kingdom of Satan, but by their consistent lives and gentle reasoning to win Souls to Christ.

There are sublimer and sweeter motives calculated to influence you, which will be explained to you by those, who are commissioned to instruct you from the Pulpit. I allude to the

Glorifying of Christ by the enlargement of His Kingdom. I restrict myself here to pointing out to you, as the result of personal experience of nearly half a century, the reflex blessing on our hearts, our hearths, and lives, the satisfying feeling, that here at least we are unmistakeably doing the work of our Master. It is not sufficient to raise the tone of our private lives, to provide for the wants of our Parish, or the adornment of our place of Worship: we can do this, and yet not leave the other undone. The plain distinct parting command of the Risen Saviour applies to each one of us now, just as much as it did eighteen hundred years ago to the Apostles and Disciples assembled on Mount Olivet, and this thought pressed upon me, as I stood a short time ago on that blessed spot, and looked across the brook Kedron into the town of Jerusalem still in Captivity.

The Missionary is not, as some would have it, the enemy and opponent of the Trader and Merchant, but their Pioneer, and best friend. He will not indeed sit quietly by, and see the Natives plundered and ill-used, and their young men cajoled by nominal service-contracts, and carried off into real Slavery. He will not look calmly on, while the young girls of the Mission-School, just budding into womanhood, are seduced by the Ship-Clerk, or assistant trader, to be their temporary companions: he will not be silent, when Rum, and Gin, are poured into the country, and the day's wage, and the reward of toil, are represented by a bottle of liquor. But the Missionary, if he rightly understands his high position, will preach Christ in such a way, as to make his hearers more fit to die as believing and repentant sinners, and more fit to live, as sober, industrious, intelligent citizens of the world, compelling the Earth by their labour to give a greater increase, developing new arts, and storing up for export new products, and receiving in return all that the Art and Science of Europe and America can bring to their Coasts to make life more cheerful, homes more comfortable, bodies better clad, and souls more ready for the great change, that must surely come.

- There is a higher consanguinity than that of the blood, which runs in our veins: that of the blood, which makes our hearts beat with indignation, when we hear of suffering, with pity, when we read of Ignorance, and glad joy, when we hear of noble men and women giving their lives to relieve that suffering, and to enlighten that ignorance. The heart indeed beats high, when we read of such unselfishness and greatness of character, as has distinguished the Missionary Heroes of Africa, who were not afraid to die for the Negro, and the sublimity of Simple Faith, which marks the career of the Polynesian Native Teachers, who with their lives in their hands went from Island to Island on their voyages of Mercy, until the whole Archipelago was brought

under Christian influence. Surely it is a cause of pride to think, that there is a brave and strong man, one of our own kin and language, and a woman too, in the darkest corner of the Earth, where his and her influence is most wanted.

And there is a higher Nationality than that of being of one Race, and speaking one Language: it is, that we owe allegiance and filial duty to our Common Father, and ought to feel love and pity and sympathy for *all* His children, and the greater love, the more degraded that we find them.

Had the light, which sprung up to lighten the Gentiles in Galilee, flashed Eastward and Southward instead of Westward, and left us sitting all these dreary centuries in Heathen darkness, what should we have thought, if the Nations of Asia and Africa and Oceania had not found their hearts burning within them to carry to us the Gospel? And shall we, who have been predestinated to such early blessings, now fail in our duty to those, who by the inscrutable will of God have been less favoured?

If then we have talents, the best use that we can make of them is to enlarge our Master's Kingdom, and, when our lives come to an end, the best tribute, that we can have offered, is that of redeemed souls, better than the victories of the Soldier, or the learning of the Scholar, or the discoveries of the Secrets of Nature made by the Philosopher. No brave Missionary fights, and dies in vain.

Ut moriens vivat, Vixit ut moriturus.

*Address to the Undergraduates, at Balliol College,
Oxford, Nov. 1886 (with additions, 1888).*

IV.

THE HERO-MISSIONARY AND HEROIC MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

Quem virum, aut heroa, lyrâ, vel acri
Tibiâ sumis celebrare, Clio?—

HORACE I. 12. 1.

As a member of the Committee of the Church Missionary Society, I am not likely to undervalue the plodding day by day, and year by year, of the simple-hearted Missionary, who, like Rebman and Krapf at Mombása in East Africa, and William Smith and Leupolt at Banáras, worked on from year to year, and only left the scene of their quiet labours, when failing powers compelled them to do so. Such uneventful lives do not strike the imagination so much, as that of the Hero-Missionary, whose career is short, but brilliant: it may seem unjust, but it is so always: the brave man, who leads the forlorn hope, or gains the Victoria Cross by risking his life, obtains a niche, and his career is an incentive to others: the faithful old soldier has nothing but the feeling of duty done to reward him, and the thought of him will not rouse others to deeds of valour.

My subject is the Hero-Missionary, and Heroic Missionary Society. It is hard, that the man must die to be deemed a Hero, but so it has been at all times from the days of Achilles to our own times. Death throws a halo round the departed one. Some examples have been brighter in death than in life: it is another illustration of our Lord's remark about the corn of wheat, "If it die, it bringeth forth much fruit." I have selected three great Characters, Allen Gardiner, Coleridge Patteson, and John Williams, as types of the Hero-Missionary, and the Moravian Missionary Society, as the type of the Heroic Mission.

Life is such a tangled web, that it is only as he approaches the end of his career, that the worker can see the pattern of the web, at which he has been working all his days: he has had only one portion of the pattern exposed to his view, but he has been permitted to work at that faithfully and patiently, though it may be only a leaf or a flower, and he is able to do

it truly, strongly and firmly; but the Hero-Missionary seems in his youth, or in the early part of his career, to have grasped at some purpose unseen to all but himself: he wishes to accomplish something, which the world will not let die: and to some few this is granted. In others the one only life, which the worker had to offer, is not sufficient: but the Master accepts the will for the deed, as young M^cCall said on his early death-bed, "If the Lord's will be to take myself, and not the work, "which I would do for Him, His Holy will be done."

Ὅν οἱ Θεοὶ φιλοῦσι, θνησκοῦσιν νέοι.

Heroes, being men of marked character, are deemed by the vulgar herd to be eccentric: their very superiority prevents their being duly estimated. The circumstance of their death shakes weak Faith, but the true Christian through Death to Life sees clearly, how God of seeming evil works lasting good. To die for one's country is a great gain: to die for one's Saviour, to fill up what remains of His sufferings, is sweeter. Such was the life of Allen Gardiner: no doubt he was thought to be an enthusiast, and crazed, and a bore; but the opinion is now changed. His story is simple: he was an officer of the Navy, who lost his young wife early: he thus went *per crucem ad lucem*, and thenceforth consecrated himself to the Missionary service heart and soul, and he kept his vow: to be a Pioneer-Missionary to the most abandoned Heathen was the great object of his life. He was neither qualified for ordinary Missionary work, nor would it have satisfied him to have reaped the harvest, which others had sowed: his was a harder and more thankless task, but none the less blessed.

He tried many countries, but found no opening: his Missionary spirit, like a dove let loose from home, wandered about seeking a place of rest: at length he definitely chose South America as his field: he was prevented by the Roman Catholic Priests from settling among the wild tribes on the Continent: he found at length a spot, where even the Spanish Priests would not care to follow him, at the most Southerly point of the Island, separated from the Mainland by the Straits of Magellan, within a small distance of the Antarctic Circle, the Island of Tierra del Fuego.

The possibilities of the Human Family are not to be found in one single race, or at one particular epoch, or in one region of the world. Grace is sufficient for them all, and the Missionary, who brought captive to the feet of his Master the poor Eskimo, the half-brutal Fuegian, the Cannibal of Melanesia, or the short stunted races of Australia, glorifies His Saviour by showing, that the Gospel-Message was designed for all, can be understood by all, that Christ died for all, and that there is

no other way of Salvation, but through Him. The Message is so divine, and yet so clothed in universal Humanity, that it finds its way to the spiritual necessities of all, and satisfies the heart's cravings. The Student of Missionary chronicles has added this new weapon to the armoury of the Theologian. Darwin, one of the gentlest and wisest of Heathens (for he, that is least of the Kingdom of Heaven, is greater than him), when he first saw the inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego, declared, that their intellectual improvement was beyond the efforts of man; but he lived to replace that hasty opinion by the following: "The lesson of the Missionary is the enchanter's wand."

Both Nature and Man were against Gardiner: the climate rendered the country most dreary and inhospitable: the sky rarely cleared: rainy squalls in summer alternated with the snow and sleet of winter: the winds were ferocious. The people belonged to the Patagonian race, of a dark colour, with long black hair: they had low foreheads, flat and thick noses, scanty clothing, wretched habitations, and they were arrant thieves, cruel, and, when brought to bay, furious wild beasts: the women possessed some traces of gentleness, but were treated as slaves. Gardiner's first attempt to land and house himself on land was a failure: the conduct of the natives was such, that he had to retreat, and return to England. Nothing daunted, he determined to have a floating home, and to keep his reserve-stores at the Falkland Islands. He could not collect sufficient funds to buy a suitable ship, so he supplied himself with two decked boats: two Catechists and three pious sailors accompanied him. The Ocean-Queen steamer deposited the boats and men with provisions for six months at Banner Bay in Tierra del Fuego: they had given up all the ties of home for Christ's sake, but they were called upon to make a greater sacrifice, even of their lives, and none of them were ever seen alive again. It reconciles us to our common humanity, that men are always found, when the cause of Christ requires it, to face the greatest danger at His bidding. These men all died of starvation, Allen Gardiner being the last survivor. When, months later, the frigate, sent out to make inquiries, arrived, their dead bodies were found, and their journals and letters: one by one they had died, but there was no despair, no imputation of blame to others:

Poor, weak though we are, our abode is a very Bethel to our Souls, for we feel and know, that God is here. Asleep or awake, I am happy beyond the power of expression.

Allen Gardiner penned a farewell letter, expressing his unclouded joy in the Lord, his perfect resignation to His Holy Will, but earnestly imploring, that the Mission should not be abandoned, and sketching out a plan for future operations,

which was acted upon. In his death he anticipated the coming of His Master's Kingdom. He rejoiced to see the day-dawn of the Gospel: he saw it, and was glad.

His last words were:

Great and marvellous are the loving-kindnesses of my gracious God unto me. He has preserved me hitherto, and for four days, although without bodily food, without any feeling of hunger or thirst!

Here the journal ends: but one letter was dated a day later:

Yet a little while, and through Grace we may join that blessed throng, to sing the praises of Christ to all eternity. I neither hunger nor thirst, though five days without food: marvellous loving-kindness to me a Sinner!

I remember the news of this sad tragedy reaching India in 1852, and many a sigh was wafted from India to the South Pole. His life was not given in vain: the Pioneer's work was done: and the Lone Star-Mission was established, which has worked Northwards into the mainland of South America, and is now spreading itself among the Heathens of Paraguay. Bread cast on the waters is found after many days.

Humanly speaking, but for Allen Gardiner's determination, and the interest excited by the sad end of himself, and his noble companions, this footing would never have been made good. When Nations and Tongues are assembled before the great White Throne, Allen Gardiner will be there with his savages:

Lord! behold, with the talent, which Thou gavest me, I have gathered these poor sheep into Thy fold!

Differing in everything, in method, in gifts, in training, in result, but with the same spirit, that of lowly and entire self-sacrifice, was the career of Coleridge Patteson, Bishop of the Islands of Melanesia, which lie 120° to the West, and in a more Northern Latitude. I knew Patteson as a boy at Eton, and he had the advantage of a University-Education, and I well remember Bishop Selwyn the elder going out as Bishop of New Zealand. He also was of the Hero-type, strong, brave, wise and determined: he had established the Mission in the New Hebrides and the Solomon Islands, and he chose Coleridge Patteson to be his coadjutor, and his successor: there is something sad and solemn in the details of the selection of the lad by the Bishop, and the surrender of him by the Parents: the Mother, like Hannah, consecrated her son to the Lord, and the grand old Father made the great sacrifice of his eldest boy, for he never saw his face again. How foolish, and even wicked, seem the efforts of Parents to retain their children, when the Lord has unmistakably chosen and called them! Every act of this beautiful life stands out in the pages of his biography: whether in his solitary ship-cabin, or lonely hut, he was a great writer

of letters, and they tell us unconsciously of his exalted character. He had no settled home, but he had a settled plan, devised by Bishop Selwyn, and worked out by himself. He had to deal with a black, woolly-haired Negrito race, savage, inhospitable, cannibals, not so low down in the scale of humanity as the natives of Tierra del Fuego, for they possessed some arts, and they spoke numerous distinct languages. The Training School on Norfolk Island, the Mission-Ship taking up, and putting down, lads at the different Islands, thus accustoming the people to his presence, acquiring a knowledge of their languages, and creating a confidence in his kindness: these were his methods. As his blessed ship passed from Island to Island, it left a track of light, of mercy, and loving-kindness, and his plans seem to be realizing. We read in his Journal :

I think of the Islands, and see them, in my dreams, and it seems, as if nothing had been done; but when I think of what they were a very short time ago, Oh ! I do feel thankful indeed, and amazed, and almost fearful.

He was so far more blessed than Allen Gardiner, for he saw some fruits of his labours: brighter prospects of more fruit: the harvest was ripening: labourers, both European and Native, were gathering round him: the time for putting in the sickle was at hand.

Hundreds of people crowded together, naked, armed, with uncouth cries and gestures. I cannot talk to them but by signs: *but they are my children now.* May God enable me to do my duty by them !

The great Controller of the lives of men had provided him fellow-labourers from an unexpected quarter: lads, whom he found on Norfolk Island, descendants of the Mutineers of the "Bounty," who, having married Native women of Tahiti, left to their offspring a legacy of the blood of Europe and Oceania united in their veins in a mixed stream; these lads were endowed with singular sweetness of character, and ardent faith. Two were killed by poisoned arrows during the lifetime of the Bishop: one died with him. It is well known, that the Bishop was killed at the Island of Nikapu: I need not tell the sad story: he died for the sins of others, so closely did he tread in the steps of his Master: a boat floated out containing his body with a palm branch laid upon the five wounds: and at the age of 46 his warfare was accomplished, his Hero-life was ended. The poor lad, however, lingered a few days in intense agony under his wounds, and made the following remarks, when he saw his leader's body, showing the spirit, which had been imparted to him by his contact with a Hero :

Seeing people taken away, when we think, that they are most necessary to do God's work on earth, makes me think, that we often think, and talk, too much about Christian work : *what God requires is Christian men. He does not need the work :* He only gives it to form a perfect character of the men, whom He sends to do it.

It is all right now. Do not grieve about it, because they did not do this thing of themselves, *for God allowed them to do it*. It is very good, because God would have it so, because He looks after us, and He understands about us, and now He wills to take away us two (me and the Bishop), and it is well.

The poor lad's knowledge of the world was limited to Pitcairn Island and Norfolk Island. His faith had not been weakened in the schools of learning. The Bishop had by his own Hero-life brought Christ home vividly to his imagination, and in his simple eloquence, with dying lips, the poor lad sought to palliate the offences of the ignorant savages, who had killed him in revenge for the wrongs, which they had suffered at the hands of others, and to *justify the ways of God to Man*. Who can say that Coleridge Patteson lived and died in vain? If you seek his Monument, read the annals of the ever-expanding Melanesian Mission, spreading from Tribe to Tribe, and from Island to Island.

John Williams belonged to an earlier generation. He had accomplished his course, while Patteson was an Eton Boy, before Allen Gardiner had conceived his great idea. He was indeed an *ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν*, and seems to have been specially brought upon the scene by a wise Providence at a moment, when his peculiar gifts were required. Oh! if we could only understand, and be satisfied, that we are all of us but pots in the hands of the Potter, made suitable for the work, which is laid upon us! Williams' education, intellectually and even religiously, had been very defective: the hour of his call came at the appointed time: as he was going to a tavern to meet worldly companions, he was overtaken by a lady of his acquaintance in the streets, who persuaded him to accompany her to a place of worship, and this chance event was the commencement of his great change of life: he had energy of character, strength of faith, ardent desire to preach the Gospel, and a wonderful power of conciliation: he could moreover turn his hand to anything in the smithy, or carpenter's shop: he proved his capacity to build a seaworthy vessel: he could saw timber, or teach in a school: his object was to rouse the people to the duty of introducing new arts, and reasonable requirements. Such was the man, who was sent out to preach the Gospel in the Island of Tahiti in 1816; early in his career he wrote to his Mother, that he prayed, that he might be faithful unto Death, and his prayer was heard, for it was so: he had a heart too large to wish to keep the duty of evangelizing the vast Region of Oceania to one denomination of Christians: he invited all the Churches of Protestant Christianity to take their part in the holy Crusade.

Early in his career he conceived the idea of evangelizing the whole Region, and he lived to see great progress in carrying it out. His plans were bold and original, but always practical,

and *which would work*. There was nothing in him Utopian, sentimental, or illusory, and success crowned all his endeavours, though he did not live to see it, and half a century's experience has confirmed the justice of his views. He could not rest satisfied with the tiny populations of Raiatea, and Rarotonga (of which Island he was the first discoverer): the fervour of his spirit led him to desire, in spite of the inadequacy of his means, to go on from Island to Island, and plant a living Christianity; for he formed and carried out the bold conception of training converted Heathen to become Teachers and Evangelists in other Heathen Islands, a truly divine method, and blessed beyond his utmost dreams. It seems almost fabulous, if subsequent years had not proved the reality. He came, he saw, he conquered: like a giant he strode over leagues of sea, and anticipated difficulties seemed to vanish before him.

There were no Steamers then, and few sailing vessels; but he built his own, the "Messenger of Peace," and he dauntlessly navigated the vast realm of Oceania, dotted with many hundred isles: in the last year of his life his exertions in England enabled him to provide a better and larger vessel, and the Steam Missionary Ship has long superseded his slow means of progress. After his return from England in 1838, he made his first attempt to evangelize the black races in the New Hebrides: he landed with success in 1839 on the Islands of Futuna and Tanna: on the Island of Erromanga he was killed, and devoured, by those, whom he came to save and bless. The last words in his Journal before he started on this fatal voyage were:

None of these things move me, neither count I my life dear unto myself, so that I finish my course with joy, and the message, which I have received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the Gospel of His Grace.

The last sentence written by him on the preceding evening was:

This is a memorable day.

And almost his last words:

Oh, how much depends upon to-morrow!

The darkness, which for a time shrouded Erromanga, was like the darkness before day, the prelude of an exceeding light, which has overshadowed the New Hebrides. The man, who murdered him, was converted, and two sons of this man became leading Teachers in the Mission-school, which was erected close to the spot, where he had fallen half a century before.

John Williams had been unwilling to build on another's foundation, for he was a Pioneer, and the settled desire of his Soul was to preach the Gospel in Regions beyond, and not to boast in another man's line of things made ready to his hand; but he paved the way for others. It is a wonder,

that he had been spared so long from fever, shipwreck, the poisoned arrow, or accident by land and water: for twenty-three years he had been permitted to carry on his work, his blessed work, the beginning and continuation and ending of which had been predestinated at his birth: if he died at the age of forty-three, he had accomplished a work left undone since the beginning of time, the linking of these scattered Islands together in one blessed chain. Love to his Saviour, and the souls of men, Faith in the veracity of the Divine Promise as to the universal diffusion of the Gospel, conviction, that the Gospel was suited to and intended for the wants of the most debased of mankind, and the only cure of human ills: these were the great principles of this Hero-Missionary.

John Williams is described as having no personal interests apart from his people. A Missionary, who is unable to identify himself with the people, among whom he labours, cannot under any circumstances be an efficient labourer, and, if he has any other object in view but thus to identify himself, he has mistaken his vocation. To be the bearer of every man's sorrow, the comforter of every man's grief, the strengthener of every man's weaknesses: to do this, and do it until death: it has been rightly said that this is the object and duty of a Missionary. A man, who never allows himself to forget, that the people are not his equals *according to his European notions*, though in the sight of God they are in very deed his equals: who cannot overlook the fact, that they are rude, noisy, naked, and in some outward matters even offensive: who cannot admit them at all times into his own simple habitation, but treats them, as if they were servants, and confines his intercourse with them to the hours of his public duty: such a man is destitute of the one great qualification of a Hero-Missionary: such a man will not bring souls to Christ: his name will not sound stirring in the legends of the converted tribe: he will not be hailed as a Father, on his return, and wept for, as a Father, when he dies: the mention of his name will not stay the attacks of wild Heathen tribes, as it is reported in the biography of John Williams, that they spared a village *for his sake*.

The Hero-Missionary, with his supernaturally enlarged and enlightened powers of vision, looks over the barriers, which limit the view of the less gifted. He admits indeed, that segregation from the civilized world, want of opportunity, a different climate, a difference of race, an absence of culture, have made men different, but not necessarily inferior: he recognizes the innate weaknesses of every son of Adam, which, if uncontrolled, turn men into devils, and the germs of innate goodness, which exist in all, and which, if developed by the touch of the Holy Spirit, can transform some, whether their

skins be white, black, yellow, or red, into Angels. It has shocked me to hear how some Missionaries speak even of their own flocks. As regards the people of North India, who are of our own Aryan bone, I can certify, that they are good and lovable; and in my old age I have learnt to love, and esteem, and honour, men of pure Negro race, who appear in some matters to be even of a higher type than my own countrymen. No doubt St. Paul was of the highest type of Gentleman, and Scholar, of his period; yet we find in his writings no assertion of a superiority over his converts, some of whom were slaves, and yet dear brothers: we find in him, though a Hebrew of the Hebrews, and a Roman citizen, no assertion of caste over the Galatians; he came in contact with all, men of Europe, Asia and Africa, Jew, and Greek, and Roman, bondmen and free, but none were to him common and unclean. Alas, how far below this standard many of our Missionaries fall!

I now pass to the Heroic Missionary Society. I take as my type "the Moravian, or the Church of the United Brethren:" for the Church and Society are identical. It was the offspring of a bitter persecution by the Roman Catholics in Moravia: a small remnant fled across the boundary of hated Austria into Lusatia, and settled on the estate of Count Zinzendorf, and founded their city of Herrnhut. I have lately visited it, sat in the Council-room, conferred with the leaders of the community, visited their widows, and worn-out Missionaries, in their humble homes, and knelt in their great Friedhof: they were first in the Protestant Mission Field, they are one of the few Associations, that have obtained a footing in every one of the four portions of the non-Christian world: and they deliberately chose the most debased and degraded tribes as the object of their love, because such as they seemed to need the Gospel most: their agents in truth wore the garb of poverty, and were poor in spirit also: in the countries, where they worked among slaves, they were ready to become slaves also, even as our Lord took upon Himself the form of a slave, "*μόρφην δουλοῦ λάβων*." With the poor Hottentot they were not ashamed to suffer hardship and persecution, and to maintain, that these poor outcasts had souls, for which Christ had died: with the Eskimo they lived as brethren, and won them to themselves, content with the poorest and most unsavoury fare, labouring with their own hands, trying not to be a burden to their Church, which was so poor, that it has still to be sustained by the alms of universal Christendom, for they were doing work, which no other Society could do: they literally went about as the disciples of Jesus, without scrip or change of garment, and their examples of self-denial carried the hearts of their people by storm: in these last days they have opened an asylum for lepers at Jerusalem.

Their doctrines were as simple as their practice, "Nothing but Christ crucified!" They had a courage, which no danger could daunt, and a love, which no harsh treatment could efface: who ever heard of a Moravian appealing to public Meetings, or a Public Press, or getting up Deputations to the Foreign Office of a European Government, to organize armed relief-expeditions, or avenge their slaughtered brethren? They took death, and the spoiling of their goods, joyfully: they had a quiet constancy, which no hardship could exhaust: there were, and are, no Exeter-Halls to trumpet their praise: in their Church there are no rich men to subscribe annual thousands, and yet they have left a mark on the world, which no Time can efface. Their types were: singleness of purpose, simplicity of bearing, self-consecration, and contentment with a little. If I wished to praise a Missionary, I should say, that he is worthy of being a Moravian. Many Societies have done well, but this has excelled them all, for it has most nearly approached to the ideal Church, formed after the pattern of the Founder: first and foremost in the great battle-field, yet seeking the last and lowest among the ranks of men:

I was a stranger, and ye took me in: I was sick, and ye visited me: I was in prison, and ye came unto me.

The blessings of those ready to perish have accompanied, and still accompany, the gentle footfall of the Moravian brethren, as they tread the soil of distant and inhospitable climes, unknown, unpraised, but not unrewarded.

The mode of conducting Missions must be Heroic also. We have but one life to keep, or lose: how can we spend it in the best way? If souls are to be won to Christ, it must be by men, or women, whose souls are overflowing with love to Christ. I ask not for ascetics, or celibates, or adopters of the native dress, or the turner of the formal prayer-wheel, or the daily celebrant, but such an expression of character on the countenance, such a mode of utterance, such a voice, thoughts that move, words that burn, as display Earnestness, and that the soul of the Missionary is on fire. All human talents are only so far profitably employed, as they are used to save souls: all human knowledge is of no avail, unless it conduces directly or indirectly to the extension of our Master's Kingdom: the simple Gospel outweighs it all, so simple that all can understand, so profound, that no one can get beyond it. The great Heroes, of whom I have spoken, and the great Missionary band of Moravian Heroes, differed from each other essentially, but they had formed the same conception of Christ, *and of their duty*: they looked over the human fences of Churches, and saw the awful vision of the face of Christ only: they had a burning desire to carry His message face to face,

mouth to mouth, in its naked simplicity: they thought nothing of Chapels, and Altar-cloths, stoles, music, painted glass and decoration: they took the living Word to dying souls, teaching the poor Heathen to live decent holy lives in this transitory world, and through Faith to inherit eternal lives hereafter. There was no necessity for hair shirts or flagellations, for long ceremonies, or Retreats: theirs was the daily round of holy duty, whether steering the Mission-Ship, building the Mission-School, or preaching the Mission-Sermon, until the very hour that they are called away, which is the best proof, that their allotted task was done. I would have you realize the dignity, the greatness of the office: it is not a romantic, or sentimental, employment, such as discoursing with Brahmans under a tree, or gathering sweet little children in a school: there is much that is distasteful, and humbling, and sometimes a feeling of despair.

The Hero must not be cast down, must not be diverted from his purpose, must not change his ground. We can admire the perseverance of a bad man in a bad cause, how much more of a good man in a good cause! Though for long years they may have toiled and done nothing, yet at His word they again cast down their nets. The famous Las Casas had a fixed purpose to protect the poor natives of America, and he is reported to have done something every day of his life to advance the one great idea, which dominated his existence. Hudson Taylor has put it well:

Go in glad obedience: in fullest confidence, without anxiety, to do a definite work.

Such is the high type, such the practice of those Hero-Missionaries, whom I have noticed. They verily knew how to die daily: as servants of the Most High, they did not strive, or cry, or murmur, or appeal to the Arm of the Flesh, but suffered even as their great Example had suffered also.

Does the modern Missionary, as a class, rise to this high level? I speak not of one Nation, or one Society, or one Denomination. I have been a close observer of the Missionary in his goings-out and comings-in for forty years, seen them in their fields of work, read their reports in many languages, visited Training Colleges, and sat in many Committee Rooms. I think there is a falling off from the Heroic type, and a tendency on their part to make themselves too comfortable, somehow or other to connect the office of Missionary with the opportunity of early marriage, to take the matter too lightly. It is not pretended, that Missionaries must not take proper care of their lives, and protect themselves from the climate: they are bound to do so, and the Missionary Societies are bound to provide them with the means for doing so. Nothing would be more

wrong than to fall into the errors of a certain well-known American Mission, where nothing is provided, where the Missionary is supposed to support himself by his labours, and in consequence grows weak and ill on a Native diet, unsuited to his European constitution, and in a Native hut. This is a wanton trifling with valuable lives. But it is the tendency of our age to be soft and effeminate and luxurious in everything; there is a general softening of that fibre, on which strength of character, self-denial, and consecration, depends. Young men desire an income, a wife, and a home: they are not very ambitious, not very earnest: they rather shun the hard lives on the track of secular employment, on which they and their contemporaries have started: they covet the improved social position. How much we have fallen from the standard of our countrymen, Columba of Iona, Columbánuus, Aidan of Lindisfarne, St. Gall, Boniface of Exeter! How wide is the difference of the easy-going Missionary from the type that has come down to us of the early Christians! St. Paul gave up all these things for the glory of God, and for the extension of the Redeemer's Kingdom. It is time, that severer, loftier, more heroic, sentiments should be pressed home. It seems a shame to make the comparison, but it must be made. No young Military officer, or Civilian, or Merchant, of the age of 23, whose lot was cast in a foreign country, would burden himself with a family: some might like to do so, but their circumstances forbid it. The outer world, and the Roman Catholic press, scoff at this conspicuous phase of Protestant Missionary life, which terribly impedes the Lord's work, and entails a vast waste of the alms of the Churches collected to Evangelize the Heathen. There may come a time in a Missionary's life, when Matrimony may be of advantage to the work of the Mission, but not in his tender years, when he should be out among his people, prepared for long journeys, and transfers to distant localities. St. Paul has not been silent in word and example on this subject. Then, again, the British training is not such as to make a young man prepared to bear hardship. I have visited the Training Colleges of Germany, and they contrast favourably. I found on inquiry, that such a thing as an engagement to be married is not permitted. The student there works in the garden and the carpenter's shop, does menial services in the House, and yet is a Hebraist and a Grecian. Such employments sharpen the intellect, and rouse latent powers. John Williams owed much of his influence to his skill as a blacksmith. Bishop Selwyn the Elder could not have done what he did do, had he not been an expert manager of a craft, and a man fertile in resource.

Let me look at the subject from another point of view. How

much do we read in Missionary Letters and Reports of their families, birth of children, death of children, illness of wife and domestic cares, while the reader is anxious to know, how the Gospel-warfare goes on, what progress has been made. Only imagine the public despatch of a General or Governor, in which such details were even alluded to! In private letters to friends such things might be noticed, but not in the documents sent home to be placed before the Committee. Nothing strikes a Committee-man more than the preponderate proportion of the correspondence, which is occupied with notices of the wives and children of Missionaries, as if the Committee were a Board of Guardians of the Poor, the Trustees of an orphan-Home, and not the Directors of a great Association to carry the Gospel to the Heathen. How often a Missionary comes home in full health and vigour, leaving for a time, or for ever, a field of work, for which he is suited, and in which, after some years of pupilage, he has learned to be useful, because his wife is ill! Would the General commanding an Expedition, or the Governor of a Province, have done so? How often the Indian official, or soldier, has to ship off a sick wife, and cannot accompany her, and is doomed never to see her again! We have not far to look to find out what St. Paul would have said, and what our Lord did say (Mark x. 29). Even in the life of John Williams we find mention of the illness of his wife brought much too prominently forward: he was always anticipating the necessity of an early return to England for her sake; but he clung on for 18 years, and she arrived home in excellent health, and outlived him some years. It is against this exaggeration of human affections, that the servant of Christ should struggle valiantly and prayerfully. We require a higher scale of consecration, a more dauntless and unreserved surrender of life, and its joys.

The glamour of public meetings, and the indiscriminating clamour of Missionary Periodicals, teeming with misplaced, euphemistic, and exaggerated praise, is enough to destroy the spiritual state of any but the stoutest-hearted Missionary: what wonder, if he becomes puffed up, and thinks himself somebody, and that he has made a great sacrifice in going to Persia, India, or China, forgetting how much his worldly prospects and social position have been advanced, how well he and his children are looked after, how different in most cases would have been his circumstances, had he followed the profession of his parents and brothers. There are giants amidst the body of Missionaries, for whom nothing is too good, for they would in secular professions have risen to distinction and wealth, but to a very large proportion this would not have happened. The praise of the good self-denying consecrated Missionary is in

the heart of all, who care for such things, and many, unknown to him personally, talk lovingly of him, when he is absent, and sadly, when he is dead; but the great Missionary is thinking always of his own infirmity, of how much he has left undone, and how much he could have done better, and rejoicing, that it is given to him to spend and be spent. There is in modern times a far wider spread of Missionary Spirit than in past years, but it is not so deep: it has become a fashion, not a revelation in a man's mind: a social tendency, not a personal call: a *Profession of a gentleman*, not the *Consecration of a Christian*.

We find no idle calls on the part of the Heroic Missionary Society, or the survivors and relatives of Hero-Missionaries, for vengeance on the murderers of the slain; this is one of the features of the gradual degeneracy of the age, and the overweening self-assertion of a certain section of the British Middle Classes. It is well to have a Giant's strength, but it is not well to use it as a bully. Nothing would have been easier than to have swept the Islands of Erromanga and Nikapu from sea to sea clean of all their inhabitants, to revenge the deaths of Williams and Patteson; but the Missionary Societies protested against the very idea of retaliation, nor would the British responsible Authorities have tolerated it. The relations of the deceased did not gather excited meetings in British towns, and pass Resolutions, as in later cases, to petition the Government to send expeditions of rescue, or intimidation. Such weakness of faith, such want of sound judgment, such incomprehensible misunderstanding of the duty of a Christian man, were reserved to a later age. On the Platform the Missionary proudly, yet humbly, professes, that he carries his life in his hand, ready to live, God willing, and ready to die: if this were not the case, how low the British Missionary would rank after the Swede, the Norwegian, and the Swiss, who have no ships to send, and whose countrymen still are ready to give up their lives, and fill up all that remains of the sufferings of Christ. If a Missionary has not stomach for such warfare, he had better retire into the safe refuge of a London Curacy, or a Lancashire Manufactory, where he will find heathen to minister to, without risk to his life, or causing alarm to his over-anxious relations.

The Hero-Missionary remembers, that his service is a life-service, not the pastime of youth, or the employment of manhood, until a good piece of preferment, and a pleasant home, is provided for him in his native country. Nothing is so disheartening as to see so many instances of this forgetfulness of their first love, and of the words of our Lord (Luke ix. 62), "No man, having put his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the Kingdom of God." There should be no discharge in this warfare save death, or certified ill-health of the Missionary

himself, not of his wife and his children. It is a matter of congratulation, that we have aged Bishops content to occupy their posts until Death, that we have aged Missionaries, who have not preferred the ties of blood, or the claims of family, to the work, which has been the desire of their youth, the joy of their manhood, and the solace of their old age.

Such men desire, when their time comes, to die like warriors on the field of battle, and to be buried under the shadow of the chapel, which their own hands erected, amidst the flock, which their own words had brought to God. "Here am I, Lord, and the children, whom Thou hast given me." It was well said by a Bishop, that his death at his post may do much more than his life, and he practised what he preached, and is buried behind the Communion-table of the Cathedral, which he had himself constructed.

The Hero-Missionary is tender in heart, gentle in words, slow to anger, and easily pacified. He is not insensible of the heinousness of sin, but his heart melts in pity towards the sinner. He does not strike with his hand or stick the bodies of the poor natives, whose souls he has come out to try to save: he does not usurp an authority over them, because his face is white, and he is one of a strong Nation, as he remembers, that he is their minister, the servant of servants, as was his Master, who washed the feet of his disciples: he does not tie them up to trees to be flogged, and kept in durance for whole nights, but he attaches them to himself by the silken cords of love. He came among these poor children of Nature, not to be ministered unto, but to minister.

He may be the son of a noble in his own country, and he is not puffed up, or he may be the son of a country-shopkeeper, and he is not abashed, nor does he strive in his new profession to be conventionally treated as a gentleman, for in his humility he takes in either case the standpoint of being a Christian, occupying the same position, that was occupied by Paul the great scholar and Roman citizen, and by Peter the humble fisherman of Galilee: he seeks not high places, nor great companies, nor first-class accommodation in Steamers or Railways: he is economic of the funds of the good Society, which is his nursing mother; he is not always calling out for grants for his wife, or his children: he does not desire to dwell in a fine comfortable house, for he minds not high things, and is content with men of low estate: his door is ever open to the people, whom he came to win to Christ: his attire is simple, and he seeks not the company of men of this world, though indirectly the type of the holy upright man, which he presents to their eyes, has a reflex blessing on their souls: though silent, his life is a sermon to them. He acts up to the ideal of the Christian soldier, which he had con-

ceived in his youth, when the message came to him, when the Holy Spirit overshadowed him: to be brave and strong, yet loving and tender: full of holy ardour, yet self-controlled, and free from spurious excitement: firm in convictions, yet tolerant: firm of purpose, yet merciful and considerate: meek and lowly, yet proud of his calling: fearing God, yet fearing no one else.

My friends, you must be thoroughly equipped for the combat with something more than the surface-teaching of the ordinary Theological College. One of my fellow-students, forty years ago, at the East India College, was a Jew, a believing Jew, and a clever Jew, and he took the highest marks in Paley's Evidences of Christianity. I asked him, whether he were not entirely convinced, and he replied, that it had not the least effect upon him. Such must often be the teaching of the ordinary Missionary to a Hindu, a Buddhist, a Mahometan, and to a certain degree to the Pagan. It is always easy to speak with contempt of the Indian Fakír, smeared with ashes, and sneer at the prayer-wheel of the Buddhist (something very like which in kind is found in many a Christian Church), and point out the blots in the Mahometan scheme of Salvation: it seems easy to show up the utter abomination of Pagan Human Sacrifices; but the Missionary will find, that behind these exoteric symbols there is a radical misconception of the problem of human nature in the minds of the professors of a false Religion, and behind the poor ignorant devotee he will find men with minds much more subtle than his own, gifted with a power of argument far exceeding his own, appealing to authorities, of which the Missionary is ignorant, and the uninterrupted practice of centuries. The idol is something more to the believer than a bit of wood and stone: the believers are not men of the nineteenth century, and with the impress of European training. To miracles and prophecies, quoted by the Missionary, the teachers and believers of the false Faith will quote prophecies and miracles of their own: to the words of the Bible, and the claim of Inspiration, they will oppose the words of their own sacred books, and claim equal supernatural authority: the sequence of historical events, and the facts of geography, are unknown to them: it becomes at last a struggle for life upon the first principles of human existence, and the contest must take place upon an arena, of which the poor theological student of England never dreamt, behind the altar, out of sight of the Church, in scorn of the Bible, or any Christian authority, and nothing but the outpouring of the Holy Spirit can bring the unbeliever to see, and know, and bow to the Truth. The Hindu in his prolific literature works out his great metaphysical question, "What am I? whence came I? whither do I go?"

Ποῦ γενόμαι ; πόθεν εἶμι ; τίνος χάριν ἦλθον, ἀπῆλθον ;

And it ends in Nothingness: his successor the Buddhist makes this Nothingness the object, aim, and end of existence: the Mahometan boldly pillages the Old and New Testaments to fashion a system, which can never respond to the yearnings of the human heart, or satisfy its aspirations: the poor Pagan in his blindness is so far ahead of the modern educated Atheist, that he feels and admits the presence of the Deity and His omnipotence, and tries to appease Him by sacrifices; with him it is not the cultivation, but the creation of Faith, that has to be undertaken: he is ready, however, to listen to something better, and welcomes the Teacher, who comes with a semblance of greater knowledge of the great Unknown. We read how, when the first Missionary arrived from Rome in Northumbria, and a Council was summoned to discuss how he should be received, a wise old baron remarked, that the life of man seemed to them in their heathen ignorance, like the flight of a bird out of the dark winter outside into the warm and lighted chamber, and then out at a window into another world of dark winter at the opposite side; the passage of a moment from a long unknown Past into a long and unknown Future: the contemplation of this was crushing; and, if the stranger from Rome could tell them something a little more certain, he should be welcomed. Such is the spirit, with which a Teacher is welcomed in many a Pagan Community. But is the ordinary Missionary equal to this occasion? Bred up in an atmosphere permeated by Darwinism, Pantheism, and Atheism, or in a Church, where more value is placed on the human surroundings, the ritual and the externals, than the Eternal Truth, can it be hoped, that he will mount up to the level of the Religion of Religions, the object and aim of human existence, and with the Bible in his hand and in his heart, *and nothing else*, grapple with the Hindu, Buddhist, Mahometan, or Pagan on the common ground of Right and Wrong, Truth and Falsehood, Judgment and Mercy, Sin and Repentance, Pardon and Peace, opening out new worlds of thought to his astonished hearers? The Hero-Missionary can do this. He illustrates his principles, and his doctrines, in his Christ-like life, and words, and challenges his hearers to show him a better way than the way of self-sacrifice, self-control, and self-consecration, to produce a higher conception than that of the Fatherhood of God, of Faith in a Redeemer, of the presence and power of the Holy Spirit, leading poor weak men to personal holiness.

There are plenty of men, who will volunteer to go out, and dwell a season amidst the polished Persian, the civilized Arabized races, the Indian, who, with all his faults, is gentle and reasonable, the intelligent Chinese, and the progressive Japanese. They represent Nations on the highest rounds of the ladder

of civilisation, our superiors in many arts and graces, with their Monuments of Literature, and Architecture, and their time-honoured customs: they have centuries ago got beyond the epoch of human sacrifices, and cannibalism: they have had in their midst great Sages, who felt after God, if haply they could find Him, men standing on the same platform, as Socrates, and Aristotle, and Pythagoras. There is very little discomfort in such service, and no danger: mere worldlings dwell among such races for the purpose of Commerce, and the service of the State. We do not wish to undervalue such services, for such were the Missionary operations of St. Paul among the Greeks and Romans. The process of sapping and mining in some countries has long been going on. Education has brought with it a contempt for Idolatry, but Civilisation has brought with it a contempt for all Religions, and a disbelief in the Supernatural, a doubt as to the reality of a Future State, and fantastical notions not authorized by the Bible.

But this is not the higher order of service: it does not mean the same self-sacrifice: it does not approach so near the services, rendered to Man by our Saviour: our Lord abased himself, when he took the form of a slave, and became Man for our redemption. He thought it not vile to dwell in the tents of men, and associate with the poor erring children of men. Patteson and John Williams, and the whole army of Moravian Missionaries, learnt to look over the wall of partition, that separates race from race, and to call no one common and unclean: there have been Missionaries, who have had the fortitude given to them to go in, and dwell among lepers, and have succumbed to the disease themselves: there are those, who have found a Grace vouchsafed to them to dwell among the poor dirty savage outcasts of the human family, to submit to insult, hardship and perils: to die in spirit every day, and at length breathe out their last breath in some round straw-hut, looking to Jesus, yet still thinking of friends and home.

Dulces moriens reminiscitur Argos.

But there was no murmuring, for they knew how to be humbled, but not ashamed, to be cast down, but not disheartened, bearing about them the marks of the spear in their sides, and the print of the nails on their hands and feet. The service of such was great and noble: the heart of the worldling beats high, when he hears of such achievements, and he recognizes the grandeur of the life, though he is blind to the motive, and the power. Surely there must be joy in Heaven, when one of the miserable savages, to the outward eye nearer the beast than the man, is brought into the fold, and his body becomes

the temple of the Holy Ghost, for Christ in very deed died for him also. The self-sacrificing Missionary teaches the men to be brave, yet not cruel, and the women to be sweet and affectionate, yet not unchaste: out of the stores of his acquired experience he teaches them humble arts, and the very rudiments of knowledge, the very fundamental of human graces, to be decent in act and word, to respect human life, to recognize property, to be sober and chaste, to love God as a Father, and cease to fear Him like a slave, to bow in gratitude to the free offer of pardon: and yet all this is possible: it has been done, it may be done again: it must be done by some of you, who stand here, and hear me this day: “*ἐν τούτῳ νικά.*”

It will be nothing wonderful, if in due time we convert the people of India, China, and the extreme Orient. They are not wiser and stronger than were the Greeks and Romans in the day of their greatness, and we know that the Cross proved sufficient for their conversion. And experience has shown, that the same Cross is sufficient for races, whom Cæsar never knew, of whose existence the Greek Philosophers, and even St. Paul, had not the faintest idea. We thus begin to realize the full meaning of the prophecies of Isaiah:

The Isles shall wait for His Law.

And the words of our Lord:

They shall gather His elect from the uttermost parts of the Earth.

And again, in the Revelations:

Behold a great number, whom no man can number, out of every Nation, and all tribes, and peoples and tongues.

It is only after an all-round perusal of Missionary Reports, that I am able to differentiate the degree of self-sacrifice of Missionaries in different Felds. How light seems the burden of the comfortable Missionary in China and India, when contrasted with that of his brother in Africa or New Guinea! They are indeed Apostles of the ancient type.

There are three classes, in one or other of which you must, as Christian men, range yourselves:

I. Whatever secular station you occupy, whether at home or abroad, you must place the duty of assisting the evangelizing of mankind in the very first rank of duties, for nothing can approach it in importance: if your lot takes you to non-Christian countries, you will find plenty of opportunities to serve the cause, and bitterly you will regret in your old age, if you neglect your opportunities.

II. If you have a call to go forth, as a Missionary to the civilized non-Christian Nations, if you find yourself in possession of special gifts, consecrate them: do not take a worldly view of the subject, and mix up a Mission to a dying world with visions of early matrimony, social advantage, and a pleasant career.

Mere worldlings act thus. Many a soldier, many a student of Nature, many a ruler of men, have risen far above such a low level of human aspirations. The Athlete, and the Mechanic, give you a lesson. Show to the Heathen, that you come among them, understanding the law of self-sacrifice, and that you come not, as the haughty Briton, one who lords it over, and sometimes strikes or ill-uses the lower races, but as their brother, and their servant for Christ's sake.

III. But let me show a more excellent way to those, who are strong in body, strong in spirit, and also have worked out the sublime idea of self-sacrifice and self-consecration. The call will come to some of you, as it has come to others, in your dreams by night, in your visions by day, as you walk alone, or are in prayer, or in the midnight-watches. It will gradually overpower you, and make you captive, and at length you will call out with a loud voice, "Send me, Lord, for I am ready." For still many a sunny island of the South Seas, many a retired valley of the great central Plateau of Asia, many a dark forest-clad Savannah of the great valley of the Kongo, many a wild tribe of South America, and, alas! our own fellow-subjects, the neglected, ill-treated, Australian aborigines, and the poor Bushmen of the Cape Colony, are waiting, waiting for the moving of the waters of the Fountain of Life, and for some one to help them down: lifting up their eyes for the sight of the blessed feet of those, who bring the Gospel-message: calling, calling for their man, the Allen Gardiner, and Patteson, and Williams, of this generation: they are standing in your midst, though not as yet revealed to the eyes of men. In the long course of centuries no Prophet or Evangelist has ever come near these poor heathen: they have laid out of the course of the Revolution of the Gospel: they are waiting for one, who, in his life as well as his words, will illustrate to them the Life and Passion of our Lord, and their Lord: they ask not for the refinement, nor the fantasies of modern religious thought and practice, but with dumb voices they ask the men of the Nineteenth Century, and Civilized Europe, to teach them to clothe their nakedness, to dwell in decent dwellings, to cluster in villages, to live with one consort, and to respect human life, to do all things in a Christian way, and to realize the presence of the Risen Saviour. In the last desperate struggling of heathendom it may be, that the man of God, who thus appears like an angel among them, will be killed, and devoured; but his death will prove the dawn of the new life: over the martyr-tomb will spring up the new Chapel, and the younger generation, who witnessed the slaughter, and partook of the terrible feast, will, by the Grace of God, be converted and made new men, and, like St. Paul, become Evangelists. When their day of Grace comes,

and they understand the matter, like the Jews at Jerusalem a few days after the Crucifixion, they will be pricked to the heart. History is always repeating itself; but on this generation, the men of your age and country, rests the duty of completing the work, till the Gospel cover the earth, as the waters cover the sea. At the present moment there are regions still unevangelized, sufferings for Christ's sake not yet suffered, and crowns of Martyrs and Confessors not yet won. The resources of Christianity, the capacities of Christian men, are not yet exhausted.

Finally, my dear Friends, suffer me to say to you one word more, and this word applies not only to the Missionary, whose vocation is the highest of earthly vocations, but to each one of us, however humble and prosaic our special vocation may be. What were we created for? Why are we kept alive, except to do some special work, which is marked out for us by the inexorable teaching of circumstances, circumstances which are controlled by the omniscience of God! How can we succeed in any work, if our attempts are not sanctified by prayer! "Labora et Ora," for true Prayer is something done in the service of the Master, followed by Praise for being selected to do it, not the empty litany, or the conventional Prayer-meeting. Say what we like, we are all *day-labourers*, and he serves his God best, who does his day's work in the best manner, and in the best spirit. None miss so entirely the mainspring of human action, as those, who strive to dissociate religion from the simple round, the common task of the most prosaic, the most unromantic, the most depressing, lot in life.

It is not success, that sanctifies the work, for many of the best of us in our noblest undertakings do not succeed. We are thwarted by some narrow-minded obstructors standing on the next round of the ladder above us: we are baffled at every turn, and at length laid aside by Poverty, Sickness, or Death. It is not striving that wins: the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong. We must not look for the selfish satisfaction of thinking, that we have done something: we must not hope for the applause of bystanders, for the foolish multitude generally praise the wrong person, or praise the right person for the wrong thing. We must find our reward in the work itself: something each day accomplished: something done: some kindly word spoken: some cup of water offered to the suffering: some noble thought cherished, some achievement, which the world ought not willingly to let die, shadowed forth, thought out, conceived, if not actually brought forth. Good work, earnest work, prayerful work, can never be without a blessing to the Worker, which will follow him after Life's endless toil and endeavour to his rest, and what greater work than the saving of a Soul!

I once stood at the mouth of the great Panjáb Salt-Mine on the River Jhflam, and watched the long procession of women, children, and men, of young and old, slowly advancing towards me, toiling up the steep incline, each with head bent, and back curved under the burden of rock-salt, which they brought from the bowels to the surface of the earth. This was their hard and palpable day's labour. To the strength of each the burden was adjusted: the young daily grew into capacity to bear heavier, the old daily felt their strength less equal to their diminishing load, but all rested night after night wearied with their daily round, and all each morning rose to the consciousness of a day's sweating and straining, and a risk of accidents and disease, and the dark River to be crossed at last.

Tears started in my eyes, as I thought of the sad procession of my contemporaries, whom during my own life I had seen toiling and striving, lifting their heavy burdens, or sinking by the way under them. I thought of the strong and enthusiastic, too eager for the strife, who fell years ago: the patient and uncomplaining, who toiled on till within the last few years: the yearly diminishing group of fellow-labourers with yearly-diminishing force, and the dark unknown future before me.

But there is no prison so deep, that its depths are not reached by some ray of God's interminable day, and, as I looked into the faces of the salt-bearers, I became aware, that one ray of light reached to the lowest slope of their dungeon, and, as they advanced upwards, it ever became brighter and brighter, shining hopefully in their uplifted eyes, and gladdening their hearts with the thought of Home, and Rest, and of Labour, sanctified for the sake of the little ones, the old ones, the sick ones, to whose comforts their earnings ministered. The Hero-Missionary places the Heathen, to whom he goes as Christ's Ambassador, in that corner of his heart, where other men place their families.

Nay more. God's great lessons are taught in his works, and in his creatures. As each labourer reached the outer world, and flung down his burden, his eyes insensibly turned up with a look of thankfulness, and acknowledgment, to the kindly light, which had led him, and then each unconsciously shrouded his eyes with his hands, as if unable to bear the full glow of unutterable gladness, which the Grace of God sends to testify to the sanctity and dignity of Labour, however humble and contracted the sphere:

Well done, thou good and faithful servant: thou hast been faithful *over a few things*. Enter thou into the joy of thy Lord!

*Address to the Undergraduates of Cambridge,
in Henry Martyn's Hall, January, 1888.*

V.

THE FEMALE EVANGELIST.

The kingdom of Heaven is like unto leaven, which a *woman* took, and hid in three measures of meal, till the whole was leavened.—MATT. xiii. 33.

And the wise took oil in their vessels with their lamps.—MATT. xxv. 4.

I beseech thee also, good yokefellow, help these women, *for they laboured with me in the Gospel* whose names are in the book of life.—PHILIP. iv. 3.

HALF the population of India, or about one hundred and twenty-five millions, are women. There, as in other parts of the world, the women are most easily influenced by religious convictions, and to them is confided the control of the tender years of the male population; and, though women in India do not appear in public, it is a mistake to suppose, that within the walls of their home their influence is not very great, for good or for evil. From time immemorial, in Northern India, women have been secluded either absolutely within brick walls or debarred by understood etiquette from holding conversation with the other sex. I remember an old Native gentleman, who had travelled much in India, remarking, that it would be better to lose one's way on a journey, than ask it of a woman, as it might involve the traveller in trouble. Nor do I think, that it is either likely, or desirable, that for some generations the rule should be broken: it might lead to greater evils. Women are exceedingly troublesome in courts of Justice, when they break through the barrier of custom, and appear either as litigants or witnesses. Until a great change comes over the structure of Indian society in Northern India, it is as well, that in railways, and in churches, as they are in schools and hospitals, the sexes should be separated, and a decent reserve maintained by men in alluding even to their existence.

Noble efforts have been made during the last quarter of a century by special Societies to approach the women in cities and towns, where they are absolutely secluded. The Female Medical Missionary has appeared, to the delight and admiration of all. Female Teachers, and that blessed combination of syllables, "the Bible Woman," and the Scripture-Reader, the house-to-

house Visitor, the Composer of Tracts and Stories specially for the use of women, and other indirect channels of female influence, have come into existence. A recognized component part of a fully-equipped Mission must be a "Female Evangelist."

Can Female Evangelists, gifted with power of utterance and equipped with spiritual knowledge, be found, and, if found, how can they be employed? Let me consider these points separately.

Now no one, who has attended religious meetings of late, can fail to be aware, that a new power has come into existence, and a very sweet and healthy one. St. Paul may have set his face against women speaking in churches, and usurping the functions of an ordained minister; but this scarcely comprises Prayer-meetings, and village-itinerations; and the teaching of the Old Testament is against such restrictions, as two most noble passages in the Old Testament proceeded from the lips of women, Deborah and Hannah; and just in the dawn of the New Covenant the Holy Spirit spoke through the mouth of a woman, the Mother of our Lord, in strains of unsurpassed beauty and eloquence, showing unmistakably, that God is no respecter of sexes. The Revisers of the Old Testament have done good service in communicating to the public the right interpretation of Psalm lxviii. 11:

The Lord giveth the Word: the women, that publish the tidings, are a great host.

This was long well known to Hebrew scholars, though the Revisers of 1611, for reasons best known to themselves, entirely lost sight of the correct interpretation. However, the fact is now made known most opportunely; but it presupposes the existence of natural gifts, and a careful instruction. Female Evangelists can be found, natural gifts can be developed, and suitable instruction can be conveyed; and, further, the sooner this measure be adopted, the better. A new army of soldiers, an auxiliary force, to supplement the regular forces, is summoned into the field.

Then comes the question, How can they be employed? I have myself lived many years alone in the villages of Upper India, and marked the habits of the people. To the British ruler, in the midst of his subject-people, all things are possible, if he evince sympathy and love, and respect for their customs, and a tolerance for their religion. He may do pretty well what he likes, within the limits of honour and virtue, if he does it in a Christian way; but he soon finds out, that the people, though they know him, and confide in him, would rather that he did not enter their homes, or talk to their women, old or young, or even allude to them in conversation. It is contrary to the etiquette of the country, and their feelings would be hurt, if he did so. The bystanders would titter, if he asked a friend after his wife's

health. In the villages there is no absolute seclusion; but a decent woman would veil herself, or turn her face to the wall, or beat a retreat, if, in the road or street, she came suddenly upon men. The Missionary must feel the same difficulty, and perhaps more intensely, as he is not so well known, and is not surrounded with the prestige of authority. The Female Evangelist will find her work in the villages all ready for her.

The attempt has already been made with wonderful success in Northern India. In the Monthly Periodical of the Church of England Zanána Society are most sweet and encouraging letters. One from the pen of Miss Tucker (A.L.O.E.) speaks to the heart, as she expresses her own feelings. As I read it, the same feeling comes over me, a desire to be young again, and back again among my own people, the inhabitants of the Panjáb, among whom I lived so many years, alone and happy, in spite of war and tumult. It was part of our system, that the District Officer should dwell in tents amidst his people, without guards, ruling by moral influence, and the feeling of gratitude for benefits received. I can conceive no happier life, when in the employment of an earthly ruler: how much more so when in the service of our King! Memory goes back gladly over the interval of thirty or forty years to the white tent pitched in the outskirts of the village in the mango-grove, where I have passed laborious hours, devoted in sincerity and single-mindedness to the benefit of the people, who crowded round their alien, and yet beloved, ruler. I recall the evening-walk with a long train of followers through the streets and the gardens, down by the stream, or over the heather. I hear again the cry of the peacock, the cooing of the doves, and the barking of the dogs. I see again the slanting rays of the sun, shedding glory through the grove, the white figures glancing through the shade, the rows of elephants, horses, and camels. Oh, that I could be young again, and go forth to be an Evangelist, where once I was Ruler and Judge, and earthly providence, to contented millions! I can at least encourage others to go.

I do not admit for a moment, that the villagers of Northern India, scores of whom I have known and loved, are in a state of moral darkness beyond that of European nations, who know not Christ. If this were the case, the Courts of Law, Civil and Criminal, would have disclosed it. I have decided thousands of cases, and not discovered it. But these villagers are in a moral twilight, and the Sun of Righteousness has not risen before their eyes. If the Holy Spirit speaks to their consciences (and does it not speak?), it is with a muffled and half-audible voice. Are they to blame? No Evangelist or Prophet has ever come to them: for long ages they have been left outside the influences of any Soul-revival.

To the village-women the appearance of a Female Evangelist must be, as it were the vision of an Angel from Heaven : to their untutored eyes she appears taller in stature, fairer in face, fairer in speech, than anything mortal that they had dreamt of before : bold and fearless, without immodesty : pure in word and action, and yet with features unveiled : wise, yet condescending to talk to the ignorant and the little children : prudent, and self-constrained, yet still a woman, loving and tender. In Hindú Annals the Poets have written about Sitá and Damáyanti, and painted them with the colour of every earthly virtue, showing that they knew what a virtuous woman should be ; yet such as they never appeared to the sight of poor village-women, even in their dreams, until suddenly their eyes, their ears, and their hearts, seem to realize, faintly and confusedly, the Beauty of Holiness, when they begin to hold converse, only too brief, with their sweet and loving visitor, who, smitten with the wondrous desire to save souls, has come across the Sea from some unknown country to comfort and help them. Short as is her stay, she has, as it were with a magic wand, let loose a new fountain of hopes, of fears, and desires : she has told them, perhaps in faltering accents, of Righteousness and Judgment, of Sin, Repentance, and a free Pardon, through the blessed merits of a Saviour. This day has Salvation come to this Indian Village !

It is notorious that the supply of male agents, both spiritual and secular, falls far short of the demand. All the Missions are below the normal and necessary strength. What is to be done ? My suggestion is :

Make a fuller use of women. Call upon that sex, which no longer deserves the conventional epithet of *the weaker*, or *less wise*, to supply the vacuum, and stand in the gap.

But they must have precisely the same allowances, be provided with similar accommodation, and placed on the same footing, as the male Missionary. The Missionary's wife is no doubt as much a Missionary in theory and practice as her husband, but her hands are very full already. The proposal to employ special medical women, and special educational women, and special Bible-women, has been accepted, and is part of our system. I rejoice, that I was the fortunate suggester at the Bible House of the measure with regard to Bible-women. It has been found most acceptable everywhere. In some Missions, combinations have been made by the Missionary Societies and the Bible Society, under which a class of Bible-selling Evangelists, both male and female, is coming into existence. All the lines seem to be converging in this direction. I am merely formularizing, and bringing forward in a general and popular form of description with the tendencies and requirements of the age, as well as the a method, which is already in practice, and which harmonizes

aspiration of godly women, who desire to take their full share in the work of their Lord. Hitherto they have been kept in the second rank, or even left behind in the tents in charge of the stuff. The order has gone forth, "Up, women, and at them!"

For a great part of my life I have been in authority, with scores of male agents, European and Native, under my orders, and I have always insisted upon training, as a condition precedent. An untrained servant, however honest, well-intentioned, and willing, is of comparatively little use. A Women's Board of Management is essential to the selection, training, and control of female agents. Set a woman to manage women. No female agent should be entertained without the approval of that Board. We have a Medical Committee for our medical requirements; a Clerical Committee for selection of Missionaries; a Financial Committee for our Finance. The female agent is a speciality, the diagnosis of which exceeds the skill of the surgeon, the clergyman, or the financier. The matter is too high for the Lay Committee without professional advice. The second step is, that female agents must be trained at some establishment specially devoted to the subject. We spend annual thousands in our Training College for men, and no money is spent to a better purpose: let us not grudge what is required to refine, and place the mint-mark of training and instruction, on that purity, and consecrated talent, and that life-devotion, which is better than fine gold. I am more and more convinced, that the spiritual side of a Missionary's duty depends as much upon training and godly instruction, as it is admitted on all hands with regard to the medical and educational side. I look with misgiving upon the haphazard mode, in which female agents have hitherto been supplied. It is wonderful, that they have been as good and efficient as they undoubtedly are. The epoch for the simple, God-fearing, Scripture-loving, but otherwise uninstructed, Missionary, whether man or woman, is past. Arms of precision are required to fight the Lord's battles.

The disparity of the number of the sexes in this country is notorious. In every town there is a sweet superfluity of women, to whom a vocation is not marked out, or sought for in vain, or at least not found. Endowed with talents, education, and spirituality, they stand, as it were, in the market-place of this great world, seeking employment. The brothers have gone forth in their prime to fight the Queen's battles, or carry on the great Life-war in the ranks of their contemporaries. The sisters remain at home. The simple round, the common task, may be sufficient, where there is a round, and there is a task. But many even in early life have outlived the natural ties, which held them to the spot, where they were born, and they stand wistfully, and

with weary spirit, looking out into the dim and remote future, with the inaudible cry of the heart :

My life, what shall I do with it? Lord, what wilt Thou have me to do?

The dove, let loose from the Ark, finds no place, on which it can rest its foot, and returns in despair.

In the middle ages, or in Roman Catholic countries, such flowers would be left to bloom away, undesired and unprofitable, in the sealed garden of the Convent: such nobility of character, such fervency of devotion, such capacity for God's work, would be crushed by an idle ritual of Chapel-services, or be allowed to burn itself out as foolishly, as vainly, as the waxen tapers on the Altar. In Protestant Countries there is an opening for better things. The tending of the sick bed in the Hospital, the soul-introspection during the midnight watch betwixt the dead and the dying, is a better chastisement of the proud and egotistic spirit than the self-inflicted lash of the Abbess and the Nun. The conveying of the Gospel-blessings from village to village in India is more pleasing and profitable than the cold, cheerless chaunt of the midnight Mass, where Sanctity is only to be purchased by Idleness.

Some may fall, and some have fallen, by the Roadside, as they enter the Vineyard, or before even they have stretched out their hand to the tending the Vines. The Lord considers the will, not the deed, and, if the Soul's desire is to serve the Master, what matter whether He recalls the servant in the morn, or at noon, or at sunset, or whether He prefers the servant to the work, which that servant proposed to do? And, if the summons comes in a far country, what matter whence the enfranchised soul takes its flight? Some may die in the carefully guarded home of their earthly parents: some in the solitary rest-house in India: some in the round straw hut in Africa. This is but the mode of transition. The object and end of the Life's labour, and journey, is the same.

Church Missionary Society's Intelligencer, 1885
(with additions, 1888).

VI.

THE CHRISTIAN NATIVE CHURCH IN INDIA.

CHANCE led my steps one Sunday evening to the door of a Native Christian Church, belonging to one of our Missions in one of the largest towns in India. The bells were chiming from the tower, that sweetest of sounds: the hands of the clock pointed to the hour of five, and the congregation was flocking in at the door, men, women, and children. There was something soothing in the sight: a dream of the past came over me, of the absent and of home, associated with feelings of religion and purity, and, joining the simple crowd with uncovered head and reverential feelings I entered.

It has been mine to sit in the Churches, and join in the worship, of many branches of the great family of Christians, in far and distant countries, in divers and sundry languages, in the cold and formal worship of Northern, in the ardent and demonstrative adoration of Southern Europe, in the evangelical devotions of the Reformed Church of England, in the dark and unsightly oratories of poor degraded Syria; but, though some years a resident in India, this was the first time, that I had joined in the prayers of the chosen few of those millions, whose destinies we govern.

The building was handsome and appropriate. Art had lent its assistance to the decoration of the House of God, but with simplicity: there was that, which was sufficiently distinctive from the ornaments of ordinary houses, to recall wandering thoughts to a recollection of the place: but there was nothing calculated to transform the House into a Temple, or to lead weak minds to suppose, that the *dead walls* constituted Christ's Church, and not the living persons of the congregation. Here at least no pride or pomp of circumstance disfigured the equality of the worshippers; no shining emblems of ephemeral station

dishonoured the assembly; the floor sounded to no clank of martial tread; the sun, as it streamed through the windows, lighted on no dazzling insignia or scarlet trappings: in this assemblage, he, that was the least, was even as the greatest.

I looked down the nave with interest and heart-felt pleasure. According to the custom of Oriental Churches, the sexes were divided. On the one side the men and boys of the congregation: on the other the matrons, young women and children. Nearly all were clothed in white; the men were bareheaded as well as barefooted, the reason for which I did not understand, such not being the practice of Oriental Churches elsewhere, and manifestly inconvenient, and as such to be avoided. The women had their heads decently covered in the folds of their scarves. I saw many sweet expressive countenances, not fearing in the simple confidence of female virtue, to look in the faces of their husbands, their parents, and their acquaintances, proud of the conceded privilege of equality with their helpmates, with hopes for the future dependent on their own exertions: shrinking from no recollections of a past, stained by corruption and degradation. Christianity, if thou hast done this alone, restoring the modest blush of innocence to conscious and fearless virtue, thou art the Benefactor of our race!

But the service has commenced; a kind hand supplies me with the Book of Life, and the Book of Prayer; and that language, which had hitherto been familiar to me only as an expression of the evil passions of the governed, and the hard Laws of the Ruler, was now for the first time the vehicle to my ears of praise and prayer. Dissociated from their familiar words, which are merely the outward tenements of the inward spirit, the moving Admonition of the Minister, the humble Confession of the People, the Absolution, complete, but conditional, came back to my senses, as an old strain of familiar music, long heard, and often from the loved and revered lips of my Father; now first fully felt, when ringing from the chords of a new and hitherto untried instrument. Many are the languages of men, one the language of God. How is it, that the voices of the children, responding in their deep and ringing chorus (though the words are in a strange tongue), bring back so truly, so vividly, forgotten Sabbaths and distant Churches? Is it that there is but one sound for prayer and praise, that human penitence can be expressed but in one tone? Is it thus, that the loud Hosannahs of the denizens of the earth will be collected in one joyful chorus at the day of the Second Coming? Is this the cry of the Cherubim and Seraphim? I was struck and delighted by the devout and attentive behaviour of the congregation: when two or three are thus joined together, He will surely be in the midst of them.

The Psalms and First Lesson were omitted, that the Service might not be too long, and at the close of the Second Lesson followed the Sacrament of Infant-Baptism; and now I became aware of another feature of order in this well-arranged congregation, which from the position of my seat had hitherto escaped my observation. In front of the Font, but with their backs turned towards it, and concealed from the rest of the Church, sat with solemn, thoughtful and reverent faces those, in whom the Spirit of God was working for their Salvation: they were *in* but not *of* our body, they were candidates, awaiting Baptism, when they had passed their ordeal, and by their consistent conduct in the *past* had given earnest for the *future*: seated they were in front of the Font, the waters of which were to them for a season denied, while they beheld the new-born babe, unconscious of all taint, even that of hereditary sin, admitted before their eyes into the Covenant, which they were commencing to appreciate. Never till then had I fully recognized, or been sufficiently thankful for, the blessing of being born of a Christian stock, with no fiery ordeal to go through; no parents, friends and all, to desert for His sake; no sad, mournful, but beloved and regretted associations of the past to look lingeringly back upon; no doubtful, scorned and opprobrious future to anticipate. I felt, that they had something to wish for, which I had already in possession; something, for which they paid a great price, but which to me was a birthright, not the right of being a Briton, but the privilege of being born a Christian. But great will be their reward. Christian children of Christian parents! feel for them, and do not in your pride despise the weak and failing brother!

Two infants were presented to be baptized; their swarthy little faces peeping out of their white garments, and contrasting strangely with the fair hand and face of the Minister. Here the white man appeared in his true and proper dignity! not the exterminator, the stranger, the ruler by a strong arm, the enforcer by arbitrary laws, the one that is bowed down to, and yet shunned in the streets; that is openly courted, yet secretly scoffed at and despised as unclean: here I saw the race of the Anglo-Saxon bestowing on their subject-people a greater skill, than the science of arms, a greater miracle, than the triumph of manufactures. We are a mighty, strong, and wise people: we have conquered countries unknown to the Romans; we have measured the paths of the Heavens with a far-distending radius denied to the Greeks: the achievements of our present surpass the wonders of their past; but here we spontaneously convey to our subjects that treasure, of which they knew not, but which in the midst of our wealth we value the most: that strength, to which they never arrived, but which in the midst of our pride is our greatest glory, the shame

of the Cross, and the sure Promise of Salvation. Who is the lowest in the eyes of the world amidst the congregation? Upon whom have the doubtful gifts of fortune fallen with abundance? The Minister takes the child of either in his arms, and signs him with that sign, of which he ought never to be ashamed.

The sponsors knelt reverently round, and made their answers with feeling. I looked into the features of these men, to see if any hidden sign would betray a difference between him, and his heathen brother, any flash of intelligence sparkle from the eye of the mind which had comprehended such truths. There was none. He, that readeth the heart, will judge what it is forbidden for man to know.

Then followed the three Collects, the Prayer for the Queen, the Royal Family, the Clergy, Parliament, and all conditions of Men, and I wondered, as I saw the lips of the women and girls articulating the words Victoria and Albert, what idea they connected with the same, what strange pictures they had drawn in their simple minds of the Royal Couple, and the Royal Children. I could almost have wished, that the prayers of native congregations were reserved simply for those in authority over them.

After the Prayers followed a Hymn, sung by the congregation to the accompaniment of a Harmonium: the chaunt from the Hindustáni Hymn-book possessed apparently but slight poetical merit, but was well suited to the place, and well sung, showing, that the Natives of the country have a full appreciation of the system of European music. But, while the Hosannah was swelling up to the roof-beams from these untutored lips, I beheld through the windows, which opened to the ground, the cortége of a wealthy Rája sweeping by under the walls of the Church. I heard the rattle of his equipage, as every screw and bolt gave a music of its own. I could see from my place in the Church, the ignorant profligate, this bloated abomination of a man, contemptuously smiling, as the voices of the congregation reached him. I saw the low truckling flatterer leaning over from the back seat, and with finger pointing to the building, and chuckling laugh, telling what I knew to be some false scandal, *his* version of what was going on in the interior. I saw the whole at a glance, and comprehended it; but busy memory, roused by the incident, bore me back many a century to the "upper chamber of Troas," and to "the school of Tyrannus." I thought of the early Christians at Athens, at Corinth, at Ephesus, and at Rome: thus and thus, as this debased Rája now, did the noble Roman, the philosophic Greek, great in the power of science and arms, once ride by, lolling in their chariot, perhaps talking flippantly of, perhaps discussing seriously, the manners and customs of this new sect, these worshippers in the Catacombs. With them was the flatterer, and busy mocker, the sarcastic stoic, the lively

atheist, the sycophantic eunuch, ready to tell ridiculous stories for these good easy men to believe. I thought of these things, and God forgive me, if *I* triumphed, when I dwelt on the triumphs of God's Revelations, and *anticipated new victories*. I have seen standing erect the sign of the Cross in the place, where the early Christians fought after the manner of men in the Roman Amphitheatre. I have stood on the Areopagus to contemplate the ruins of the Parthenon, wondering how it looked, when St. Paul spoke of Christ and the Resurrection: my voice has rung along the shores of Ionia:

Demetrius, surely thy craft is in danger: where is thy Great Diana of the Ephesians?

No sound is heard in reply but the splashing of the waves of the Ocean. Returning from the past, in the full confidence of Faith, I pondered on what would be the fate of the great Anti-Christ city around me. Will not a day arrive, when the gilded pinnacle of that Hindu Temple shining in the sun will be torn down, when the tapering minarets of that Mahometan Mosque will be laid low? Will it not be more tolerable for Sodom and Gomorrha in the day of Judgment, than for this city, in which the Word of God is daily preached in the streets, in whose ears the bells of this Church are ringing weekly warnings for repentance? Will not the men of Nineveh rise up in judgment against them?

But the Hymn has been finished, and the Sermon commenced: no new-fangled theories, no polemical discussions, no metaphysical distinctions, no suggestion of Ritual observances, fell from the lips of the Reverend Pastor, who himself was one of the Natives of India predestined to Salvation. I heard a father addressing his own children, expounding simple Scripture narrative with simpler applications. I turned back, and noticed the mouth opened in interest, the neck outstretched to catch each word. I saw children hanging on the familiar notes of the father.

We are told how Noah in obedience to divine authority built the Ark, how he and his family entered into it, and closed the door; how the wicked scoffed and jeered at him: how at length the rain *did* descend, the fountains of the deep *were* opened, the wicked utterly destroyed, but those few in the Ark were saved. This Church, my brethren, is the Ark; over this city of unbelievers is impending the Deluge: hasten ye in.

The page of Scripture further on supplies new motives, and fresh consolations:

We hear how Abraham, trusting in God, nothing doubting, left his country and kindred, things the nearest and dearest, to go he knew not whither: yet his Faith was rewarded. And ye, my brethren, who have sacrificed the ties of home for His sake, if ye endure to the end, will ye not have your reward also?"

No wide gulf separates the Preacher from his hearers: if he propounds a subject interrogatively, the answer appears to burst from the lips of an eager listener, and receives no check.

I feel, that one and all have derived instruction from such expositions, and comfort from such counsels. Sincerely I pray, that the words may rest grafted in our hearts, the peace of God on the congregation, as they meekly and reverently disperse to their homes.

And who are the good, the great, men, who have wrought this wondrous work? Whose hands have offered this incense of sweet savour to the Most High? Who are those, who have taken this new Jerusalem from the Jebusites, and planted this new Canaan in the land of the Heathen? Who have kept together these ten righteous, if peradventure for their sake the sinful city may be spared? There sit they, the shepherds among their flock, the Christian warriors reposing with their armour off after the combat. By their sides are their good yoke-fellows, their wives, their fellow-labourers, who have shared in the toil, and the victory. On their breasts are no proud insignia of battles, that they have fought, of victories, that they have won: but with a good fight they have carried the entrenchments of Sin and Satan, and have the *one* Cross engraved on their hearts. They have not sat on earthly judgment-seats, they have not collected the tribute of nations, but they will hereafter sit upon thrones judging the heathen, they will hereafter offer, as the fruit of their life-labour, a full harvest of redeemed souls. They have no precedence given them in mortal assemblies, but they will be reckoned among the Angels of Heaven. They have not controlled in the Courts of Human Justice the stormy struggles of man's bad heart; but with the Gospel as their rule, they have guided the economy of the soul.

I never see a Missionary, but I blame my fate, that I am not of them. Are they not to be envied, whose duties in this world harmonize with those of the next; zeal in their earthly vocations promoting, not, as with us, retarding, the work of their own salvation? They stand among the Heathen, as an ensign of what each of us values most: the General represents our victorious arms, the Governor our triumphs of administration, but the Missionary displays our virtues, our patience, our Christian charity, and shall we not be proud of him? I asked myself how is it that so few of Great Britain's learned and pious sons select this profession. The vision of one man from Macedonia took St. Paul across the Hellespont, and will no one cross the Indian Ocean for the millions, not in vision, but in reality? Will no young Augustine spring up to repay the debt of the Occident to the Orient, to bring back the Sun to the East? Had I life to begin again, this would be my choice: the glories and profits of other professions are but as vanity. We have fought battles: they are scarcely known beyond the narrow limit of the echo of the cannon. We have ruled over Provinces:

our fame is as soon forgotten, as we are gone. But should we have saved souls, a long line of Christians will carry back the legends of their family to our era, and entwine our names with the golden thread of grateful thanksgiving! Who remembers the Generals, the Proconsuls, of the time of the Cæsars? Who remembers not the Apostles?

Thence glanced my thoughts to the early converts, those, who had borne the heat of the day, on whose foreheads I could trace the lines of sorrow and early affliction (for the chain of the world is still dear to us), softened, yet not effaced, by the sweet smile of Faith and resignation. Perhaps in the records of this Church will be handed down, as household-words, the names of these early saints, who, when Christianity was young, forsook all things for His sake. When far and wide over this beautiful, and to me beloved, Indian land, in village and in town floats the ensign of the Cross amidst a Christian people, then on many a Sabbath-evening, when young and old are gathered together for reading and meditation, will their tale be told: old men will point to ruined temples, and tell to wondering ears, how once Idolatry existed in this land: soft, tender, womanly cheeks will be stained with tears at the sufferings of these St. Stephens: young, manly hearts will grow in sympathy with the intrepid bravery of the Indian St. Pauls.

We are standing on the threshold of mighty events: perhaps there may be some amongst us, who will tarry till He comes. In the early Christian Church we can trace three stages; the first, when a few obscure men professed an unknown and unappreciated Faith, persecuted by fanaticism, and crushed by ignorance. Miracles had long since ceased; the gift of the Holy Ghost no longer visibly descended, but the second stage was soon arrived at; thriving congregations began to erect their heads amidst their neighbours, and maintain their rights, with the tacit allowance, if not the sanction, of the Government. Within three hundred years the Temple was hurled down, and the Cross erected in the Market-place.

A few months ago (1852) it was my fortunate lot to join in the Protestant worship of a few sincere and sturdy Christians in an upper room at Nazareth: no preaching was allowed in the streets, no edifices were then dedicated to worship; all was fear, trembling, and the possibility of oppression and outrage, but for the protection afforded by the British Consul; here we have the first stage before our eyes. In the Church in which I now stand, I recognize the features of the second stage: the well-ordered congregation, the voice of the Preacher in the highways calling loudly to repentance, the modest tower rising up in the outskirts of the city, the bell calling cheerily to prayers, and this under the sceptre of Great Britain in her Colonies. Thrice happy

Britain! the extent of your conquests will be forgotten, for those of Gengis and Timúr have perished: but your Missions will never be forgotten, for they will have given religion to thousands, and the time will surely come, when the great idol of Banáras will be thrown down.

Who would not then be a Missionary, the Great King's Messenger, whose treasure is laid up in Heaven? Those, who cannot attain this high office, must give of their wealth, must give of their pittance, must pray for them, as I did, as I followed the last of the congregation out of the door, thinking, how sad would be the day, when, like Alexander, we shall have no more countries to conquer and convert: how happy for us to see so rich a harvest gladdening the heart of the Labourer in the Vineyard!

Bandras Magazine, August, 1852.

Thirty-six years have passed, and the work has prospered beyond human expectations. How grateful I am that I wrote this in my youth and my strength!

August, 1888.

VII.

A CHRISTIAN SOLDIER.

EIGHTEEN years after his death the Memorials of this good, and regretted, man have appeared. There is much in these two volumes, which we could have wished to have expunged. Special pleading was not necessary to bring out his great merits, and we have not far to dig for the fine gold of his character. He had a sweet individuality all his own; he had peculiar gifts, in which he far outshone all his compeers; by a measurable distance in other particulars he fell below many of them. I knew him in 1845, when he was with his regiment as a subaltern, before he stepped out on his grand career. I was with him, the same year, in the great battles of Múdkí and Sobráon. I was often, in subsequent years, in touch with him, always within hearing of his achievements. United in our desire to extend our Master's kingdom, we stood on the same Mission-Conference-platform in 1860 at Lahore, and on the eve of his last departure from India in 1865, we met for the last time in Calcutta under the roof of our common friend and master, John Lord Lawrence. Once only we came into collision. Edwardes, in his hatred to what was wrong, once unduly attacked the memory of his dead predecessor in office. I made an indignant protest, and the attack being withdrawn, the controversy ended with a sentence to the following effect:

If it be my destiny to outlive Sir Herbert Edwardes, I will be as bold in praising his great merits as I am now in shielding the failings of his predecessor. After a lapse of a quarter of a century, that opportunity has arrived.

Gay and gallant, witty and wise, generous and gracious, ready and resolute, eloquent and energetic, the doer of acts worth recording, the writer of pages worth reading, a faithful friend, a faithful servant of the State, a still more faithful servant, and stout-hearted witness, of his heavenly Master: such he was from

his youth to his grave. Many, who knew him, bless him for his good and fearless example. He died at the age of forty-nine, which seems a short life to those, who have long passed that span. He served the State in the Civil Department from March, 1846, to January, 1865, barely nineteen years, and of that period two years were spent in England. No true life is long. These few years were sufficient to fill the trump of fame, and give him a lasting claim on the admiration of his countrymen now and in the future.

Forty years have elapsed since February 10, 1846, the great battle of Sobráon, which was the starting-point of the history of the Panjáb, and of Herbert Edwardes, and of myself. Twenty-nine years have passed since May 10, 1857, the date of the Mutiny of the Mírat Garrison; of those, who shared in the last-named struggle, there are many; of those, who were present at the former, there are few. Since then there has been a long procession of heroes and statesmen traversing the plains of Northern India. Amidst that great assembly, to me, who knew and held converse with them all, no character appears more chivalrous, more unique, more satisfying, than that of the *preux chevalier*, who loved the Lord, and loved his fellow-creatures; who, to use his own words, took heed each day to place a stone in the basket of human life, with a face upturned in faith to Heaven, and the air of one, who builds for eternity. What made the Province, in which he served, the model of India? Because its rulers started upon a new platform with four great principles: 1. An intense love for the people. 2. A proud disdain of all that is wanton, sordid, and immoral. 3. An outspokenness even to a fault, and a freedom from red-tape officialism even to a blemish. 4. And, chiefly, a humble confidence in the leading of God's Providence, whom every official, from the highest to the lowest, was not ashamed to acknowledge and to worship, while he deemed it his duty to extend the knowledge of the saving Truth to the Heathen and the Mahometan. The two types of that school were Sir Herbert Edwardes, and John Lord Lawrence: there was a diversity of their gifts, but the same spirit: all that they did they did to the glory of God.

Them that honour Me, I will honour!

Edwardes commenced his civil career, as assistant to Sir Henry Lawrence, the Resident at Lahore, in 1846. Twice he was deputed to the District of Bannu to settle the affairs of a wild country, and he accomplished the task with wonderful success, and on April 22, 1848, he received news from Multán of the rebellion of Diwán Mulráj, and the slaughter of the English officers. Another man might have hesitated, but he at once with his native levies marched to the spot, and without any

resources, but those supplied by his own genius and pluck, he fought battles, gained victories, and besieged Mulráj in his own city, and held his own till many months afterwards a regular force arrived from Lahore, and after long delays stormed and took the fortress. This was but one incident in the second war of the Panjáb, which ended in the annexation of the whole Province. On his return from England in 1851, Edwardes became District-Officer of Jalandhar, whence he was transferred to Hazára on the frontier, and soon after he was promoted to the post of Commissioner of Pesháwar. Here he ruled the tribes with a strong hand, negociated an important treaty with Dost Mahomet, the Amír of Kábul, and, when the mutiny of the Sepoy-army convulsed Northern India, he so conducted the affairs of the frontier, maintained so firm a front, stirred up such a spirit among the natives, acted so entirely in harmony with the military authorities, that he was able to hold his own and despatch newly raised regiments to the siege of Delhi. His services were of the highest order; it is doubtful, whether any one but himself could have done what he did. When peace was re-established, in 1859, he re-visited England in broken health, the consequence of his exertions and exposure. In March, 1862, he returned to India as Commissioner of the Cis-Satlaj States, and in December, 1864, he finally resigned active service.

We must think of him as a soldier, a civil officer, a writer, as well as an orator, and a true Christian man.

It were wrong, for an instant, to class him among the great commanders of Great Britain and India, such as Clive, Havelock, Clyde, or Sir Charles Napier, who commanded great armies, and won great battles. His place is more with such brave men, as Garibaldi and Gordon, who by force of character led undisciplined troops to victory, and by their genius made things possible, which appeared impossible. As a civil officer likewise, except in that branch, which is called political, he had no great capacity or experience; he cared not for the peaceful duties of magistrate, collector, and judge of a well-ordered district; his genius and gallant spirit enabled him to curb barbarous tribes, win the love and respect of indomitable, yet noble, barbarians. He made plunderers leave off plundering, fighters leave off fighting, and, when the great crisis occurred of a mutiny and a rebellion, he was found dauntless, unmoved, full of resource, ready to strike, never for one instant doubting of the goodness of his cause, of the wise ordering of Providence, and the certainty of success, and in the time of triumph he was merciful.

It was as a writer and an orator, that he elicited the surprised admiration of his acquaintances. Before he came into public notoriety he had written clever letters to a local newspaper, but subsequently his contributions to the *Calcutta Review*, his

“Year on the Panjáb Frontier,” his public letters, his private correspondence, and the first volume of his unfinished “Life of Sir Henry Lawrence,” placed him in the foremost rank of the literary men of his period in India. Indeed, I know of none, who can equal him in some particulars. Add to this his remarkable speeches and addresses in England during his two visits. The great merit of these Memorials is, that they bring all his public utterances together, and reveal for the first time some of his private correspondence. Their characteristic is, that they contain sentiments of surprising beauty, clothed in words of most happy selection, struck off at the spur of the moment, for his mind must have been a fountain of sweet thoughts and happy images ever bubbling up, ever tinted with the true colour of an abiding faith, springing from an innate nobility of nature, purified by a humble Christian spirit. He passed without an effort from grave to gay in his charming conversation, and was equally a master of wit and pathos, making his hearers laugh or weep, as if by a magic spell, though the pensive mood came oftenest. There was a musical clearness in his voice, and a ring in his intonation when on the platform, as of a trumpet talking with the audience; though his hearers could not always agree with all his sentiments, which were often extreme, they came away smitten with his power, and carrying away some expressions never to be forgotten. At a prayer-meeting, or an assembly, a hearer for the first time might ponder, whether he stored up in his brain his sweet impromptus during his walks, or as he lay waking on his bed, or whether they came rushing from his heart to his brain and his mouth, in the inspiration of the moment; it was equally the characteristic of his writings, whether permanent or ephemeral; spontaneous pearls seem to drop off the margin of each page of his writings, and over the bar of the platform, as he spoke, into the shorthand notes of the reporter. Sometimes they were jovial, for his was a sunny nature, sometimes classical, sometimes moralizing, always happy, refined, and soul-lifting, never far-fetched, or lacking in transparent purity. They remain as treasures in the memory connected with the man.

What of his Christian character? Mr. Venn, the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, said to him in parting, that he recognized the grace given to him to dedicate his ability and influence to God’s glory. One, who knew him well, said that he had never heard any one so bold in confessing Christ. Many of us felt as he did, but at our time of life had not the courage to avow it, for he did it in his youthful prime, bringing to the Lord the offering of a pure and unsullied life; it might under another set of rulers have marred his official prospects, but he heeded it not. His weaker compeers cannot clearly tell,

how much they owed to Edwardes for the stability of their faith, any more than a private soldier on the eve of a battle can clearly define, how much of his courage he owed to the dauntless bearing of his officer in the moment of peril.

Some may have charged him with vanity, and these Memorials betray to the world, that he thought too much of the services, which he had rendered, and of the estimation in which the world held them. He had not risen to the grand level of rejoicing in the work itself, in finding his reward in the work done, and in the infelt gratitude, that God had chosen him for the work. Had he lived a little longer, in the calmness of his spirit he would in his own manner have recalled the great Roman citizen, who left his farm to save the State, and went back to it, when his work was done, seeking no praise, content to have done his duty. A wiser chronicler of his life would have suppressed those casual bursts of discontent, and unjust reflections on others. Had he lived to reach sixty, he would have burnt the letters, as he would have forgotten the feelings.

It is idle to speculate on what this kind and good man might have done, had he been spared to enjoy the calm and quiet decade, that follows the completion of half a century, for which so many have to be deeply grateful; the excitement of his nature would have calmed down, his deep religious convictions would have been broadened: he might have seen some things differently. He would certainly have finished the life of Sir Henry Lawrence, which consists now of a living photograph from the pen of Edwardes in the first volume, and a cold dead philosophic second volume by another hand, linked to the first by a Mezentius-chain. Perhaps he would have been the chronicler of his own deeds by writing a narrative of "A Year on the Frontier during the Mutinies." Hearts would have been uplifted by more of his stirring addresses; as a member of the Committee of the Church Missionary Society, he would have helped to manage the mission, he had founded and endowed at Pesháwar. But it was not to be.

Let us be silent and thank God. Better than a bench of Bishops, better than a convent of recluses, better than the transcendentalism of the daily celebrant, better than the vaunt of the blue ribbon, is the character of the earnest Christian soldier, standing as a light amid heathen darkness, doing Christian things in a Christian way, living in the World, and holding his own among men of the World. How knightly seems that form amidst the shattered idols on the pedestals of many of his contemporaries! Others after a youth of wildness may, by the grace of God, have passed into the number of His elect: some, alas! of those, who at that time were foremost in the work of bringing souls to Christ, have become themselves castaways. But the shield of this man was never dimmed by the faintest

cloud ; he had no vulgar vices or doubts to get rid of ; he went on his way a rejoicing Christian all the days of his life, singing a song of triumph down to the banks of Jordan.

The value of such works as this and the lives of Henry and John Lawrence, and Sir Henry Havelock, consists in the fact, that the young servant of the State can in them see, that it is possible to devote time and talents to a calling honourable in sight of men, and yet live close to God, who searches the heart. The attractive personality of Edwardes will be forgotten, when the generation of men, who knew him, passes away, but his lofty ideal, his consistent practice, his soul-stirring words, his unaffected piety, will long be the beacon and the guiding-star to the young Christian soldier. All cannot have his talents, his great gifts of oratory and composition, and his marvellous good fortune, but all can attain to his faith and holiness. Such characters should not be allowed to die.

Memorials of Maj.-Gen. Sir H. Edwardes, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., London.

REVIEW—*Record*, 1886.

NOTE.

The character of this great man is illustrated by the Minute, a copy of which is subjoined. When we had recovered from the shock of the Mutiny and Rebellion of 1857, we all thought, that something ought to be done to manifest more clearly the Christian profession of the great officers of the State, without in the least infringing the principles of Toleration to the Religious convictions of the People. The fiery spirit of Sir Herbert Edwardes induced him to propose a series of measures, which were endorsed by Sir Donald Macleod, but which did not commend themselves to those, who thought with Lord Lawrence, whose Minute contains the views, which ultimately prevailed, and in which I then, and now, heartily concurred.

February, 1887.

Sir J. Lawrence has been led, since the occurrence of the awful events of 1857, to ponder deeply on what may be the faults and shortcomings of the British, as a *Christian nation*, in India. In considering such topics he would solely endeavour to ascertain what is our Christian duty. Having ascertained *that*, according to our erring lights and conscience, he would follow it out to the uttermost, undeterred by any considerations. If we address ourselves to the task, it may, with the blessing of Providence, not prove too difficult for us. Measures of an *extreme* nature have been proposed, as essential to be adopted by a Christian Government, which would be truly difficult, or impossible of execution. But on closer consideration it will be found that such measures are

not enjoined by Christianity, *but are contrary to its spirit*. Sir J. L. does entertain the earnest belief, that all those measures, which are really and truly Christian, can be carried out in India, not only without danger to British rule, but, on the contrary, with every advantage to its stability. *Christian things done in a Christian way will never alienate the heathen*. About such things there are qualities, which do not provoke nor excite distrust, nor harden to resistance. It is when *un-Christian things are done in the name of Christianity*, or when *Christian things are done in an un-Christian way*, that mischief and danger are occasioned. The difficulty is amid the political complications, the conflicting social considerations, the fears and hopes of self-interest, which are so apt to mislead human judgment, to discern clearly what is imposed upon us by *Christian duty*, and *what is not*. Having discerned this, we have to put it into practice. Sir John L. is satisfied, that in the Panjáb he can carry out all those measures, which are really matters of Christian duty on the part of the Government. And further, he believes, that such measures will arouse no danger, will conciliate instead of provoking, and will subserve to the ultimate diffusion of the Truth among the people.

Such measures and policy, having been deliberately determined upon by the Supreme Government, should be openly avowed, and universally acted upon throughout the Empire: so that there may be no diversities of practice, no isolated tentative or conflicting efforts, which are indeed the surest means of exciting distrust: so that the people may see, that we have no sudden or sinister designs, and so that we may exhibit that harmony and uniformity of character, which befits a *Christian nation striving to do its duty*.—LAHORE, April 21, 1858.

VIII.

OBITUARY NOTICE OF A DEAR YOUNG FRIEND.

ON my return from Palestine in April, 1885, I heard that my sweet young friend S. M. F. W. had passed away on March 6th, just five months after her wedding-day. Last Sunday I went down to the now desolate house of the afflicted parents, for both their daughters, one at the age of 22, and the other at the age of 26, have by the inscrutable dispensations of Providence been taken away, and lie side by side in the churchyard. I found the village more beautiful than ever, for Nature had restored the ravages of winter with a luxuriant beauty of flower and foliage; but the chief beauty in my eyes was gone: the attraction, which had originally drawn me to the village, no longer existed.

Many young girls have passed away in years bygone, and many more will pass away in future years, but the memory of these two sisters deserves recording, as from their childhood to their graves they were devoted to the cause of Christian Missions. I made the acquaintance of my friend when attending a Missionary meeting in the West of England as a Deputation. After the speeches a sweet young woman entered into conversation with me, and told me, that her sister, who had lately died, had left all that she possessed to her Missionary Society, and that she, the survivor, intended to go out as a Missionary to China. She seemed so delicate and frail, that my heart sank within me at hearing this. The result of our meeting was, that I promised to attend and speak in the annual meeting of her father's parish, which would take place on her birthday, July 4th, 1883.

I found, that she had shown an early love for the Heathen lying in darkness; that, at the age of five and six, she and her younger sister had started their baskets of trifles to be sold to form a fund for the Mission. As they grew from childhood into girlhood, this intense love for Missions increased, and by

their collections they supported a child in a School in the Mauritius Mission. They helped to conduct the annual sale for their Society, and as they grew in years, and their talents expanded, their industry developed itself in painting on china, and including the last piece, painted by the surviving sister in January of this year, within a few weeks of her death, they had produced a clear gain of eighty pounds, and remitted it to the Society's House in London.

The dear child, whose loss we freshly deplore, had accepted the offer of eternal life, and full and complete salvation, after one of Mr. Moody's meetings at Camberwell; she has herself recorded the date, June 18th, 1875. She then made the following words part of herself:

I believe the glorious record
God has given of His Son;
I accept the free forgiveness
His atoning death has won.

From the time, that she dedicated her life to Him, the cause of Missions became increasingly dear to her heart as well as to that of her sister. Later on she tried to help by her collections and her prayers the Zanána Societies. Had she been altogether free and independent of home-duties and ties, she would long ago have joined one of these societies, and gone out to the Field. But this could not be. She had a fortnightly working-party of the children in her father's parish, and was a sedulous collector. It so happened, that she had never visited the Society's House in London, but among her papers of last year, 1884, I came on the following entry:

How little I thought that my first visit to the Society's House would be to offer myself as the wife of a Missionary.

God accepted the dedication, but not in the sense in which she intended, but in a form, which she accepted without demur and without regret. He had need of *her*, and not of her poor services. She had hoped, that with the brave and strong her course might lie to carry the Gospel to the Heathen, but another part was, suddenly according to mortal conceptions, but ordained for her from the moment of her birth, chosen for her, and she accepted it without a murmur. She had fashioned for herself a high, the highest, idea of mortal life, but a still higher reality was ordained for her. She was one of those gentle spirits, who yielded to His love, and who, ripening fast, was soon removed. Those, that God loves, die early.

When her birthday came round in July, 1884, she again asked me to come, but I was away at the North Cape, and a friend went for me, and spoke for the dear Society, on what proved to be her last Missionary birthday. Humanly speaking, all was

working in the way, in which she wished, and her life was to be dedicated to the Heathen; but God's ways are not our ways. Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right? A feeling of sublime joy seems to cast out the human sorrow, when I calmly reflect on her story.

I sat down last Sunday alone in the little room, which had been the scene of the studies, the prayers, and the labours, of both sisters, from their earliest years. I looked round with a feeling akin to despair, when I thought, that both of these bright flowers had been plucked so early; it seemed such a waste of good material, that they should not have lived on to be the joy, and the counsellors of an unborn generation of children, and the gatherers-in of a rich harvest of saved souls of the Heathen. I was in the midst of their holy and simple life. There were their registers of the Sunday-school, and of the Band of Hope: there was the Missionary-box, and on the table was the closed desk, for their hands were stiffened; on the desk was the closed pocket Bible, for their eyes were darkened; the birds sang outside, but their voices were still; round the table were the forms, on which the little village-children used from week to week to sit; all was, as it were, ready for either of them to enter, full of health, and tenderness, and beauty; it seemed, as if the door must at any moment open, and let them in, for the memory of them perfumed the room, like the odour of crushed rose-leaves; but they will return no more; they are engaged in the service of their Master elsewhere. The feeling of despair, which had seized me, suddenly disappeared, when I thought of the plenteous Grace, which must have descended within these narrow walls, to make them what they were, to make her, whom I knew and loved so, what I knew her to be. It must have been Grace, that took them to their Saviour's feet, when they were quite little children, and kept them there, steadfast to the end, neither fearing to depart, nor wishing to depart, ready to stay and ready to go, for I read her own words, dated December 31st, 1881:

My life is in His keeping; I have entrusted it to Him, so what He does I am satisfied with. I look back on many sins and failings, and lost opportunities of witnessing for Him; but they have all been brought to the Fountain opened to wash away sin, and all, I know, are pardoned. His love is my rest, my joy, and my strength, and who shall separate me from His love? No one; nothing; for I am His, and He is mine, my very own for ever! and, if He came for me, and called me home, how joyfully I will go! If left to live, may I only live for Him!

Her heart was filled with high aspirations, and she had Grace given to her to carry them into action. Hers were not empty words, for on a little piece of paper I found in pencil the rough copy of a letter to the Rev. E. Wickham, of Holmwood, Dorking, dated July 30, 1877:

DEAR SIR,—I was so much interested and touched by what Mr. Hubbard said at the Missionary meeting this afternoon, that instead of giving to the collection the silver I had meant, I felt constrained, out of love to Christ and a desire to do something for Him, to give a sovereign, which was lately given to me as a birthday present; and the reason of my writing to you is to say, that, if you will allow it, I should like that sovereign, to go especially towards sending a Missionary to King Mtesa, and I trust money will soon be raised for that object, that it may never be said, that England is too poor to send the men out, when they are ready to go. Please let Mr. Hubbard know of my wish, but please do not mention this to any one else, or try to find out who I am, as I wish only to be known, as a young Christian lover of Missions. May God help me to think and pray to do more for the Heathen than I have yet done!

I felt, that the two daughters had not lived in vain, that they had scattered around them the perfume of the beauty of holiness. Souls had been brought to their Saviour by their useful and gentle lives, and more had been touched by the contemplation of their holy and steadfast departure, the faithful and fearless going home to the mansion of their Father. The parents may well feel, that they have a greater happiness in two dead daughters such as these, than they would have derived from many living children, who knew not the Lord.

Church Missionary Society Gleaner, August, 1885.

IX.

EXETER HALL, MAY 1, 1888.

C.M.S. OR "CHRIST MY SALVATION."

THROUGH the high windows flows a flood of light,
Telling of coming Spring, and present May ;
Before the doors rolls on, both day and night
Laborious London's pitiless array :
Withdrawn from worldly work for one brief day
The spacious Hall can scarcely room afford,
(While on the sounding organ loud they play,)
For men and women met with one accord
On this their annual feast to praise their Lord.

Each feels a portion of the holy flame :
Why was our Country made so great and strong ?
Why does our genius Savage races tame ?
Why do the ends of earth to us belong ?
Why do all nations to this city throng ?
Why does the great Controller bless our store,
And deign our world-wide Empire to prolong,
But to enforce our duty more and more,
To spread our Saviour's rule from shore to shore ?

Up to the ceiling rise the hymns of praise ;
A holy text is read : in prayer we kneel :
Upstanding one by one with skilful phrase
In turn the speakers our attention steal,
With thrilling tones, and words, that make us feel
The grandeur of the subject : our hearts glow
With love and pity in their varying phase :
In sweet alternatings of Joy and Woe
Our thoughts fly "Up on high," and "Down below."

“ Down below.”

“ Down below ” we see the brave men toiling,
Bearing th’ unsuffered sufferings of their Lord :
From no hard trial in weak fear recoiling,
Trusting to no flesh-arm, or human sword,
But to th’ Eternal changeless Promise-Word :
Some have come home our sympathies to share,
Their plain unvarnished story to record :
Some have remained for ever, where they were :
Christ on the cross looked down upon them there.

Round them new germs of Christian life are springing,
New possibilities of human love :
In humble chapels Sabbath-bells are ringing,
And swarthy white-robed Pastors gently move
Amidst their flocks to tell of Christ above :
Its giant fronds still waves the Palm on high :
The glorious Sunsets still illumine the grove :
All is unchanged in Nature’s sea and sky ;
The hearts of Man have changed mysteriously.

Upraised on high the ensign of the Cross,
While the stone-idol from its shrine is thrown :
The Savage man for Christ counts all things loss :
No longer hideous rites and crimes are known,
Since to his heart the holier path is shown :
By his side walk his children, and his wife,
Who meekly shares his labours, his alone :
Joys of the present, hopes of future life,
Blot out the memory of forgotten strife.

“ Up above.”

“ Up above ” the roof and walls seem falling,
And Christ’s great promise to us is fulfilling :
He will be with His children at their calling :
His presence now this crowded Hall is filling ;
Jesus is here, all fear and doubtings stilling :
His power supports, His mercies never fail :
He sees His Servants gathered here are willing
Humbly to do His work, though weak and frail :
Rise up, rise up, the Risen Lord to hail !

As the scene clears for human eye to view,
 We see the Saints and Angels round His throne :
 The holy Martyrs, and Confessors too ;
 We recognize some dear ones, as our own,
 Our own lost friends, not lost, before us gone :
 Our brothers, and our sisters, firm and bold,
 Who counted life dear but to lay it down,
 His service, and His honour to uphold,
 And bring back erring sinners to His fold.

And they look down on us with solemn greeting,
 Bidding us cleave to the same Gospel true,
 And looking forward to a heavenly meeting,
 To be with Christ, when all is made anew.
 Oh ! come ye doubting ones with me, and view
 The low straw hut, where Saints their labours close
 Midst tears and prayers of men of dusky hue,
 For whom Christ died, for whom again He rose :
 Let the kind Shepherd's arms His wandering lambs enclose !

Words uttered here fall on the page below,
 And are recorded by a faithful hand :
 Then through the trumpet-sounding Press they blow
 Over the length and breadth of British Land,
 Telling the triumphs of Immanuel's band :
 Making the hearts of faithful men to glow :
 The morn is breaking at His high command,
 And streaks of blessed light begin to show
 The coming of the reign of Christ below.

Is not this day the sweetest of the year ?
 Spared are we still to see another May.
 Is it not well for us to gather here,
 And, counting up our failings, homage pay
 To Him, who has accepted us this day
 According to our will, not to our powers ?
 For what have we to offer, but what may
 Spring from His gift, wealth, talents, labouring hours ?
 Thine be the glory, Lord ! the blessing still be ours !

Exeter Hall, MAY 1, 1888
 (in my old seat).

X.

A WORD TO THOSE, WHO DO NOT RECOGNIZE THE
DIVINELY IMPOSED DUTY OF EVANGELIZATION.

A FRIEND mentioned to me one day the secular addresses, which he made to hard-headed good men, who would decline to be considered Christians, though their actions and mode of life showed, that, in spite of their protestations, the law of Christ had engraved itself upon their life; and suggested to me the idea of writing a Missionary address upon secular lines. Was I afraid to face such an audience? Certainly not. As an advanced Liberal, yet true to the Union of the three Kingdoms, I had on political platforms boldly expressed my sentiments in spite of the yells of infuriated Home-Rulers: and I had not been afraid to look boldly into the face of the Anti-Opium-Trade fanatics in Exeter Hall, while I tried in vain to instil ideas of common sense into their unreasoning brains.

I respect real bonâ-fide Atheists, and Agnostics, who are so from profound convictions, who lead moral lives, and who themselves respect the religious opinions of others: they are feelers for the truth. And I feel, that but for the Grace of God, acting through the circumstances of my early life, I should probably have been among them, for I still rejoice in the title of a Freethinker, in the Christian sense of that word, one who must know what he believes, and be able to give a reason for his belief, involving no hard points in fog, and not afraid to look difficulties in the face. If I had not witnessed so many Hindus and Mahometans go bravely and unshrinkingly to their death, I should wonder, how a man could dare to die without hope in Christ. If experience had not convinced me, that round me were many good men, who professed unbelief, I should wonder, how a man would dare to live without the aid of the Holy Spirit. To grasp the subject of Christian Missions, omitting the name of Christ, is hard. To seem for an instant, and only for a purpose, to treat the life and death of Christ as a beautiful legend, to roll up out of sight the all-absorbing love of the Saviour, is harder still. Still, it must be done, in order to draw

with the spoils of the East, trophies won from the Parthians and the Medes, and the dwellers of Mesopotamia. When he had seated himself (for he was too weak to stand), I told him in the name of the Committee, that we welcomed him, as one of our oldest, most faithful, and beloved friends. His words were few : he told us, that during the fifty years of his Service the Lord had never failed him, that all His dealings had been kind and wise, that he felt the infirmities of the flesh coming upon him, and he wished to return to his people. One of our ordained Members committed him to God in tender words of earnest prayer, and the good man gave us his Episcopal blessing, and left us, sorrowing that we should see his dear face no more. Am I not right in saying, that there is a strong side to Missions also ? How small seem the services of Generals, and Governors, compared to the life-devotion of this great and good man ! He went to India five years before I went, and he is there still. He has accumulated no competence, carried off no ephemeral honours, but his life is an additional proof of my argument, that Christ is the Power of God unto Salvation, both to the people amidst whom he laboured, and to himself.

A secular newspaper, not much given to Missions, writes thus :

The plain truth about modern Missionary-work we believe to be this. It has become a profession, a most noble and very successful profession, and, like every other profession, has drawn to itself men of all kinds, of whom a large majority are qualified by inner disposition for its duties. At an expense of about a million a year, the Protestant Churches send out to most parts of the Heathen, and some parts of the Mahometan world, a perpetually renewed force of men and women, to teach to those, who know them not, Christianity and civilization. These men and women are of all sorts, some unfit, one or two in a thousand hopelessly unfit, a few fit to a degree no words of ours will adequately describe, but a majority well qualified in extremely varied ways for the burdensome duty they have to perform. Many are teachers, many preachers, many scholars, many born rulers of men ; but in all, except a very few, there is one quality rare in any other profession, absolute devotion to the work to be done. How is it possible for Christians of any sort to condemn such a profession with such results, we can no more conceive than we can conceive how a Christian Church can be fully alive, yet never wish to proselytize.

Then the process is very slow : the pace, at which conversion proceeds, is very funereal : there are many insincere converts, many relapses : we sometimes hear, that nominal Christians still steal away to a secret place in the mountains, and make offerings to the spirits of their ancestors, as they were once accustomed to do. The number of Missionaries has greatly increased. Some selections have been very unhappy : the best have often died : the worst survive : they do not all come up to the ideal of St. Paul, or of the Nestorians, or Columba of Iona, or Xavier, or the Moravians : the reply is, that the externals of men are very much as the age, in which they live, and their social environment makes them : they may be better suited for the requirements of

this period than St. Paul or Columba would have been ; at any rate they are as good, and, in my opinion, a good deal better than the secular men of their own epoch in the same strata of life : as a body they are free from the vulgar vices, and cruelty, and covetousness : admitting the necessity of sending Missionaries full of ardour, free from mercantile motives, strong in health, determined in character, I doubt, whether they are not fair representatives of the energy of their country.

V. Let me now draw attention to the Power of Christian Faith, where nothing else would succeed.

This is a bold challenge. Take the case of putting a stop to Slave-holding and arresting Slave-dealing. What but the strong Christian influence would have done it, and who, but Missionaries, would have supplied the facts about Slave-dealing, and been foremost in the conflict ? The Christian Mission is the complement of the Slavery-Abolition-Society : the two make one power. Sierra Leone and Zanzibár are proofs of this.

For when a Slave-ship is captured, to whom, but the Missionary, can the released starving creatures be made over ? We have numerous accounts of this holy work from men of very different type, unable to act together on any other conceivable subject, the High Church Party of the Church of England, and the Society of Friends, and in this blessed work they are as one man. It makes one proud of our Human Brotherhood, to think of our Brothers and Sisters, day by day, in a bad climate, and most uncongenial surroundings, giving themselves up to the feeding, clothing, and training, of the Negro, bearing with their unsavoury smell, and gross habits, leading them onwards. When does the Anglo-Saxon appear at a higher level of human greatness than on such occasions ? But, nothing but Grace gives the Power. What by himself could the worldly man do ?

The impulses of humanity and benevolence are laudable, and have led to laudable results : but they are not sure to be lasting, nor have they *power* in themselves. Obedience to the will of God is the Christian's motive, and brings with it a *power* to secure continuousness of action. Moreover, when benevolence has done its work to a Savage race, what guarantee is there, that it will so remain, unless there has been implanted in their hearts a desire to do the will of God ? Take the case of Sierra Leone : there were fifteen hundred slaves landed by cruisers, speaking scores of different languages : filthy, abominable, unmanageable. William Johnson, by his Christian kindness, formed them into a congregation, made them useful and respectable citizens. The Civil Governor in reporting this remarked : "The hand of Heaven is on this." It was a memorial of good wrought by one man, through the interposition of the Almighty.

But how is the work set about? How does the man of God commence his magic work? Read one sample: it is an echo from the savages of Melanesia, recorded by one, who gave his life for his flock: and no one dreamt of avenging him, for he had followed the steps of his Master, even unto death:

Then comes the task, that you too may experience, when dealing with some neglected child in England, but which under the cocoa-nut tree, with dark naked men, have a special impressiveness. It was the old lesson of the Eternal and Universal Father, who has not left himself without witness, in that He gives us rain from heaven: and our ingratitude, and His love: of His coming down to point out the way of life, and of His death and rising again, of another World, Resurrection and Judgment. All interrupted now and then by exclamations of surprise, laughter, or by some one beginning to talk about something, that jarred sadly on one's ear.

But civilization has its troubles and dangers as well as the savagery of Melanesia: let us consider the piteous position of the young man in India. Secular Education at the Government-School has destroyed his faith in a false Religion, and set him on a higher walk in life: but he is out of *rappor*t with the old folks at home. He feels a profound contempt for all, that his Father holds dear, and for the old Village-Priest: he is ashamed of the idols, shocked at the indecent stories, disgusted at the folly, and heartbroken at the lies; but he does not like to vex his Parents. The world seems a hopeless tangle, till he some day meets a Missionary, who tells him the simple tale: all then seems clear. his doubts vanish and his hopes revive: he tries to believe: if he could but believe, he would be a happy man. That power of belief comes from God, and at the hour, and in the manner pre-ordained. Only believe, and it shall be done unto you according to your belief.

The rite of Baptism and the Chapel are but the outward signs of the work of the Mission, for they become the centre of gentle influences. The lessons of morality are taught: the Bible in the Vernacular, like a bright light, illuminates dark corners: quarrels are settled by umpires without fighting: the idea of a compromise with mutual advantage, and reciprocal concessions, is a new one. We read of a Missionary visiting a robber-band in their lair, and bringing them back to decent lives. Another young Missionary walked three hundred and fifty miles alone, without arms, to redeem some poor native converts from bandits. A feat such as that would have received the Victoria-Cross, had it been done by a Soldier. The Soldier of Christ rejoices in no Cross, but that of Christ and Him crucified, and in serving Him has his exceeding great reward. The power of God still performs miracles. The Missionary finds nobility of character in the converted Cannibal, and the Heathen Priest, and Sorcerer, forgetting their evil ways, become humble worshippers in the Chapel: the murder of little children is discontinued, and women

are elevated to a proper position, as helpmates of men. It is the Lord's doing. It is marvellous in our eyes. If the facts are doubted, test them: if the facts are admitted, admit also, that the power of the Holy Spirit still dwells in the tents of Men.

VI. Consider the grandeur of the human character developed.

One of the greatest sources of wealth of a Nation is its share of great qualities: self-consecration, dauntless valour, high aspirations, noble unselfishness, absence of greed, or pride, effacement of self: these things ennoble a family, one member of which possesses some of them. This is the true nobility: where can these qualities be found in such abundance and brightness as in the Missionary band? They are the leaven of the whole nation. Such gifts come direct from God. Some have laid all their literary ambition, and pursuits, all their scientific attainments, all their laborious hours, all their social success, upon His Altar, forgetting all in Christ, counting all loss for Christ. If Stephen set the example of the way, in which a Christian should give up his life, Paul taught us the harder task of keeping it, accompanied with a sacrifice of the whole, living only by Faith: and he has been followed by many, who deemed it not lawful to spend their few years in any pursuit, however noble, which fell short of the highest, *the Saving of Souls*: who felt, that eloquence was only given to win and sway an audience for one definite object, that the pen had but one sole and inspired purpose:

The great Chinese Missionary Morrison's desire to be a Missionary arose not from any strong excitement, or external influence, but from a calm, deliberate, review of the state of the Heathen, and *his own obligation to His own Lord and Saviour*. Duty was his Pole-star; the burden of his prayer was, that God would station him in that part of the Field, where the difficulties were greatest, and to all human appearance the most unsurmountable.

Such a man would under other circumstances lead a forlorn hope, or take out a life-boat to save sinking ships. Great Britain cannot spare the development of such characters. Her greatness must be an all-round greatness. In after-ages her reputation will rest as much upon her Missionaries, as on her Soldiers and Sailors. The Queen's army is numerically smaller than any one of the great Continental armies. Christ's army, recruited in Protestant Great Britain and its Colonies, exceeds in number all the Missionary armies of the world collected together, and the allied army of the same race on the other side of the Atlantic is next to it in number, and united, as one man, in purpose.

VII. And what a field of aspiration does it afford to the youth of Great Britain, male and female?

There is a danger in a great, and strong, and rich, nation settling down on its lees, and being content, like the rich man in the

parable, to eat and drink, and worship the poor body: some nobler spirits sigh for a career, a wider space, in which they can spread their wings, and a purer atmosphere. Time is for work: eternity for rest. Sometimes there comes a breeze from a far-off country, calling those, who are weary of the dull routine of Europe, to come out. Some one whispers in their ear, that a corner in God's vineyard has by them to be tilled, and by each and all there is a Mission to be fulfilled. Is it nothing-worth to conceive in your youth a great Idea, which will accompany you through manhood, through decline of life, to the grave? The great work of the Hebrew Prophets was, that they established an Ideal form of Faith, Holiness, and Self-sacrifice, leaving it to future years to work up to it. The great Masters of Greek and Latin song caught up the refrain of their Semitic cousins on the other side of the Mediterranean, and sent it, as their great inexhaustible legacy, down the corridors of centuries into our Schools and Colleges, electrifying each generation, as it sprang into consciousness of its own powers, and therefore of its own duties. Whence did they get the idea, shadowed in the story of Ulysses, of Prometheus, of Æneas, an ideal of something to be striven for, suffered for, bought at a great personal price, the striving for which satisfied even if not attained? And by the far-off Sanskrit Poets the idea had been conceived of working for the Work's sake, and never for the mere results of the work. Thus Labour is honoured, and nothing is below the dignity of a true man. Such thoughts ennoble a nature, and, when directed in the highest of all channels, sanctify it. After all, it is a good God that governs the world: we cannot find out His ways: but we feel, that He is leading us. Roads are cut across countries previously untraversed: paths are found in the pathless ocean: doors long shut are thrown open: opportunities exceed all expectations: the thousand voices are heard of tribes secluded for ages in sealed gardens: and the youth of Great Britain, sated with vulgar joys, seeks a nobler sphere of action than that, with which their Fathers were satisfied. Men and women are wanted everywhere to exhibit Christianity in its practical form, not of dogma, or ritual, or Psalm-singing, but of actual life. Hear what Bishop Patteson said:

Men are needed, who have a strong religious common sense to adapt Christianity to the various tribes without compromising any doctrines or principle of conduct: men who can see in the midst of the errors and superstitions of a people, whatever fragments of truth, or symptoms of a yearning after something better, may exist in them, and make that the *point d'appui*, upon which they may build up the structure of Christian teaching.

How shall I try to teach them to become industrious, persevering, honest, tidy, clean, careful with children, and all the rest of it? What a different thing from going about and teaching the first principles of Christianity! The second stage of the Mission is the difficult one.

I heard a Bishop this year at an annual meeting tell us how a Missionary on his furlough took lessons in thatching houses, to give his people better ideas on this practical subject. I read of another Bishop in his Diocese seated on the ground, and shewing the way to plait grass for thatching. Not that there is any merit in the act itself, but the spirit is the one, which should actuate all, of bringing to the Lord's service whatever gifts they had received of Him.

VIII. The advantage of a Christian civilization.

Would any one wish, that all the dawning civilizations of Asia, Africa, and Oceania should be Heathen and Mahometan; not the good old Heathendom of Horace, and Mæcenæ, and the Emperor Augustus, but the compound Heathendom of the indigenous vices of these abject races mixed with the poison of a corrupt and fallen Christianity. If the leaven of the Gospel is not in the new Civilization, in what hideous form will it develope? I read how shipwrecked mariners have been carefully cared for, where the islanders are Christians: they would certainly have been devoured, a few years earlier. The Special Commissioner of New Guinea reports, that the Polynesian Native Teachers gain an ascendancy over the savage Papuans, and it is to them, that *the white man in difficulties always turns for protection, and it is always accorded to him*. Such facts ought to bring home to us certain convictions, that in this world also Christianity is profitable, and that without it Civilization is dangerous. Hear what experienced men tell us:

No hindrance was so great to the success of the early Missionary as the notion of beginning with Civilization, instead of Heart-conversion: our first and constant business must be to tell the people of Sin, and of a Saviour from Sin.

And again:

Missionary Societies had not then (1806) the experience we now possess, and had not yet so fully learnt, that, however valuable Civilization is, as a hand-maid to Evangelization, it is in itself but of little value as a forerunner, and that the simple preaching of the Gospel is the power of God unto Salvation.

And again:

It was the increasing conviction of all the Missionaries, that the plan of gradual approaches by means of Civilization had been tried long enough, and that the citadel must be stormed at once with the weapons of God's own armoury: in short, that *Evangelization must take precedence of any attempt to improve the social condition of the people*; they were much hindered by their secular employment.

And again:

It was his impression, as he drew near the close of his life, that he had given an *undue proportion of time and strength to merely civilizing influences, and the material prosperity of the people*. This may account in part for their spiritual weakness, when the supporting hand of their pastor has been withdrawn. How slow we are to learn, that *Civilization is a blessing to a barbarous people only as it is permeated by the spirit and power of the Gospel!*

I cannot divest myself of the feeling, that I have two individualities: the one that of a Christian Statesman, who can tolerate no injustice being done to an inferior race, because they are not Christians, and who is ever ready to combat any fictitious cry, any craze of the moment, any intolerable humbug and delusion: the other that of a humble believer, who places the conversion of Souls to Christ, as the one object of existence, the sole goal of every talent, every opportunity, every life: this feeling makes me honour, as an angel from heaven, *the Missionary indeed*, and spurn the mere hireling, the mere semblance of an unrealized vocation, the false reflection, as in a glass, of an ideal consecration.

I have no space to record the opinions of Viceroy, and Governors, and Ambassadors, of Scholars, of Natives of India and Japan, of Public Officials, as to the enduring blessings, conferred on the people of a Country by Missionaries: the germs of Public Instruction, a pure literature, the influence of upright and unselfish characters, are part, and part only, of the benefit conferred. We are much safer in doing our Duty than neglecting it, and many of us have had it revealed to our consciences, that this is our Duty, and that, as the harvest time is short, we should not lose an opportunity. Intelligent people can hardly repeat the Lord's Prayer without giving some meaning to "Thy Kingdom come": it must mean "the spread of His Gospel." We do indeed feel human pity for all these Heathen races, and we can therefore in full confidence convey to them the message of Divine Pity. Experience has convinced us, that the Divine Presence is still very near to us, and that even if we for argument's sake set aside the truth of the Miracles, no other form of belief is clothed in so magical, so touching, so profitable, so simple, an external form as the Life of Christ. Infinite Love, inexhaustible Pity, undying Hope, seem to have been the only instruments, which could have any effect. Some have come out of darkness *per saltum* into a marvellous light, without struggle, without a cloud of doubt, accepting the message. We seem carried back three thousand years in the history of mankind, when we come in contact with the unsophisticated races: we can take them at once to the pure fountain of Christian Truth, free from the Philosophy of the Greeks, the Law and Order of the Romans, the Superstition of the Teutons. Of all the wonderful mouldings of our Civilization by the discipline of centuries they knew nothing: had we never come into contact with them, we might have passed them by: but irresistible destiny has brought them within the influence of our Poison. Shall we withhold the Antidote?

EASTBOURNE, August 15, 1888.

XI.

THOUGHTS ON THE METHODS OF
EVANGELIZATION.

There are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit, and there are differences of administrations, but the same Lord, and there are diversities of operations, but it is the same God, which worketh all in all.—I. Cor. xii. 4-6.

I AM led to reflect upon the phenomena, presented by a survey of the Missions of the World. It is so strange to find men convinced, that their own system is not only the right one, and the best (the best for them no doubt), *but the only one*, and yet there is an extraordinary, a startling, diversity of practice. In some Associations the Missionary is petted, spoilt, encouraged to early matrimony, involving wanton expenditure of sacred funds: in others I find the celibate Brotherhoods and Sisterhoods, with the germs of great evils of a contrary tendency. In other quarters I find the Missionary, wife, and little children, turned off in a strange country, in a tropical climate, to support themselves by labour, such as teaching languages, keeping a store, digging yams and potatoes, or, as an American paper bluntly puts it: "Root, Hog, or die," and they do die, and, when an additional baby is born, it is counted as an additional Missionary. Another strange variety is the Knight-errant, without even a knowledge of the language, starting alone on a camel, or horse, to deliver God's message through an interpreter, himself a heathen, and then passing on. The large Associations have large resources, collected at a heavy percentage by an elaborate organization: they spend money freely, and send out men freely, often unsanctified, and untested men, and sometimes gross failures. Sometimes Missionaries are tied to a shibboleth of dogma, and a confession of Church-Government: at other times there is an amalgam of dogma, and a free-hand of Church-Government. Some allow their agents fixed subsistence-allowances, and subsidiary provision for Rent, Locomotion, Disablement, and Children. Others make a boast, that they do not, that the Missionary must

make his own private resources go as far as possible, and that he will get a fractional portion of the income of the Society, varying each year, and nothing of any kind to fall back upon.

The most depressing thought is, that of the vast sums spent in Secretaries, Clerks, Warehouses, postage and parcels, Stationery, Printing, Rent, first-class Steamer and Railway-fares, and the needlessly liberal way, in which such charges are incurred, *because a great Society pays for them*. My thoughts go back to the sums, collected at Corinth for the poor Saints at Jerusalem, and Paul, the poor prisoner of the Lord, conveying it in the open undecked vessel of that period. I remember his tender advice to have the collections made in advance, and fancy conjures up the image of the earthen pot, or wooden casket, filled with denarii and sestertia, bearing the image of one of the early Cæsars, which was reverently consigned to him, and my heart sinks within me at the thought of the frightfully complicated organizations forced upon us by the 19th century, the flogging of the congregations to get at their money, and the men, like Judas, going about holding the bag. Happy are those, whose admitted poverty enables them to laugh at the bag, pushed under their nose, and happier still those, who have, at the beginning of each year, set apart the proper proportion of their Income, and been cheerful givers to the Lord, who bought them, and made their contribution in advance. My remarks may seem cynical, but they are offered in good faith, and with a certain amount of experience. Let us think out the subject.

I. The simplest expression of a Missionary is, that of a person of either sex, or accompanied by one or more fellow-labourers, who goes out at his, or her, own charge, subject to no external control, to preach the Gospel to a non-Christian population. Should funds be collected by friends, in aid, there are no accounts published. This is what some call a "Faith-Mission."

II. When several such individuals unite, and have all things in common, and bind themselves by certain Rules, they form a "Sisterhood" or "Brotherhood." Should accounts be kept, they are not published, as the concern is a private one.

III. The next stage is an organized Association of contributors to a Fund, controlled by a Committee, which is annually elected out of the body, and is empowered by the Rules of the Association to select Agents, send them out, support them while out, and recall them at pleasure. This is a "Missionary Society." In its fullest development, such a Committee trains Students, selects suitable Mission-Fields, provides for sick and disabled Agents, and the children of all Agents, and is responsible to no one, but its constituents, duly assembled in General Meetings, to whom it renders accounts, and full reports of work done, and whose order it must obey on penalty of being superseded.

IV. When the Association comprises the whole body of Christians of a particular denomination, who have formed themselves into a corporation of a so-called "Church," Missionary work is then said to be conducted by the Church. This is only possible, when there is a fixed confession of Faith, without diverging shades of theological opinion within the Church. In the case of a National Church, like the Church of England, it is impossible.

V. Missionary Societies have satellites, independent in organization, but formed solely to co-operate. Such Societies are called Home-Aids, or Foreign-Aids, according to the work which they undertake: "Special-Aids," if they are satellites to one Society only, or "General Aids," if they are satellites to several Societies. Some of these Aid-Societies have exceptionally a double position, as Satellites to other Societies, and doing independent foreign work of their own. These Societies do the Woman's Work, Medical Work, Training Work, Miscellaneous Work, and Publishing Work of other Societies, and are of exceedingly great importance.

VI. Associations, which, admit members of all Protestant Denominations, are called Catholic or Undenominational.

I will now make a few remarks on the first three developments:

I. The "Faith Mission" is sometimes irreverently called the "Vagabond Mission," or the "Free Lance." It is one of those enterprizes, of which no thoughtful man can approve, but which no God-fearing man will oppose, lest haply he should be found fighting against God. God's wisdom, and man's unwisdom, rule the world. We dare not check the noble flame: we would wish to guide it. The consecration of life and talents and fortune in early youth: the laying of oneself down upon the Altar, and crying out, "Lord, make use of Thy poor creature, as Thou thinkest best." Such things as these cannot be despised. There is something in them of the ancient Roman, purified by Christian Love. Many go abroad in their youth and strength to hunt in Abyssinia, to collect shells in the Indian Archipelago, or to develop new Commerce in Africa. Why not do so to get at the poor derelict of the human race? If life be not spared, then to be with Christ is far better. If life be spared, what a gloomy retrospect in old age to have done nothing for one's fellow-creatures!

My own final judgment is, that the fight can only be carried on with great battalions, and that it is folly for a small weak Society, or a single individual, without permanent resources, to start an enterprise, which will not be lasting. A Missionary Association must have behind it a Church, with scores of congregations to supply the sinews of war: a Committee, which never dies: a purse as unlimited, and bottomless, as the Lord's own

Treasure-house. Plants feeble in nature die without culture. All individuals, and small Associations, should affiliate themselves to strong and robust Societies.

I give some extracts to exhibit this new departure :

We believe that, if we do the work, which God has called us to, He will move the heart of His children to supply the money. If God sends out workers, he will also send supplies. There is no limit to the measure, in which God can work on Christian hearts to move His children to give for those, who have gone forth to seek the Kingdom of God. We need 8000 Dollars to keep our accounts balanced, and we ask all to pray, that these things may be added to us. Has any Pastor forgotten to take the collection?—*March, 1888.*

And again :

God never intended His heralds to be hirelings at all ; or men with *fixed assured salaries*, as secular Servants, and Commercial employes. The Christian world has begotten a Missionary system, unknown to the Lord, and His Apostles. We look in vain in the New Testament for any authority for what we see on every side.—1887.

India has fifty unsalaried Faith-Missionaries. I can count over two hundred in the world, whom God feeds, as he does the birds, and they have all things and abound. We are praying for the means to build a suitable home for three thousand Rupees. God is with our Mission.

And again :

I have been without money since Saturday, but truly the Lord never has failed, nor will fail. It is good to be without funds, as it is quite a luxury to stand still, and see the Salvation of the Lord. I feel less anxiety in having no money than in looking forward with but little.—1887.

Another report says : “Nothing in the locker.” A third notifies, that they have left off eating meat, and are content with vegetables. Again :

A brother in Christ sent word, that he wished me to come, and see him. I went. He informed me, that God had impressed him, that he should send out a Missionary. As I was consecrated to India, he was satisfied, that God would have him send ME. Accordingly he put the money to cover all expenses to India in my hands. It now became a matter of conscience between me and God. I felt that God would have me go to India, inasmuch as He had provided the necessary funds unsolicited. I praise God that I am here. I mean by His Grace to do His will. He sanctifies me through and through. Glory to God !—1887.

Again :

I am glad you feel as I do about paid Home-Agents. I believe, that God wants a larger number of His children to have a part in the work, and in this way each *can do his part without pay.*

And again :

I have now finished the second year of SELF-SUPPORT : it seems to me, that the support of my work comes under the head of Faith in God, and His dear children.

N.B.—The writer, a woman-Missionary in Africa, enumerates every kind of present received by her : dollars, barrels, clothes, corned meat, etc., etc. : she adds :

The dear Heavenly Father has many good children, and their number is rapidly increasing : they are planning for the conquest of the world to Him, whom we adore.

And again, from Liberia, West Africa :

I want ten acres of land in the city. I believe that I shall get it : the King tells me, that he will build me a house to live in, and give me a farm to make a living from, and a boy (*a slave*) to wait upon me. I am going to take out six or seven Missionaries from America. I will need money of course to pay their way, and give them a start, and then I believe the work will be self-supporting.

Bishop William Taylor's name, both in South India and West Africa, is so connected with this elastic word Self-Support, that it is but just to quote his very words :

Jesus forbade His disciples to take purse, or scrip, or extra coat : the labourer is worthy of his meat : those who preach the Gospel, shall live by the Gospel. And they lacked nothing. The Master's method is literally practicable and adequate now. The dividing-line betwixt a Missionary Charity, and adequate, and reproductive indigenous support for God's Ambassador is, (1) To depend entirely on native resources for the support of all our ministers, school-teachers and their families : (2) to welcome the co-operation of God's stewards in Christian countries for providing money for our Transit and Building Fund. — 1886.

These are brave words. One of the Missionaries, who had had three years of the work, called on me in London : he would not say a word against the man, or the system, *but he had given it up*, and he handed to me a large bundle of American newspapers. I read there of constant appeals for money : large piles of dollars made up, and great liberality of supporters at home. When I took in the whole matter, I perceived, that the only difference was, that there was no Parent-Committee, and no organization ; but, with that exception, this so-called Self-supporting Mission was supported by money, and goods of all kind, sent from America.

Another feature of an agricultural enterprize is thus recorded :

The Government allowed the Missionaries to take land for a plantation, employ the natives, and teach and preach to their own employes. Agriculture was thus undertaken, not for the purpose of supporting the Mission, but to be able to evangelize : no profit anticipated. — 1885.

A dangerous experiment.

It is clear that the "Faith-Mission" has arisen as a protest against the extravagance, want of consecration, and worldliness of the salaried agents of the great Societies, who have usurped somewhat the position of an Endowed Church Establishment.

II. The Brotherhood and Sisterhood have developed themselves as protests against the really culpable conduct of Committees in permitting and encouraging Matrimony of their agents in their tender years. Men with absolutely no resources, educated at the expense of the Society, actually enter into an engagement to marry while *in statu pupillari*, and press their claims to marry,

perhaps at the age of 25, at a time when their contemporaries the Soldier, Sailor, Lawyer, Medical man, or Office Clerk, never dreamt of such a thing. It has become a great source of opprobrium, and has weighed down Societies with the burden of supporting widows and children, who ought never to have existed, and has consigned many poor young girls to African and Indian graves. I have for years protested against it, but in vain. Be it remembered, that the moral lapses, which have occurred to dishonour Missionary chronicles, have arisen from widowers and married men, and never from celibates. The proposed new Order in the Church of Brotherhoods and Sisterhoods is now pressed for at Home and Abroad, and is actually in practice, and there is much to be said in its favour. Sir Bartle Frere, a close observer, has recorded his opinion (*Indian Missions*, p. 83) strongly against this departure.

Celibacy enters largely into the machinery of all false creeds: it springs from the weak, not the strong, side of poor common humanity: it is held in high honour and esteem by the vulgar: in mediæval legends it is accompanied by tales of hair-shirts, dirt, and discomfort: but it fails everywhere, because it is at variance with the laws of Human Nature. The Hindu Brahman has been the most successful of all Sacerdotal Bodies, and they tried Celibacy, and gave it up. The Jewish Priesthood, and Prophets, never attempted it. Not a single Holy man in the Old Testament practised it: if St. Paul practised it, he did not recommend it. Among the Hindus Marriage is part of the Programme of Human Life, and, if the people are to be acted upon, this must be taken into account. Celibacy, *laid down as a rule*, is akin to asceticism, and partakes of the censure allotted to self-inflicted suffering, or pretended proud freedom from human infirmity.

The conclusion seems to be, that for the young Missionary (say below thirty-three) it is most proper to remain single; but not beyond that age. Married Missionaries are essentially necessary for the complete symmetry of a Mission-Station, and the Wife is as important a factor as the Husband.

III. I now pass to the third category, the regularly-organized Missionary Society. I am met at once by the necessity of a subdivision:

A. The new and economical system.

B. The old, and in my opinion extravagant system.

A. Of the new system I will quote as far as follows the very words of the leader:

(1) The Universities Mission to East Africa.

The Bishop is quite unable to offer any inducement in the way of salary, or periodical holidays, or ultimate pension, or temporal advantage of any kind: it is necessary, that those, who join the Mission, should do so with the sole desire

to live for, and willingness to die in their work, because it is Christ's. He offers to those, who may need the help, Board, Lodging, and necessaries during their stay in Africa.

In the life of Bishop Steere I read :

At the present time not one of the Members of the Bishop's staff in Africa is receiving any stipend beyond the moderate allowance of £20 per annum, for clothes, etc., all other necessaries are provided from the common fund of the Mission. Thus, rich and poor live and work together on equal terms.

All the Missionaries are celibates: women-workers are not admitted below the age of thirty. This Mission belongs to the High Church party, and is doing admirable work.

The China Inland Mission is in the Antipodes as regards Church Government, and Doctrine. Hudson Taylor thus formulates his principles :

Some have gone out at their own expense: the rest have gone out under a clear understanding, that the Mission does not guarantee any income whatever, and knowing, that as the Mission does not go into debt, it can only minister to those connected with it as far as the funds allow: in other words, they have gone out in dependence upon God for their temporal supplies.

Again :

The China Inland Mission accepts suitable candidates, whether possessed of private means, or not: those, who need it, are assisted in their outfits, have their passage-money provided them, and have funds remitted to them from time to time, as the supplies come in. God, in a very special way, is the Treasurer of the Missionary, and *to Him they look, not to the Mission*. Hitherto He has supplied, and henceforth He will do the same.—1888.

The North African Mission, and the East London Institute, are conducted on similar principles: the latter makes the following appeal, 1888 :

This state of things would make us anxious, but that we gratefully and trustfully remember the long years during which our large households, though like the birds without storehouse or barn, have been fed day by day, and had every need supplied.

Again I read :

The Mission Board of the Free Methodists show much interest in Foreign Missions, and the Church is increasing its contributions, but the Board *guarantees no salary to any one*, only a portion to the different Missions, which the Church contributes; so that each Missionary is independent, using what comes as the Providence of God, and planning for self-support as soon as possible.

The Universities Mission to Calcutta puts the matter very bluntly :

A Hindu asked me the other day how we lived, if we had no salaries. I told him, chiefly by begging. So from a professional beggar no apology is needed.—1888.

With regard to all these Missions, I must remark, that thirty years have not passed over their heads. In due course they

will have aged men and women, whom they cannot allow to starve: they will have orphan children, and widows, cast upon them; they cannot live *from hand to mouth*, without running the risk of great disaster, and tremendous suffering to innocent people.

B. I call the old system extravagant, and I mean what I say. The Annual Reports of the great Societies speak for themselves. There is no insinuation of carelessness, or absence of a proper system of accounts, or any possible malversation. There is a continuous audit by professional auditors from the outside, and a Committee of inquiry would have very little to discover, as all is above-board, and unpaid lay Committees are very much in earnest, and have great experience of human affairs, and are terribly out-spoken; but everything is done in much too expensive a style, just like a Government-Office, which has the purse of the British taxpayers behind it. Anything more ridiculous than paying first-class passages for Negro Missionaries, the sons of redeemed Slaves, and men with extremely humble connections, cannot be imagined. In my travels, I have often found the Italian, or Spanish, or French, Roman Catholic Priest stretched out on the deck, as a second or third-class passenger, but the *Protestant Negro must go first-class*: this is a fair sample. The expenses with regard to the wives and children of the Missionaries are enormous: the country clergyman with a large family must feel surprise, and a certain amount of envy. The luxuriousness, and indulgence, of the nineteenth century has caused this, and I am bound to say, that signs of the same evil are not wanting in all secular establishments, where the funds are provided by the State, or the County, or the Parish, and *not by the person himself*. What is required is not the Faith-Mission, or the Brotherhood, or the Common Fund, or the Hap-hazard, or the "Root, Hog, or die" systems, which I have described, but a stern, economic, and fearless, administration of our sacred funds, reminding the Missionaries, that the Committee will not tolerate luxuries, or indulgences, or pride, or waste, *and expects self-sacrifice, and self-consecration, and self-control on their part*. This would set free large sums for the entertainment of additional Agents. In the present state of English feeling it is throwing words away: perhaps a new generation of a sterner type will succeed us.

I am glad to chronicle symptoms of this feeling in the Field. Instances occur, where the Missionary has, in the presence of the Parent-Committee, offered to share his subsistence allowance with another, assuring us, that his expenses fell short of his supply: invitations have come home to send out men on sixty Rupees per mensem, or £70 per annum: all Missionaries should contribute as much as they can from their private means to their own support, and draw as little as possible on the sacred funds.

Still more discouraging is the lavish expenditure on Clerks, and offices. Any one, who thinks, that a Missionary Society can work by an automatic process, without Secretaries, or, in other words, an Executive, might believe, that a cart would move along the road without wheels; but there ought to be found men in Great Britain, of independent circumstances, and good training, whose health would not permit them to venture on the foreign Field, and yet who could do the work of Secretary gratuitously, and *men of that stamp are found*, and more should be looked for. Just as the Missionary receives no salary, properly so called, but only enough to sustain his physical wants, and enable him to apply his intellectual and spiritual gifts to the Lord's work, so there should be found at home in this rich country, men ready to consecrate their time and talents for the glory of God, without seeking profit, without necessity of maintenance. In some Societies there is a very cheap administration, owing to the amount of voluntary Service supplied: all the Committeemen's work is voluntary and gratuitous, but the Executive should be supplied by Volunteers also. The only remedy is to rule, that every shilling collected for Mission-purposes should go to *Missionary-work out of the country, without any deduction*. A separate Fund should be raised from the Friends of the Mission, for the office-expenses, or rather to supplement what cannot be supplied by voluntary labour. The time may be near at hand, when contributors of money to convert the Heathen will label their contributions:

Not a sixpence of mine to go to maintain a Children's Home, or the outfit of the wife of a Missionary under ten years' service, or the first-class passage of a Negro Missionary, or an office Clerk.

The laxness of expenditure in the Parent-Committee leads to laxness of expenditure in the Field. The foolish attempt is made to elevate the Asiatic, African, or South Sea Islander to a platform, socially above his Heathen relations, *because he is a Christian*. We have no Apostolic sanction for this, and it is a deadly mistake. The Religion of Christ has no relation whatever to the social culture, or civilization, of the convert. In the early Missions of Christianity there was comparatively little difference in respect of culture and civilization, betwixt the preacher of the Gospel, and those, to whom he preached. They ate and drank the same food, and were clothed in a similar manner. St. Paul worked among men not inferior to himself, and he moved among them, as an equal. In the middle ages and the time of Columba of Iona, as regards all things, that represented civilization, there was little difference betwixt the Missionary and his convert. But the modern Missionary has to work among races undoubtedly inferior, and lower in culture. This is owing to the enormous advance of European culture, and it often proves

a great snare to the Missionary, and generates pride, arrogance, and self-assertion. He is led on to another snare, the attempt to introduce a higher social civilization among his converts. This may come in its own time, and probably will come, but conversion should be his sole object, and he should be cautious not to introduce new and expensive habits and wants.

Then again it may be an unpleasant truth, but the conviction forces itself upon me, that the life of the modern Missionary is very easy-going compared with what it was fifty years ago. Take the life of Bishop Gobat, and see what he suffered in Abyssinia, privation, want, long delays in unhealthy places, tedious voyages, hope deferred, absence of success. What were the perils, and sufferings, of Selwyn, Patteson, Williams, Allen Gardiner? They had Faith, and Love, and Patience, and were real Apostles. One Missionary of that period mentions, that his boxes arrived after having been despatched more than two years. On being opened, everything was as rotten as tinder. Two or three packets of letters were in the middle of one box, but, when touched, they crumbled to dust. It was most trying, said the Missionary. It was the only time, that he saw his wife give way to sorrow and tears. In this luxurious age we find the Missionary quite out of thoughts, if he does not get his post regularly; complaining bitterly, if his things are not sent out to him as he likes, and occasionally the attributes of the humble, converted, consecrated, Christian man are sadly wanting.

When the Missionary himself exhibits the principles of Self-consecration, and Self-sacrifice, he can enforce those characteristics on his flock; but not otherwise. For the welfare of the Native Church, and for the spread of the Gospel by the agency of Native Evangelists to the Regions beyond, it is most desirable to maintain the greatest simplicity of life, and the great Grace of gratuitous ministration, the consecration of body and soul, with a mere provision for the humblest human wants. I rejoice to see the steady opposition to the entertainment of *paid* Native Agents in China: or, in other words, providing with a salary a crowd of hungry converts, well deserving the name of "Rice Christians."

The injurious effects of the Paid Agent system on the mass of the Chinese population, outside of the Church, are perhaps still greater. The *à priori* judgment of the Chinaman, as to the motive of one of his countrymen in propagating a foreign religion, is, that he is hired or bribed to do it. When he learns, that the native preacher is in fact paid by foreigners, he is confirmed in his judgment. What the motive is which actuates the *foreign missionary*, a motive so strong, that he is willing to waste life and money in what seems a fruitless enterprize, he is left to imagine. The most common explanation is, that it is a covert scheme for buying adherents with a view to political movements inimical to the State. Of course it is supposed, that no loyal native will have anything to do with such a movement. If the Chinaman is told that this enter-

prize is prompted by disinterested motives, and intended for the good of his people, he is incredulous. The result is, that many well-disposed Chinamen of the better classes, who might be brought under Christian influences, are repelled, and those, who actually find their way into the Church, are composed largely of two opposite classes: those whose honest convictions are so strong, that they outweigh and overcome all obstacles; and unworthy persons, to whom that feature in Mission-work which we are controverting is its chief attraction.

This same argument applies to the same facts elsewhere. In Part IV. Address II. I described, how the Polynesian Evangelists received a little clothing, and laboured with their own hands. The principles of most Societies point to the policy of raising up an establishment of Native Pastors, upon a self-supporting, self-governing, and self-extending system. The more these are enforced, the better.

I cannot leave this subject without allusion to the accepted machinery for raising Funds, and the scientific organization, spread over Great Britain and Ireland, making the whole transaction very secular, very formal, very business-like, and very unlike Spirituality. The Ministry of the Churches are to blame. The *duty* of conveying the Gospel to Regions Beyond should be preached systematically week by week from the Pulpit, and enforced from the Platform periodically, by accurate information of the progress of the Work. Every member of the Church should be supplied with Missionary Publications: they need the food, supplied by the Committee, quite as much as the Committee needs their subscriptions. A spiritual stimulus, and uplifting of flagging hearts, are wanted. Men will never care about matters, of which they know nothing: they cannot know unless they are informed. It gives Life and Love to a Church to know, and desire to know, how the Lord's work progresses among the Heathen: if the workers are in trouble, it melts the heart in sympathy: if in triumph, it rouses a Spirit of thankfulness: both circumstances are remembered in private and family prayer. We read with long-drawn breath the fortunes of the Queen's soldiers, because we are good citizens: why not have similar feelings for the Lord's soldiers, if we are good Christians? Missions to the Heathen are a component part of the Whole Duty of Man, and should not be treated as a fancy, a fad, a something extraneous from the necessities of a good life. How much more interesting would be a stirring picture of Missionary Progress, than the conventional drone, which has reduced the power of the Pulpit so low? When the great Societies spend respectively £8000 and £10,000 per annum on Deputations, there should be some result. Now one-half of the Annual Income comes in without reference to Preacher, or Deputation. Established friends of the Society send their contribution as a matter of duty: of the remaining moiety, one-half would come in on receipt of a reminder by

post: it is for the remaining half moiety, or quarter of the whole, that the whole struggle and expenditure takes place, and the percentage should be thrown upon that quarter only.

Many of the Deputations unite the arguments of the Gospel with the manner of the Water-Rate Collector: it is the daughter of the horse-leech, that we seem to be listening to, "Give, Give!" Instead of giving the information, expounding the motives, interesting the hearers with the magnificent story, and leaving the duty of collecting to the Local Committee, ridiculous comparisons are made betwixt the vast sum spent in Liquors, Tobacco, Milliners' Bills, Foreign Wars, and the cost of living, and the small amount contributed to Missionary objects. Such arguments are more calculated to offend than to conciliate. What shall be said of the frightful statistical tables, showing the preponderant number of Heathen, and the paucity of Christian? tall stately columns represent the non-Christian world, and a mere ninepin the Christian. The danger is, lest the sceptic should turn the argument round, and say,

Here we are in the nineteenth century of the Christian era, and not only have we gained no ground, but we have lost, for the Mahometan religion is seven hundred years later in date, and so much more successful.

Then stupid calculations are made of the amount of people's income and their subscriptions, holding them up to a kind of obloquy. What becomes of the right hand not knowing what the left has given, when the Deputation wants accurate information of what each man does, and explains to a man with a large family of sons and daughters, how much he ought to pay to the Missionary Society? And of what profit is the late onslaught on the so-called "Titled Classes"? It is nothing new. Such will it be for ever. (1. COR. I. 26.)

Quiet, undemonstrative Christians are vexed by the perpetual calls on them: they give the miserable shilling to get rid of the trouble: the people, who go about with cards, are a nuisance: it is a bad phase of religious life: all, who are in earnest, set apart a portion of their income; no blessing can accompany money given without any heart, just to get out of the door of the church, or assembly-room, respectably. It turns to dross in the Treasury of the Society, and, having no enduring blessing in it, it is got rid of in the pay of an extra Clerk, in the Railway-fares of the Deputation, or the first-class passage of a Negro. It might just as well have been left in the purses of the contributors, as far as having the remotest influence on Evangelization. The list of subscribers given in such detail in the Report, doubling its bulk, is a reproach to the Christian Churches, and to the Christian character of the donors. What can they want to see their names in print for? It is like the

trumpet sounded before the hypocrite, when he gave his alms, condemned by our Lord.

The exposure of the idols of the poor Heathen to be laughed at, of curios brought from foreign countries, of children dressed up, as natives of the East, of blind old men brought on the platform to interest; such things are thoroughly wrong, and a secular lecture on foreign cities, nations, and customs, is a serious mistake. The object of Deputation-addresses is to warm up the feelings of supporters, educate a Missionary spirit, correct mistaken impressions as to policy, inform those interested of progress, evidence sympathy with the fallen races, and to do what Paul and Barnabas did eighteen centuries ago :

Rehearse all, that God had done, and how he had opened the door of faith to the Gentiles.

No subject can be more pregnant, more susceptible of varied treatment, with wider scope, furnishing room for every kind of eloquence, and full of such romantic Poetry. What Epic Poem of ancient or modern days could be more full of moving scenes, and varying fortunes, if the speaker were only worthy of the subject! A spiritual tone should dominate. If a smile be raised, it should be one of sympathy and love towards the Missionary, and the poor Heathen people. There should be no ill-timed jokes, or depreciatory remarks, or condemnation of great Governments, denunciation of a great Commerce, or sneers at rival denominations, or cries for Jingo-expeditions and Annexations. The heart should indeed go forth towards the poor Heathen. Their rude conceptions of a Power greater than themselves show, that God has not left Himself without a witness in their hearts. They recognize an environment of supernatural agencies, because something tells them, that God is very near them. They see Him in their blessings, and their troubles, and they try to propitiate Him. In some things they are better than we are.

Above all things it is desirable to keep the actual Pounds, Shillings, and Pence in the background. What can be more depressing, or opposed to spirituality, than the cries from the Platform, as at a late gathering in Cumberland:

Another Ten Pound Note : another Five Pound : and so on.

And where is boasting? It is excluded. From the East, and the West, and the South, come up tidings of terrible failures, and fearful blots. If the enemy knew our shortcomings, as well as our friends, where should we be? I am afraid to express my own feelings. I substitute those of another :

It is not easy to exaggerate the grandeur of the opportunity, or the perils of unfaithfulness. To-day we must do the work ; to-morrow will be too late. Let us realize this very great opportunity, and so go forward. God grant, that these things may be brought home to us to-day, and that we may go forth from

this hall as from the presence of the Lord himself, touched with the flame of the Holy Spirit; not boasting of what we have done; not in the spirit of the Ephesians of old, crying aloud, "Great is the Church Missionary Society!" not boasting of our crowded platforms, our large meetings, our bountiful subscriptions, but impressed more and more with the thought, that very much land yet remaineth to be possessed, that the fields are everywhere white unto the harvest, and praying that God will quicken our halting steps, will accept our offerings, and arise, and do great things by our humble means to the glory of His holy name.

I implore the young Preacher of the Anniversary-sermons not to dilate upon Visions, for we well know, that he has seen none, or work out wild analogies with Queen Esther or Joseph, or other Scripture character, which have no possible relation to the subject, mere verbiage: "*vox et præterea nihil*:" let him rather tell the congregation the *new new story*, how Science has revealed new Regions of the world, and brought us in contact with nations, and tribes, and languages, of which our fathers knew nothing: how the Holy Spirit has been poured out in exceeding abundance on this generation, bidding us, enabling us, and sustaining us in our wondrous desire to carry the glorious Gospel to every nation under the sun: let him tell with glistening eyes, how the war goes on, for with his eyes he must have read the narratives that have come in from the East, and the West, and South, with his hands he may have touched some of these messengers of good tidings, and spoken with them face to face: let the story be graven with an iron pen and lead in the rocks for ever! let him remember, that by the gleaming words that he utters he either conciliates new allies to the cause, or by his unfaithful treatment of the subject disheartens true friends. It indeed requires tongues of Fire to treat the subject in its glorious completeness: the present generation has only prepared the way: the next generation will have something worthy to record, though our eyes may never see it.

I have said my say. This is probably my last contribution to Missionary Literature. If I have written what is not true, let this paper be consigned to the fire. If there is a scintilla of truth, think over it. It cannot now be said, that we must travel onward, as if in a mist, and that, as nobody criticized, there was no error.

EASTBOURNE, *August* 18, 1888.